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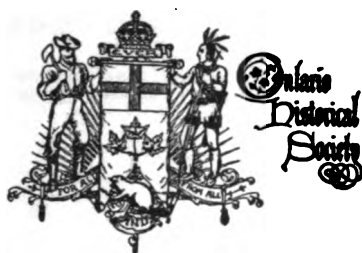
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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I. Fort Malden or Amherstburg. By FRANCIS CLEARY	5
II. Thamesville and the Battle of the Thames. By KATHERINE B. COUTTS. . .	20
III. The Highland Pioneers of the County of Middlesex.	26
IV. Centenary of the Death of Brant. By HERBERT F. GARDINER, M.A. . .	33
V. The Pioneers of Middlesex.	55
VI. The Beginning of London. By COL. T. CAMPBELL, M.D.	61
VII. An Episode of the War of 1812. The Story of the Schooner "Nancy" . .	75
VIII. Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths, at St. Thomas, U.C., com- mencing with the Establishment of the Mission in July, 1824 . . .	127

I.

FORT MALDEN OR AMHERSTBURG.

BY FRANCIS CLEARY.

Read at the Annual Meeting of the O. H. S., at London, Ont., Sept. 11th, 1908.

At last Canadians are awakening to the importance and necessity of making an effort to preserve and restore the historical battlefields and other landmarks of this country. This is seen in the great interest taken in the recent proposal of His Excellency Earl Grey for the conversion into a park, and the restoration of the battlefields of the Plains of Abraham and of St. Foye at Quebec.

It is an opportune time to draw the attention of the Government and of others in the immediate localities to do something to reclaim and preserve the old forts and historical landmarks of lesser note in other parts of our country. These are rapidly passing away and their preservation would do much "to strengthen the tie that binds" and make those of the present day feel proud of their ancestors, and to respect and honor the men who in 1812 and again in 1838-1839 helped to defend this country and handed down to us the glorious heritage which we now possess.

In the early history of Upper Canada this western peninsula, the County of Essex, came into notice on account of the stirring events which took place on its border, second only to those which took place in the Niagara frontier.

Fort Amherstburg, or Fort Malden, as the name under which it became better known, deserves the attention of the Government and of those interested in the reclamation of historical landmarks.

For the following account of this Fort I am indebted to extracts taken from "Early Amherstburg," published in January, 1902, by Mr. C. C. James, Deputy Minister of Agriculture for Ontario, and "Fort Malden," by Rev. Thomas Nattress, B.A., of Amherstburg, published two years later. Mr. James says he found that Fort Malden did not exist in the early days, but that Fort Amherstburg did. I found that three different forts had been constructed, or partly constructed, at Amherstburg at different times, and that the first was officially known

as Fort Amherstburg; the second was known both as Fort Amherstburg and as Fort Malden, and that the third, constructed subsequent to 1837, bore the name of Fort Malden.

The war of American Independence was brought to a close in 1783; Oswego, Niagara and Detroit remained as British Posts until their evacuation in 1796, Detroit being transferred in July of that year.

The late Judge Woods of Chatham, in referring to this event in "Harrison Hall and its Associations," says this may be called the "Exodus Act," as it provided for the departure of British authority from Detroit to Sandwich, . . . and that from the passing of the said Act (3rd June, 1796) the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the Western District shall be held in the Parish of Assumption (afterwards called Sandwich) in such place as may be now found most convenient to the Magistrates of said District, on the second Tuesday in the months of July, October, January and April, until such time as it shall seem expedient to the Justices or a majority of them to remove and hold the same nearer to the island called the Isle of Bois Blanc, being near the entrance of the Detroit River.

The last Court of Quarter Sessions held in Detroit was in January, 1796, and the removal took place to Sandwich that summer.

After this date no doubt many of those stationed at Detroit, officers and men, removed to Sandwich and Amherstburg.

On June 7th, 1784, the Huron and Ottawa Indians who claimed ownership or proprietary rights in the country surrounding Detroit, gave by treaty a tract of land seven miles square at the mouth of the Detroit River to the following British Officers or fighters who had been associated with them in the recent war:—Alexander McKee, William Caldwell, Charles McCormack, Robin Eurphleet, Anthony St. Martin, Matthew Elliott, Henry Bird, Thomas McKee and Simon Girty. Henry Bird was given the northern section. This would be in the northern part of the Township of Malden, and would contain what is now the northern part of Amherstburg.

In 1784 the settlement of Malden Township first began. In July of that year Lieutenant-Governor Hay of Detroit wrote to Governor Haldimand as follows:—"Several have built and improved lands who have no other pretensions, than the Indians' consent to possession. Captains Bird and Caldwell are of the number, at a place they have called 'Fredericksburg.' "

On August 14th, 1784, Governor Haldimand wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Hay that Colonel Caldwell of Colonel Butler's late corps had

applied to him for sanction to settle on the land; that he could not confirm the grant, but that they should "carry on their improvements until the land could be laid out and granted according to the King's instructions." Mr. McKee was to be directed to get the Indians to make over the land to the King, but that "two thousand yards from the centre would be reserved on all sides for the purpose of establishing a fort."

Here, as Mr. James says, we have the first suggestion of the future Fort Amherstburg and the promise of the town.

On 28th August, 1788, Lord Dorchester, who had succeeded Haldimand in the Governorship in 1786, wrote to Major Matthews to encourage settlement on the east side of the River Detroit, but that no lots must be settled upon before purchase from the Crown, from the Indians, "also to report the progress made by some Loyalists in their settlement on a spot proposed for this class of men on the east side of Detroit River, and to state his ideas fully of what may be done for its further encouragement as well as for establishing a Military Post at that quarter."

In 1790 Major Matthews wrote from Plymouth Barracks, giving a summary of his investigation in 1788. He stated that he went from Quebec to Detroit in 1787 with instructions from Lord Dorchester. He said, "should this post," meaning Detroit, "be given up, and another taken, the most convenient place will be at the entrance of the river, upon a point at present occupied by some officers and men who served the war as Rangers with the Indians. The channel for ships runs between this point and Isle Aux Bois Blanc, which should also be fortified, the distance from each to mid-channel about 200 yards. There is a fine settlement running 20 miles from this point on the north side to the lake. Here in 1788 is the reference to the future post at Amherstburg. The settlement on the north side of Lake Erie refers to what was known as 'the two connected townships' (Colchester and Gosfield),"

The District of Hesse in the west had been set apart by proclamation, July 24th, 1788, and early in 1789 the Governor was authorized by Council to appoint a Land Board, and the following were appointed as the first members in 1789:—Farnham Close, Esq., Major of the 65th Regiment of Foot, or the Officer Commanding at Detroit; William Dummer Powell, Esq.; Duperon Baby, Esq.; Alexander McKee, Esq.; William Robertson, Esq.; Alexander Grant, Esq., and Ademar de St. Martin, Esq.

One of the first duties then put upon this Board was to lay out a township to be called Georgetown, but still there was delay. On August

22nd, 1789, the Land Board reported to Lord Dorchester that Mr. McNiff, the Surveyor, had not yet arrived, and that none of the lands had yet been purchased from the Indians for the Crown, and that the Indians had some years before granted these lands to private individuals. September 2nd, 1789, Lord Dorchester instructed the Board to receive applications from the occupants for grants, etc., and also to have Mr. McKee obtain from the Indians all the land west of Niagara for settlement, the cession to include all lands held by private individuals, from the Indians by private sale, and shortly after the Board reported that all the land was claimed, and asked for power to settle the claims.

May 19th, 1790, the Indians, (Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies and . . . Hurons), cede to the Crown all the land from the Chaudiere or Catfish Creek on the east to the Detroit River on the west, and from the Thames to Chenail Ecarte on the north to Lake Erie, including the grant of 1784 before referred to, but reserving a tract seven miles square north of the 1784 grant, and also a small tract at the Huron Church (Sandwich). May 3rd, 1791, Surveyor McNiff reported that two or three families live continuously on their land east of the river (Caldwell, Elliott, Lamotte, etc'), but many more resort there in the summer to raise corn and beans. He recommended that the Indians be removed to some other reserve, suggests at Chenail Ecarte; says all the land is settled from the Reserve north to Peach Island in Lake St. Clair.

The first Legislature of Upper Canada was called to meet at Newark (Niagara) on September 17th, 1792, and on January 8th, 1793, the Executive Council resolved that a township to be called Malden be laid out at the mouth of the Detroit River; thus we see that Fredericksburg gave place to Georgetown, and this in turn to Malden.

On 8th January, 1793, it was resolved that Colonel Alex. McKee, Captains Elliott and Caldwell, be the patentees of the above mentioned township, and the persons who have settled under the authority of the late Governor Hay. It was further resolved that the land lying between Captain Bird's lot and the Indian land be reserved for the Government.

We now come to the year 1796. In the Crown Lands Department at Toronto is to be found the original plan of the Township of Malden. It gives the subdivision into lots, and each lot carries the name of the original grantee. It bears the name of A. Iredell, Deputy Surveyor of the Western District, and is dated, Detroit, 17th April, 1796. The lots on the river number from the north to the south, 19 in all, 19 ending at the marsh that fronted on Lake Erie.

The following statement may be given of a few of the patents for these lots with the dates and to whom issued:—

Lots 1 & 2,	David Cowan,	East part 100 acres,	July 2nd, 1807.
" 3	William Caldwell	all 187	" April 13th, 1810.
Water Lot	" "	1	" August 20th, 1810.
Lot 4	Alexander McKee	all	February 28th, 1797.
" 5	Matthew Elliott	all 200	" February 28th, 1797.
" 9	Archange McIntosh	$\frac{1}{2}$ 187	" November 25th, 1803.
" 11	Simon Girty	all 174	" March 6th, 1798.
" 14	Hon. James Baby	all 180	" July 30th, 1799.
" 15 & 16	Thomas McKee	all 325	" June 30th, 1801.

All the above names of owners of full lots are on the Iredell map of 1796 except that on the latter. Lot 1 is left vacant and Captain Bird's name appears on Lot 2. In the C.L. record the lot to the north of Lot 1, taken from the Indian Reserve, is known as Lot A.

By agreement between the Government of the United States and Great Britain, Detroit was to be evacuated in this year—hence the necessity arose of at once making provision for the troops on the east side of the river, and of having an arsenal or depot for stores—a town and fort were necessary. Lot 1 was vacant, reserved by the Crown, and to it was added Captain Bird's Lot No. 2 which was appropriated by the Crown.

The following letter now becomes important. It was written a few weeks after the troops left Detroit:—

DETROIT RIVER, Sept. 8th, 1796.

Captain Wm. Wayne, Queen's Rangers,

Commanding on the Detroit River, opposite the Island of Bois Blanc,

To the Military Secretary, Quebec,

Suggest the gunpowder be placed on the "Dunmore," soon expected to lay up there, pending the erection of temporary magazine. "I have reason to fear that the merchants who have already erected buildings on the ground within the line of defence of the Post under my command will not be easily reconciled to the sentiments of the Commander-in-Chief on that subject. They have not merely built temporary sheds; some of their buildings are valuable, and have cost to the amount of many hundred pounds, authorized in these their proceedings by Colonel England, who hitherto commanded this District; at the same time they were to hold the lots on limited terms."

He then states that there is no vacant ground in the vicinity of the garrison. Colonel McKee, Captain Caldwell and Captain Elliott claim the lots to the south; on the north is the vacant land of the Indian Reserve, to the rear the land beyond the 1,000 yards reserved is a perfect swamp. "I enclose for the Commander-in-Chief's inspection a plan of a town laid out by Colonel Caldwell on his own land." A reproduction of the plan accompanies the letter, showing a town laid out in lots, with streets at right angles with a vacant square in the centre; this projected town would be in what is now the southern part of Amherstburg.

The Bird lot has just been taken over by the Government, and a garrison established there with the intention of erecting the Fort.

Thus we see that in the summer of 1796 the plans are set in motion through the Military Department for the starting of a town and post opposite Bois Blanc. On January 10th, 1797, an advertisement was put up at His Majesty's Post, calling for men with teams, oxen, carts, trucks, etc. This was to complete the work begun in 1796. Early in 1797 the creation of the Post begins in earnest. Up to February 2nd, no special name had been given. On February 9th, 1797, appears a requisition for stores for Indian presents for "Fort Amherstburg." Here for the first time the name occurs in an official document, and it no doubt came from the Military Department at Quebec.

In the Crown Lands Department at Toronto is an old plan showing what was to be included that year in the Government Reservation. It is a copy made by William Chewett from the earlier plan of Iredell. On this plan it would appear that Lot No. 3 (Caldwell's) was not required, for the first town plot of Amherstburg belongs to Lot No. 2, the original Bird lot. Lot No. 1 was left vacant in the original division of the land among the first settlers. The lot to the north of that, unnumbered, was acquired from the Indians, as it on several plans is marked a well-defined "Old Indian Entrenchment."

Mr. James also gives a copy of an old plan of 1828, showing the location of Amherstburg, in reference to the Military Reserve. The town appears therein occupying part of lot 2 with a line separating it (marked Richmond street and still so named) from the Military Reserve.

In the Michigan records appear letters dated from Fort Amherstburg in June, July, and August, 1797. On page 267 appears the following: "Captain Forbes, of the R. Artillery, who was on duty at Fort Amherstburg, resided in one of the houses built by Captain Bird from July, 1797, to August, 1799."

In Vol. XXV. is a sketch map of Fort Amherstburg, Town of Malden, etc., showing Indian Council House, Commissioner's House, dockyards, etc., taken from the Colonial Office Records, and the following memorandum:—"Captain Bird's lot was repossessed by Government in 1796, since which time Fort Amherstburg has been constructed, the town of Malden built, a dockyard and other buildings, previous to the year 1796."

It would appear from these documents that the Fort was from the first known as "Fort Amherstburg," and that by some, at least, the group of houses outside the Fort, to the south, was for a time called by some, Malden, the same name as the township; but there was no Fort Malden in those days.

In the Vol. XXV., referred to, there is a sketch given, taken from the Colonial Office Records, showing the Fort as a five-sided enclosure, the northernmost angle in a direct line east of the north end of Bois Blanc, the southernmost corner about opposite the middle of the island, and the little town of Malden extending south to the Caldwell lot, just opposite the southern limit of Bois Blanc Island.

Mr. James continues as follows:—

We pass on now to the war of 1812-1814. Barclay sailed from Amherstburg with six vessels on September 9th, 1813, and on the following day his fleet met Captain Perry with his fleet of nine vessels. We all know the result of that naval engagement.

On September 23rd, 1813, Colonel Procter, then in command of the troops at Amherstburg, decided, contrary to the advice of Tecumseh, to abandon the Fort. Under his orders the Fort and public store-houses were burned by the soldiers, and shortly after the retreat began. General Harrison, with the United States troops, followed, and the disastrous battle of the Thames took place, resulting in the death of Tecumseh.

Major Richardson, the author of "The War of 1812," "Wacousta," etc., who was captured at Moraviantown at the battle of the Thames. speaks of Amherstburg, never of Malden. Lossing, the American author, in his well-known Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812, refers to Fort Malden, and gives the map of the Detroit River, showing Amherstburg town and Fort Malden. Lossing says:—"The army entered Amherstburg with the band playing 'Yankee Doodle.' The loyal inhabitants had fled with the army. The ruins of Fort Malden, the dockyard and the public stores were sending up huge volumes of smoke." He also says that there were two block-houses on the mainland in 1813, one near the Fort and one near Salmoni's Hotel. Several Kentucky volunteers were taken prisoners by the Indians at the battle

of the River Raisin. One of them, Elias Darnell, who served under General Winchester, published in 1854 a journal of the campaign, from which the following extract may be made:—"As he took me near Fort Malden, I took as good a view of it as I could while I passed it. It stands about thirty yards from the river bank. I judged it to be about 70 or 80 yards square; the wall appeared to be built of timber and clay. The side from the river was not walled, but had double pickets and was entrenched round about four feet deep; and in the entrenchment was the second row of pickets."

Richardson, after describing the historic meeting of Proctor and Tecumseh, says on page 121:—

"It having been resolved to move without loss of time, the troops were immediately employed in razing the fortifications and committing such stores as it was found impossible to remove to the flames kindled in the various public buildings; and the ports of Detroit and Amherstburg, for some days previous to our departure, presented a scene of cruel desolation."

We now call another witness, an expert witness, a contemporary record that should settle the question, if any doubt remains. In 1799, David William Smith, Surveyor-General of Upper Canada, prepared and published, at the request of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, a Gazetteer of the Province. On page 49 we find the following: "Amherstburg, the military post and garrison now building at the mouth of Detroit River, in the Township of Malden."

In 1813 a second edition was published, revised by Francis Gore, Lieutenant-Governor. In this, Amherstburg is described as a post and garrison, and there is no mention of Malden as either fort or town. Thus we see officially, the settlement was known as Amherstburg from 1797 down to 1813.

In further confirmation of these facts, so ably set out by Mr. James, I may be permitted here to mention another fact which came to my knowledge during the practice of my profession at Windsor. Many years ago I had occasion to search the title to Lot No. 11, First Street, or Lot No. 3 on Dalhousie Street, in the Town of Amherstburg. This lot fronts on what is still known as Dalhousie Street, the main street in the town, and on the southeast corner of said street and Gore Street, and about yards from the remains of the old fort. I found that this lot, or rather a portion of it, was conveyed by deed dated July 22nd, 1799, by Richard Pattinson & Co. of Sandwich, merchants, to Robert Innes & Co., also of Sandwich, merchants, and is described as "the undivided half of that certain messuage, etc., situate and being

in the *Town near the Garrison of Amherstburg*, and containing 30 feet in front by 120 feet in depth, with the dwelling-house and stable erected thereon." In the deed which follows this, dated 23rd September, 1808, from Robert Innes to William Duff, "the consideration being £362 10s. 0d."

Mr. James cites various authorities to show that Amherstburg was occupied by United States troops from about September 27th, 1813, to July 1st, 1815, when the renewal of peace placed it in the hands of the British.

Lieutenant J. E. Portlock of the Royal Engineers, in a Report of the Post of Amherstburg prepared in 1826, thus describes it: "The Fort is square, consisting of three bastions and one semi-bastion, and in its present form was constructed by Americans. The original works which had progressed very slowly and stood unfinished at the approach of the enemy during the last war were (as far as it was practicable to do so) destroyed by the British troops prior to their retreat from the western frontier. The Americans had advanced but a little way toward the completion of the present Fort."

It would appear from further extracts that the Fort, even after its re-occupation by the British, was allowed to decay, and Mr. James comes to the conclusion that the Fort Amherstburg, reconstructed by the Americans in 1813, was not exactly on the same lines as that begun in 1797 and destroyed by the British in 1813, and that by 1826 the second Fort had fallen into decay. He further states that it must have been at some date subsequent to this report of inspection that the Fort was reconstructed and renamed, for this third Fort appears to have received an official naming as Fort Malden. One authority says the rebuilding took place in 1839.

In the Crown Lands Department is a sketch entitled, "The Survey of Reserves taken by Lieutenant De Moleyns, Royal Engineer, and copied November, 1852, by Captain Moore." On this plan Fort Malden appears as a four-sided enclosure, the southern wall or face of which is in a line with the northern end of Bois Blanc. The Commanding Officer's quarters, Fort Supanto's quarters and commissariat premises all lie outside of the Fort, between it and the Town of Amherstburg. The land to the east of the Sandwich road is laid out in lots for the pensioners, and a sample pensioner's house is sketched. The old Indian entrenchment is marked on the river to the north, Richmond Street is marked as the northern limits of the town, and the open space around the Fort north of the town, and between the Sandwich road and the river is marked "Enrolled Pensioners' Grazing Ground," and this plan

comes down to the recollection of many of the older residents of Amherstburg.

The Rev. Mr. Nattress, in his pamphlet before referred to, gives short accounts of the important events which took place on this western frontier and the part taken in its defence by the Military and Militia in charge of Fort Malden during the wars of 1812-1813 and again in 1837-1838. He says: "On the breaking out of the war of 1812, Fort Malden was garrisoned by 200 of the 41st, 50 of the Newfoundland Company, and 300 of the Militia, with a detachment of Royal Artillery, being 600 men in all. (Kingsford) Colonel St. George was in command of Fort Malden when on July 12th, 1812, General Hull crossed from Detroit to the Town of Sandwich at the head of 2,500 regulars of the American army. A few days later an ineffectual attempt was made under Colonel Cass to take the River Canard bridge 5 miles above Amherstburg, Fort Malden, of course, being the objective point. Manœuvring and skirmishing continued until the arrival of Colonel Proctor at Fort Malden, on August 5th. On his arrival he effected a counter movement by sending a detachment across the river, intercepting the supplies in transport from Ohio for the American forces at Detroit, that necessitated the return of Hull's large force from Sandwich to Detroit. General Brock arrived at Fort Malden, on August 13th, 1812, from York, and next morning met the Indians in Council. Tecumseh urged an immediate attack upon Detroit, and Brock at once took up the march. The small American force at Sandwich re-crossed the river on his approach, and by the following day he had planted a battery opposite Fort Detroit, and shortly after followed Hull's surrender of his post, and all his troops and stores.

Proctor assumed command at Detroit, and in a series of engagements in which the Essex Militia took part, achieved some important results at various points on the Raisin and the Maumee against the forces of the American General Harrison. He was finally repulsed by Harrison in his attack on Fort Meigs and met with an almost crushing defeat on August 2nd, 1813, at Fort Stephenson, and immediately retreated to Fort Malden to recruit his army.

The result of the attempted capture of Amherstburg by the insurgent leader, Sutherland, with the so-called "Patriots" and their defeat and capture with the schooner "Ann" on the 9th January, 1838, is well known.

Troops from Fort Malden again on the 24th February, 1838, defeated an attempted invasion, when an expedition led by one McLeod crossed from Michigan and took possession of what has since been known

as Fighting Island, a Canadian island in the Detroit River about half way between Windsor and Amherstburg. On that occasion Major Townsend, with a detachment of the 32nd Regiment from Fort Malden, arrived upon the scene in the night, and at daybreak Captain Glasgow, of the Artillery corp, drove the enemy from their lodgement.

Other attempts to invade this part of Canada and in which troops from Fort Malden displayed a conspicuous part in defending the country, need only be mentioned, as the engagement on Pelee Island in March, 1838, and the last one, viz., the attack upon Windsor, December 4th, 1838.

Mr. Nattress says that during this rebellion Fort Malden was garrisoned by a detachment of the 24th Battalion, another of the 32nd, the 34th Regiment under Colonel Eyre, a battery of Artillery, and as many of the Essex Militia as the exigencies of the situation demanded. The latter were, when embodied with the garrison, in essential particulars, considered on the same footing with the regular troops. Last of all came three companies of the Royal Canadians. These were transferred in 1851, after which date no regular garrison was stationed at the Fort. The detachment of the 34th Regiment, which had been stationed at Halifax, did not reach Amherstburg till the early part of 1838, and subsequently the bastions at the Fort were rebuilt, and the fortifications got in good repair.

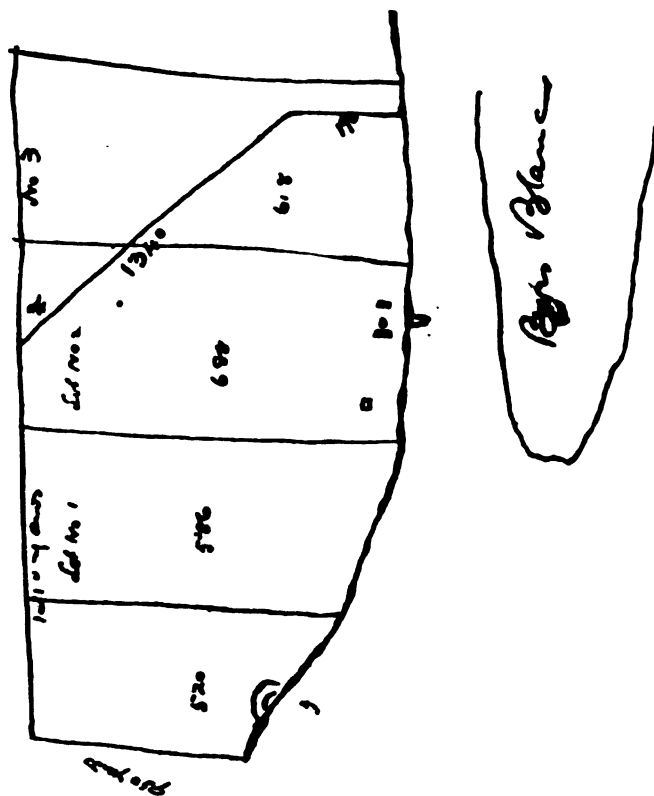
The defence of the Fort in 1838 consisted of ten 24-pounders, six 6-pounders, three brass field pieces, six mortar guns, and a number of rocket tubes, besides the full complement of small arms. There is at the present time plainly visible the well-defined outline of a mortarbed in the only remaining trench, the one on the north side of the works. Another of the mortar batteries was immediately in rear of where the last of the old flagstaff still stands on the rear of the southwest bastion. The two front bastions are well preserved, the angles being as sharp as the day they were built. On the east side of the Fort there was a double defence formed by two rows of pointed pickets, one on the moat outside the trench, and the other on the inner side of the trench. The Sally-port crossed this east trench alongside the east bastion. The trenches on the east side have been filled in and the bastions levelled in the construction of a roadway.

In 1838 the buildings, etc., in connection with the Fort were all located along the river front from where the post office now is northward. Here were the Commissary department (a part of the old brick building is still standing), the dockyards, Government stores, the hospital and Officers' quarters. The space between the Officers' quar-

ters and the southwest bastion of the Fort was protected by a row of pickets, as was also the space between the two front bastions, not otherwise protected by trench or moat. A part of the defence, not yet specified, was the block-houses on Bois Blanc Island. There were three of them, known as the North, Centre and South block-houses, or No. 1, No. 2 and No. 3. The South block-house still stands as in the old days. The one at the north end was burned some twenty-six years ago. The centre one stands on the west side of the Island, and is embodied in the Colonel Atkinson summer residence. About opposite to it, on the east side of the island, and abreast of Richmond Street, there was a picket barracks, long afterwards used as a dwelling, but not now standing.

The main site of the Fort, with a few of its old buildings still standing, is now owned by private individuals. Some years ago a petition, largely signed by the inhabitants of Amherstburg, was presented to the Government asking for its restoration and preservation as a National Park. The situation is beautiful and it is very accessible. It has been estimated that the property could be purchased for \$25,000, and an additional sum of about \$10,000 might be required to lay it out as a park. It is to be hoped the Government will do something to aid in such a laudable object.

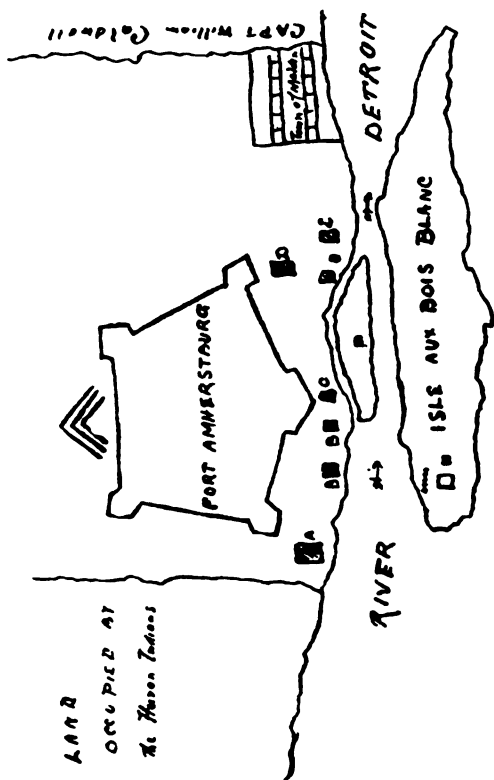
The reclamation of this Fort would not only be an object lesson to the youth of the present day but would do much to promote the study of the history of the early struggles on this frontier in 1812 and in 1838. Situated on the Detroit River, no place could be better advertised. Few places are more visited during the summer season than this river, which is only 24 miles long, yet it is one of our greatest water-ways, carrying more tonnage during the season of navigation than leaves the ports of London and Liverpool during the same period. There are many freighters over 600 feet long and carrying from 10,000 to over 13,000 tons each trip, and over 100 more between 400 and 500 feet long, carrying about 10,000 tons. The passenger traffic is enormous on the steamers plying between Buffalo, Cleveland and other lake ports to Mackinac, Chicago, Port Arthur and Duluth. The new "City of Cleveland" can carry 4,000 passengers, and the Ferry Company's steamer, "Columbia," is licensed to carry 3,666, and makes two trips a day from Detroit to Amherstburg and Bois Blanc Island, loaded with excursionists, many from the interior of Michigan and from the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. These boats pass almost within a stone's throw of Fort Malden.



THE OLDEST MAP. JULY, 1797

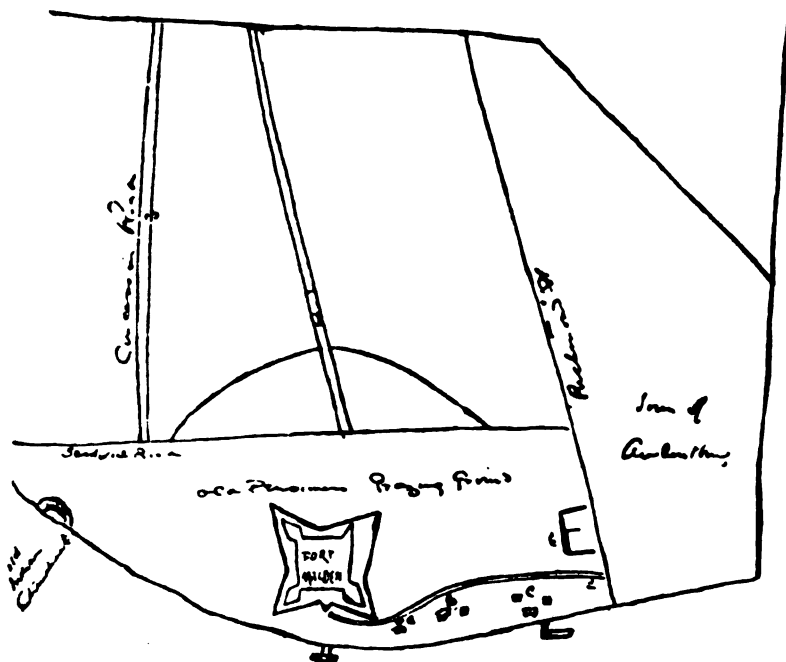
Plan, dated 1797, showing the site of the Military Post of Amherstburg and the land originally reserved for Government use. The unnumbered lot, north of the present Alma Street, was acquired in 1800 from the Indians and is marked on the several old plans as a well-defined old Indian Encampment.

Original in Crown Lands Department, Toronto. Copy made by Wm. Chewett from original by A. Iredell. Block D on some maps.



THE NEXT OLDEST MAP.

This map would go to show that the first name given to the Fort was Amherstburg. The popular name, and from a very early date the official name, was Fort Malden.



- a. Commander's Office. Amherst
- b. Fort Superintendent's Office.
- c. Commercial Prisoner
- d. Lot house by Ordnance Dept

no.

Land & Navigation Survey

Bois Blanc

This map is more modern and true to fact in the matter of locations
Copy of an old plan of 1828.

II.

THAMESVILLE AND THE BATTLE OF THE THAMES.

BY KATHERINE B. COUTTS.

On the outbreak of the war of 1812 General Brock, upon whom the duty of defending Upper Canada had devolved, saw the importance of securing its western frontier. Thither therefore he went; and, with a good fortune which probably exceeded his utmost expectations, he found himself by the middle of August, without a blow struck or a life lost, master of the Fort of Detroit with its supplies of ammunition and ordnance, including some interesting revolutionary trophies, and of the vast territory of Michigan, out of which five sovereign states have since been formed. It was at this time that took place the first and only meeting between Brock and Tecumseh, the two most heroic figures of the war. For Tecumseh, smarting under a sense of wrongs endured by his people at the hands of the Americans, had hastened at the first rumor of war to proffer his aid to the British. Brock soon returned to the Centre Division, leaving in command at the West General Henry Proctor, with a small number of regular troops, mostly of the Forty-first Regiment, and some companies of Kent and Essex Militia. Though all that could be spared, Proctor's force was confessedly inadequate. But he had as allies a body of Indians varying in number from time to time. He complained that these Indians were "not a disposable force" and that their zeal was too apt to be in inverse proportion to his need. These are the well known characteristics of Indian warriors. Yet there was one amongst them—Tecumseh his name—whose zeal and constancy were afterwards to form a standard by which Proctor should be tried and found wanting.

During the thirteen months that followed, the gallant Right Division and their allies gave a good account of themselves. Richardson, who was with them the whole time, says that Proctor gained from their gallantry and success a reputation that no act of his own deserved. Indeed it is borne in upon the most casual reader of his narrative that, though Proctor was at the head of the defence, Tecumseh was its soul.

After the disastrous Battle of Lake Erie—September 10th, 1813—which left Proctor denuded of his great guns and cut off from his source of supply, he held a council at which it was resolved to destroy the forts

of Detroit and Amherstburg and retire via the Thames route upon the Centre Division.

This decision was bitterly opposed by Tecumseh, the mouthpiece of the Indian contingent. He accused Proctor of direct breach of trust with his people and demanded that, if the British must retreat, the forts and ammunition should be given to the Indians, who would themselves oppose the landing of the Americans. He compared Proctor to a "fat animal which slinks away, its tail between its legs," and finally hurled at him that ultimate epithet of scorn—an old squaw.

Harrison said afterwards that Proctor must have been infatuated not to make a stand as Tecumseh advised. It is certain that situations as desperate as his have been retrieved, and had there been a leader who

"When the right arm's shattered waves
The good flag with the left,"

history might have a different story to tell. Such a leader, however, Proctor was not; and I believe that his resolve to retreat has never been assailed as a normal measure. A compromise was finally arrived at which Tecumseh accepted, though unwillingly. It was to destroy the forts and retire, with such ammunition and stores as they could carry, to Moraviantown, the farthest point on the Thames to which batteaux could ascend; to fortify this village and there await the enemy. Moraviantown had been built, so far as it was built, by a company of Delaware Indians who, led by their missionaries, had migrated thither from the Ohio in 1792. The Moravian church abandoned its work there only about five years ago. Proctor called it half way to the Centre Division, though it is but a bare third to Ancaster,—the Centre Division's outpost. Did Proctor make this promise in good faith? I think not. He made it to escape a present perplexity. He seems to have persuaded himself that Harrison would be content with the possession of the forts and would not pursue. At all events the way he conducted his retreat shows no intention of fighting; and he did not fight. He took much pains to save the great quantity of unnecessary and forbidden personal baggage he had carried off. The safety of his little army, his honor, his reputation—these things he lost sight of. He left Sandwich September 27th and marched at the leisurely rate of nine miles a day for five days. The roads were shockingly bad, for it had been a rainy season.

Having reached Dolsen's, four miles below Chatham, he left his little army there, and, with his personal staff and baggage and the women

and children, went forward to Moraviantown. He took all the guns but one, and his only officer of engineers, as if to arrange for fortifying. But he left no orders to guide Colonel Warburton, the Second in command; and at Moraviantown he took not a step towards his promised fortifications, though the place is said to have afforded facilities. Abattis could have been constructed, the houses occupied, etc.

Whilst thus tarrying by the way and knowing nothing of the general's plans, Warburton got word of the approach of the enemy. Harrison had left Sandwich on the second of October and was already, on the third, close behind them. The British retired to Chatham; and the Indians seeing what they thought a good place to make a stand where now Tecumseh Park is, clamored to fight there. Warburton was in much perplexity and consulted anxiously with the other officers. All were indignant at the General's conduct and a proposal was seriously made to deprive him of the command and confer it upon Warburton, who declined, as he very well might, so perilous an honor. However, by the arguments of Elliot, the Commissioner, the Indians consented to go on, a few remaining behind and actually disputing the progress of the Americans. A further march of six or seven miles brought the little army to Richardson's, where Proctor joined them. Leaving a rear guard here, he led the half-fed troops to Sherman's, where the night of October fourth was spent, Tecumseh, according to local tradition, having spent this, his last night on earth, in Sherman's barn. The Sherman of the day—Lemuel by name—was a member of Captain Shaw's Company of Kent Militia which in May, 1813, applied for, and seems to have got, leave to go home and till their farms. At all events it was not in the battle of the Thames, though it was in that of the Longwoods the following March, where two of Captain Shaw's sons were wounded—one mortally. The Sherman house was the first built within the limits of the present Thamesville, and probably the only one then standing. It was built on the knoll above the river now occupied by the Sherman cemetery.

On the morning of the fifth the rear guard joined the rest of the army at Sherman's, with the disheartening news that all their supplies of food and ammunition had fallen into the enemy's hands through the night, the guard as well as the sick and wounded being made prisoners. Raw meat was served for breakfast, but before that luxurious meal could be despatched news of the proximity of the enemy caused a further tramp of two muddy miles, this time to the scene of the battle. They were formed in two lines, the British in an irregular group in the woods which, having no underbrush, offered little obstacle to cavalry. The

solitary gun, for which there was not a single round of ammunition, was at the left of the road. In a black ash swamp to the right, Tecumseh and his men were drawn up and here alone, according to local authority, were abattis constructed. David Sherman, the fifteen year old son of the militia man referred to, was looking for his cows that afternoon in company with a boy named Ward. Naturally they looked in the direction where something unusual was going on. An Indian, sitting on a newly-felled tree, called the boys, questioned them a little and advised them to get their cows and hurry home. He wore a scarf wound round his head in which was stuck a large white ostrich plume. When forty years later David Sherman surveyed a portion of his patrimony into village lots, he named the village after that Indian—Tecumseh. But, there being already a post office of that name in Essex, our village had to find another and was called Thamesville.

The battle of the Thames was fought in the Gore of Zone, and lots 2, 4, 5 and 6 have been entered for the honor of being the site. Lots 5 and 6, the farm until recently owned by Mr. G. J. Watts, who inherited it from his grandfather, whose patent is dated 1849, was long known as the Tecumseh Farm, as it was supposed to be the actual battle ground. But I am assured by Mr. John McDowell, the present owner of the Tecumseh farm, as well as of the adjoining land west, that all the relics known to have been found,—bayonets, muskets and human remains, and skeletons of horses—have been found on the latter—lot 4. Mr. McDowell has a collection of bullets of two sizes, picked up by himself within the past seven years. When the little army was arrayed Tecumseh rode along the lines, shaking the officers by the hand and trying to cheer the weary, hungry and dispirited men about to encounter a foe outnumbering them at least three to one. (The British had 367 of all ranks and their Indian allies were about 800, whereas Harrison's troops numbered at least 3,000 of which almost half were cavalry.) He was dressed in a close fitting suit of buckskin and his favorite white ostrich plume waved above his head. How it recalls another hero—him whose commission Samuel de Champlain carried in 1908:

“The King hath come to marshall us
In all his armor dressed,
And he hath bound a snow white plume
Above *his gallant crest.*”

Proctor with his staff took his stand behind the rear line. He may well have been ashamed to face the men whose confidence he knew he

had lost and whom he was flinging to the enemy as the wicked man in the children's story flung the child from his arms to the wolves. I have no technical terms at my command but this is what happened: Harrison's advancing cavalry was met by a fire from the front rank who then retired. The second attempting to fire were borne down by the horsemen and in two minutes or less all was over. The Indians held out the longest; but when Tecumseh fell they also broke and fled. Of the British only about fifty men under Lieutenant Bullock escaped.

Where was Proctor? Two minutes after the first volley was fired he was galloping east to Moraviantown, where his treasures were, and onward through the forest towards Burlington. The enemy pursued him fifteen miles plundered the baggage which he was compelled to abandon—and which included his carriage—and returned, burning Moraviantown en route. Proctor was courtmarshalled at Montreal in December, 1814, and sentenced to a suspension from rank and pay for six months and a public reprimand. In his defense he had the meanness to throw the blame upon his little army. The Prince Regent was dissatisfied with the sentence, complaining that he was treated with inexcusable leniency; and one finds oneself for once agreeing with his Royal Highness.

The morning after the battle Lemuel Sherman and his son, David, were amongst those who went down to bury the dead. The bodies were thrown into a pit from which relic hunters have since carried off many a trophy. Mr. William Sherman assures me that he knows where Tecumseh was buried—that his father (then the boy David) had witnessed the burial and showed him the spot when a boy. There is a strong opinion, however, amongst historians “that no man knows that sepulchre, and no man saw it e'er”—no white man at least.

Harrison left the sick and wounded at Sherman's and many of them spent the winter there, using the barn already mentioned as their hospital. The names of some of them cut into the boards are still to be seen. One of the Kentucky troops remained behind altogether. When David Sherman married he took up his abode with him, died in his house in 1857 and is buried in the family plot on the spot where Lemuel Sherman's house stood in 1813.

I have left for the last the few words I wish to say on Tecumseh. That great Shawnee Chief was born in 1768 in the valley of the Mad River within the present State of Ohio. Like his brother the prophet, he was believed to be of supernatural birth, being thus a hero to his own people in the classic sense, as he is a hero to us according to the better meaning of the word—not the one that came in about the time of the

Boer War. From his earliest years he nourished wrath against the Americans from the belief that his people had been unjustly treated concerning their lands. He was of course a warrior. But a warrior of the best type known to our military age—wise in council, fertile in resource, magnanimous and fearless. If we may believe the story that he fled on the occasion of his first battle, it is interesting as indicative that his courage had a moral rather than a physical origin. When war was declared in 1812 it was natural that he should come forward in aid of the British. Richardson says that he had nothing of the savage about him save the color and the garb. Kipling calls the savage people of to-day "half devil and half child," and the description suits our own red men well enough. They were children for instability and devils for cruelty. Yet from the day Tecumseh took his stand beside Brock at Detroit till that on which Johnston's bullet stilled forever his noble heart he never wavered in his determination and loyalty. And he had learned from civilization her noblest lesson that mercy "which becomes the throned monarch better than his crown," and which shines with even greater lustre from the untutored savage. Richardson, who knew him well, speaks of him with affectionate enthusiasm. Harrison, against whom he fought, respected him while living and lamented his death. In the story of the war he towers above the short-sighted, selfish and unready Proctor. He stands, an equal, besides the heroic Brock.

Such he was; and of his great gifts he gave all in the Canadian cause. "Green leaves of his labor," he gave, "white flower of his thought, and red fruit of his death." Should we not then honor him "as we honor our bravest who fall?"

In five years will come round the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of the Thames. How fittingly on that day would the Canadian people unveil a monument to the memory of the brave, the noble Shawnee who died in battle against the Invaders of Canadian Soil!

III.

THE HIGHLAND PIONEERS OF THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX.

It is difficult, if not impossible, for men of the present generation to estimate aright the courage and heroism of their Highland ancestors. Inspired by a noble patriotism, knit to their homes by sacred associations, and the traditions of many centuries, qualified by their mental equipment to admire and enjoy its beautiful scenery, bound to race and clan with the strong ties of friendship and affection so characteristic of the Gael. It is hard to appreciate fully the intensity of the strain, or the severity of the trial of their expatriation. Before them was an ocean voyage in sailing vessels, both tedious and dangerous, and a scarcely less tedious and difficult journey from Quebec or Montreal to their western forest homes. But to counterbalance all this there was a prevailing dissatisfaction with their condition in the Highlands, a noble ambition to better themselves by securing perfect freedom and independence, and a calm, firm reliance on an overruling Providence.

Once arrived at their destination their hardships, so far from ended, were only really beginning. A vast stretch of almost pathless forest, with only here and there a clearing, surrounded and comforted them, and the situation taxed to the utmost their native energy as well as their powers of endurance. It is not necessary here to do more than simply mention the struggle of years in clearing the land and bringing it into cultivation, the many privations, the simple life in the old log cabins, their devoted attachment to their native land, and their loved Gaelic, their steadfast persevering battle with obstacles, and their final success and victory. It is proper to say here that though this paper is confined entirely to the Highland settlers, the pioneers of other origins are no less worthy of honorable mention.

As a people they carried with them from their Highland homes and grandly illustrated the characteristics of their races. Their stalwart physique and capacity for endurance were not only proved and tested, but exercised and strengthened by the inevitable hardships and exertions of their environment. They were gifted with strong intellects and keen powers of observation. No less prominent was their moral stamina and their reverence for religious worship and institutions. With few exceptions their lives were upright, and their economy and thriftiness, a necessity in the early days, were continued in the days of their pros-

perity. In the midst of the great woods and their howling denizens, so complete a contrast to their Highland abode, even more strikingly were the traits of friendship and hospitality displayed, and their souls knit together in fraternal fellowship. Gaelic was practically the only language spoken, and all their customs, not only from their early training, but from their surroundings, were simple and primitive. The old Highland "Ceilah" kept in the long winter evenings, around great blazing log fires, rested and refreshed them as the pleasant hours were spent in recalling the scenes, incidents, and even superstitions of their native land, and reciting or singing Gaelic songs or hymns. They had their faults but they were like spots in the sun. The Celtic fire was sometimes associated with an irascible temper. Firm as their granite hills at times this degenerated into obstinacy, or the open, honest, straightforwardness passed into abruptness, or their whole-souled hospitality was maimed by prejudice against people of other origins.

The dawn of civilization in Middlesex County first appeared in the township of Delaware, and here we also find a trace, but only a trace, of the pioneer Highlander of the County, Ronald McDonald, who in 1798 obtained a patent of the land on which Delaware village stands, but soon after sold out to Dr. Oliver Tiffany. It is stated that John Sutherland came in 1829, but as far as known there were no others till the close of the pioneer period. In London township there appear to have been two distinct settlements, one near what is now Ilderton, and one near Hyde Park. In the former the first settler was John Carmichael, and in the latter Duncan McKenzie; both came in 1818, and were probably, except Roderick McDonald, the first Highland pioneers in the county. In Mosa the Highland settlers occupied the northern part of the township from the 4th to the 10th concession, and the first settler was Archibald Sinclair, 1827. Many others followed in the next few years, a large number of whom had come to Aldborough, Elgin County, at an earlier date. In Lobo about two dozen families settled in 1820, and from that time till 1835 they continued to come till they had taken possession of the greater part of the township. Among these were the Johnsons, the Grahams, the McKellars and McIntyres. The first Highlanders who come into Ekfrid were Angus Campbell, his two sons, John and Malcolm, and his son-in-law, John McIntosh, in 1821. From that time till 1835 the stream continued to flow till it had filled practically the whole township. The first in Caradoc were Archibald and Malcolm Campbell, 1822. Not many followed till 1829-1835, when possession was taken of the northern part of the township. In 1831 a dozen stalwart Highlanders, prominent among whom was Donald McIntosh,

settled in East Williams. The wave of immigration continued during that and the two following years until about 100 families had come in, chiefly from the northern counties of Scotland. There was a second wave of immigration in 1848-49-50, which not only completely filled this township, but overflowed into West Williams, and was chiefly from the western islands of Scotland. In this latter settlement it is said the first pioneer was Donald McGregor, 1846. In Westminster there were comparatively few Highlanders located south of the sixth concession, and John Munro appears to have been the first, 1831. As the early history of London has been so elaborately written by others, I need only say from what I can glean the pioneer Highlander of London was Patrick McGregor, 1826. As far as could be ascertained there were no Highland pioneers in Biddulph, and very few in Nissouri. A few Highlanders, all from Inverness, came into McGillivray in 1849, and about fifty years ago a small colony from the island of Uist settled there, but are now said to be extinct. There were also a few Highlanders in North Dorchester, of whom the first is said to have been Dan. McCallum, 1830. Except as mentioned, nearly all came from Argyleshire. I say nothing of Metcalfe, as it was included in Ekfrid and Adelaide till near the close of the pioneer period.

It is a historical fact that in the matter of public or common school education, Scotland was very considerably in advance of England. All through the Highlands, parish schools had long been established, and the instruction was valuable, even if not very extensive. It was, therefore, only what might be expected that the early Highland settlers, from their past associations and their strong intellectual bias, would lose no time in giving attention to the education of their children. The buildings and equipment in the early years were rude and primitive, but as time passed conditions improved. The first log school house in Mosa was erected in S. S. No. 8, about 1836, followed by another in No. 9, soon after. Patrick McGregor was probably the first teacher in No. 8, and others were Duncan McCallum, Findlay Munroe, and Walter Payne. In Metcalfe the first school was opened in 1839, and the first teacher was Duncan McCallum. The pioneer school in Ekfrid was on lot 6, Longwoods' Road, 1836, and the pioneer teacher was Mr. Smith, followed by William Livingstone, and he by Malcolm Campbell. The first log school house in Canada was erected in the early thirties, on the 9th concession, but it was burned down, and a blacksmith's shop on lot 1, concession 7, Lobo, was utilized for the purpose and attended by children from both townships. Some years after the Caradoc academy, on the Longwoods' Road was opened and conducted by Wm. Livingstone, until

it was burned down in 1857. In Lobo a log school house was erected as early as 1826, on lot 7, concession 6, but never roofed or occupied. The first school house to be used was built about 1831 on lot 1, concession 6, and was soon followed by others when the township was divided into sections from 1835 to 1840. Among the pioneer teachers of those years were John Irvine, Donald McRae and Robert Dixon. In East Williams the first school opened in 1837 on the exact spot on which the Nairn hotel afterwards stood, and the first teacher was William Munro, long kindly remembered by his pupils and the people generally. In 1839 or 1840 the next school was opened at Beechwood, and one of the first, if not the very first, teacher was Wm. Wells. In West Williams, which was settled at a much later date, the first log school house in S. S. No. 12 was built in 1857, and the first teacher was Miss Dewar, of Lobo. In Westminster the first school house (a little log one) was in S. S. No. 13, and Mr. McCormick, who had been engaged as teacher in the old land, was the first teacher. The pupils who attended those primitive schools, in most cases knew only Gaelic, but they soon acquired a knowledge of English, and made such rapid progress in their studies that before many years had passed they could compare favorably with those of other origins. An unusually large number entered into intellectual pursuits, and twenty-five years ago Rev. Wm. R. Sutherland, of Ekfrid, in response to an inquiry, stated that he had made a careful estimate and found that up to that time in Western Ontario, 300 of the descendants of the early Highland pioneers had become teachers, or entered into the ministry or learned professions. Faith in a presiding Almighty Ruler of all things was a prominent trait of Highland character. The physical features of their country, the grand scenery, the glens and bens, and lochs and islands, the great old ocean, and even the mountain mists and torrents, were all well calculated to imbue an impressible and emotional people with belief in the supernatural. Their acute powers of observation, their vivid imagination, their lofty conception of moral obligation and physical and mental beauty, were abundantly shown in the large volume of Gaelic poetry which had been gathering and increasing for centuries. But in addition it may be said that many of them, even in the éarly ages, received the gospel as the power of God unto Salvation through the labors of St. Columbus and others, and the mighty impulse which the career of John Knox gave to religion in Scotland was felt, even in the Highlands. Not only were parishes and parish ministers established throughout, but for many decades preceding the coming migration, many able, scholarly, fervent and faithful men by their zealous and extended labors, helped to keep

alive the flow of true devotion and genuine religion. To this people, in the great woods the change was great, and the contrast in almost every feature sharp and clear, but it did not efface old memories, nor was it less unfavorable to their religious tendencies or convictions. So it comes about that before being visited by pioneer preachers of any kind, the more devout and spiritual met together for prayer, conference and worship. They were also helped and comforted by reading their Gaelic Bibles, reading and singing the Gaelic Psalms and paraphrases, and perusing the "Pilgrim's Progress," and many other good books which had been translated into their native language.

The great majority of the Highland pioneers of Middlesex were Presbyterians. Those who settled in West Williams at a later date were in part Roman Catholic, and there were a few of the same faith in Ekfrid. There were also a few Baptists, and a considerable number in some of the townships became Baptists at a later date. Speaking of Presbyterian Churches, a house for public worship was erected in East Williams in 1835 on a splendid lot of 118 acres, granted by the Canada Company, and was succeeded by a large frame church in 1842. A commodious church was erected in Ekfrid in 1849, and in the area then included there are no less than 10 separate congregations. About 1835 a small log house for religious services was built in Mosa, followed in a few years by a large one, and in 1867 by a brick church. In Westminster services were for a time held in a school house until a church was built in 1854. In 1860 the first log church was erected in Caradoc. The first Baptist churches were erected in Lobo in 1837, followed by a brick structure in 1855, and in Ekfrid in 1840, succeeded by a frame building in 1854.

Among the pioneer ministers of the Church of Scotland who labored in Middlesex in the early days, were Alex. Ross, and Donald McKenzie, 1830; W. McKellar, 1833; Dugald McKellar, Lobo, 1839. Soon after a minister, named Cameron, spent some time among the people of Ekfrid, and among the others may be mentioned Wm. R. Sutherland, Ekfrid, 1848-1898; Donald McKenzie and Donald Allan, as visitors, 1834; in East Williams, Duncan McMillan, 1839; and Lachlan McPherson, 1849, as settled pastors in the same township. Also Wm. McGillivray and Alex. Fraser in the late forties. Robert Stevenson, 1856; Dr. John Scott, D. McKenzie and D. McMillan, Hyde Park, in the forties. John McEwen, 1852, and Duncan McColl (an ordained chatechist), 1841, both in Westminster. Archibald Stewart, Kilmartin, 1862; John Ferguson, Caradoc, 1860. Among the pioneer Baptist ministers who labored with great success among the early settlers in Lobo, Caradoc and Ekfrid

from 1827 onwards were Dugald Campbell, Thomas McColl, Duncan Lamont, and Duncan McCallum. Dugald Sinclair, a minister of the Disciples or Christian Church, labored in Lobo from 1831 to his death, in 1870. In the decade ending 1856 Father Kirwan visited the Roman Catholics who had settled in West Williams. A church was built in 1861, and the succeeding priests were Fathers O'Donovan, Kellehan, O'Shea, Lamont, Corcoran and McRae. Fathers O'Donovan, Lamont and McRae, as well as nearly all of the ministers mentioned, could speak and preach in Gaelic. The preaching in the early years was mostly in that language, but I believe there is only one place—Kilmartin—where it is still continued.

From three important documents of the pioneer period, two of which have come into my own possession, I am able to glean some interesting information. The assessment roll of the township of Lobo for 1825, written in a plain legible hand and signed by John Baskin, contains altogether 49 names, 29 of whom were Highlanders. The total value of assessed property was £2,675 8s., Halifax currency at \$4 to the £, and the total taxes were £13 9s. 9d. One-fourth of a penny per pound was for payment of members of the Assembly for their services. The tax paid by Joel Westbrook was only four pence, and Captain John Matthews paid the highest tax, £1 12s. 5d.

Much more full and complete than the similar roll for Lobo is the assessment roll for Ekfrid for 1827, probably the first one prepared there. It also bears the signature of John B. Askin, as clerk of the London district. It contains 46 names of whom only about ten were Highlanders. The lot and concession as given shows that all settled along and on both sides of the Longwoods' Road, which had been opened up in 1812. It was the only road then open, and there was not one settler in the rest of the township to the north and south, which was all unbroken forest. As a rule each one of the settlers had 100 acres or a total of 4,312 acres; only 121 acres was arable land in patches of from one to twenty acres. The total population was 107, total valuations £1,198 8s., total taxes £7 13s. 4d., and the wolf hunger, the overshadowing influences of friendship and fraternity and the higher claims of religion so occupied their attention that politics had little or no place in their horizon. Besides, they had no means of obtaining the knowledge on which alone intelligent political opinion could be based. But the upheaval of 1837, the mission of Lord Durham, the granting of responsible government in 1841, the establishment of municipal institutions in 1842, and the publication of newspapers constituted the beginning of a new era. Almost from the first there was a more or less distinct line

of cleavage between the two great political parties, which have ever since steadily maintained their organization and identity, and Highlanders and their sons have not been slow to take their places in the political arena, and fill the most exalted positions in the gift of the people.

To Andrew J. Ross, who unearthed what was probably the first assessment roll of Williams for 1833, I am indebted for some of its interesting contents. There were on this roll forty names in all, and with scarcely an exception they were all Highlanders. The wild land is put down at 4,590 acres, cultivated land 141 acres, assessed value £1,254. This last in 1837 had increased to £4,627. At the foot of the list is *the entry*, "in the County of Huron." In the early years there was practically no politics among the Highland pioneers. The franchise was to them a new privilege, which, as a rule, they had never before enjoyed, and it took some time to estimate its value and realize its responsibility.

IV.

CENTENARY OF THE DEATH OF BRANT.

BY HERBERT F. GARDINER, M.A., PRINCIPAL OF THE ONTARIO INSTITUTION
FOR THE BLIND, BRANTFORD.

Joseph Brant, or Thayendanegea, the celebrated Mohawk Chief, died in 1807, and the one hundredth anniversary of his death, which fell on Sunday, November 24th, 1907, was fittingly observed by the inhabitants of Brantford and the adjacent Indian Reserve, the newly organized Canadian Club of Brantford taking a special interest in the proceedings.

On the afternoon of Saturday, November 23rd, the Brant monument in Victoria Park, Brantford, was decorated with impressive ceremonies in the presence of a large assemblage. The first speaker was Chief A. G. Smith, who explained the object of the gathering and called upon Chief Jacob General to perform the condolence ceremony, which is an ancient rite observed whenever a death occurs in a chief's family. Chief Jacob General, on behalf of one side of the council, addressed the Mohawks. He repeated all the names of the dead Chief.

The response to the condolence was made by Chief A. G. Smith, who, on behalf of the other side of the council, thanked them for the condolences which had been so kindly extended. Condolence, he said, was a great help, and it was able to clear away the lump in the throat and brighten the dimmed eyes. In closing, he stated that if any death occurred on the other side of the house he could say, on behalf of his side, that they would be willing to offer condolence and wipe away the tears with a clean linen handkerchief.

Mr. Frederick O. Loft, of the Provincial Secretary's Department, Toronto, said that on this occasion they were gathered to commemorate the death of a man who was true to his cause. Brant was a soldier from the top of his head to the soles of his feet, and he proved his fidelity to the British crown. The speaker then reviewed the life of Brant.

Chief A. G. Smith placed a beautiful wreath of roses on the Brant monument. The floral piece was two feet in diameter, and across it was the word "Thayendanegea." Beside the wreath were placed two small Union Jacks as a fitting tribute to the Chief who loved and was true to that flag.

A. D. Hardy, Judge of Brant County, and Superintendent Smith, of the Indian Office, made short addresses in which they referred to the life of one of the noblest of red men.

This closed the proceedings at the monument.

SERVICES AT THE MOHAWK CHURCH.

On Sunday morning, November 24th, a special service at the Mohawk Church was attended by a large number of Indians, and also by many residents of the city. After the regular matins had been said and sung, Rev. R. Ashton, Superintendent of the Mohawk Institute and Rector of the Church, referred in his sermon to the great Chief Joseph Brant, saying that there were many misapprehensions in regard to him. Many thought, for instance, that Joseph Brant built the church they were in. This was not so, as the church was built under the direction of King George III. in 1785. Chief Joseph Brant, the speaker stated, had received a fair education, and even translated the Gospel of St. Mark into the Mohawk tongue. This translation was printed in 1778 by George III's order, and the books were sent to the Mohawk Church. Joseph Brant, the preacher also stated, had translated the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer into Mohawk. These translations were placed on three tablets, which were sent out from England in 1786. These are at present in the church and greatly valued. The reverend gentleman paid high tribute to the great Chief, for he was much ahead of his time, and his great idea was to restrain his tribe from being a wandering one and leading an aimless life. Brant also wanted to have the white man teach the Indians agriculture, but the authorities thought that Brant was trying to get the land for himself and this scheme was never taken up during his lifetime.

The pupils of the Mohawk Institute attended the church in a body.

A piece of the famous Queen Anne silver plate, which was sent to the Mohawk Indians in New York in 1712, was used to take up the collection. This valuable silver plate was brought here by Brant's tribe when they came from the other side.

GRAVE DECORATED.

After the service the grave of Chief Joseph Brant was decorated by two wreaths, one being placed on the tomb by the Six Nations and the other by the Canadian Club. The first was of red roses, typifying the red man; the second of white roses, symbolical of the white friends of the dead Chief.

Judge Hardy, Chief Smith and several others delivered short addresses. Those present then inspected the church and graveyard, and a most interesting memorial service was brought to a close. The weather Saturday and Sunday was ideal for this celebration, and the ceremonies at the monument, at the church and at the grave were all most reverently participated in by large numbers of people.

AT THE COUNCIL HOUSE.

On Monday, November 25th, the proceedings in connection with the centenary of the death of Brant were continued on the Six Nations Reserve. The chiefs assembled in the Council House at Ohaweken, the Mohawks and Senecas sitting at the right; the Oneidas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras and Delawares at the left; the Onondagas, who as fire-keepers, sit in the centre, were back at the extreme edge of the two sides. A debate is never settled by show of hands. If the Chiefs to right and left cannot agree, the decision remains with the fire-keepers, whose voice is final. If the two sides agree, the fire-keepers have nothing to say.

The Chiefs sit at the far end of the Council House and their portion is railed off, with seats on the outside for the warriors and women. The Superintendent occupies a chair on a small raised platform.

Proceedings opened at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, the Chiefs occupying the positions above described. To the right and left of Superintendent Smith sat Judge Hardy, President, and Mr. F. D. Reville (Editor of the *Brantford Courier*), Vice-President of the Canadian Club of Brantford. Other guests within the Chiefs' enclosure were Mrs. A. D. Hardy, W. G. Raymond (Postmaster of Brantford), Mrs. and the Misses Raymond, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. F. D. Reville and Mr. W. F. Cockshutt, M.P. for South Brant. The council room outside of the dividing barrier was crowded.

Rev. Mr. Carpenter, Dr. and Mrs. Holmes, and many of the teachers on the Reserve were present. The Chiefs, who were grouped according to their nation, were:—

Mohawks—Chiefs D. Duxtater, A. G. Smith, Simon Bomberry, J. W. M. Elliott and Abram Lewis.

Senecas—Chiefs John Gibson, Johnson, Williams and John Hill.

Onondagas—Lawrence Jonathan, Joseph Olsey, Joseph Porter and William Echo.

Oneidas—Simon Douglas, J. S. Johnson, Daniel Sky, William C. Hill, A. H. Lottridge, Robert Isaac.

Cayugas—William Hill, Jacob General, Alexander McNaughton, Joseph Jacobs and Daniel McNaughton.

Tuscaroras—Chiefs Josiah Hill, Joseph Green and Richard Hill.

The addresses throughout the day dealt principally with the education of the Indian, for which Joseph Brant had worked throughout his life. Most of the Chiefs spoke in their own language, some of the speeches being translated into English for the benefit of the white guests.

All the speakers paid tribute to the man who died one hundred years ago. They crowned his head with wreaths of eloquence in referring to his history, and recalled many incidents in his life which showed the excellent character of the man who, born in the woods, was later patronized by leading British soldiers and scions of royalty. Brant was described as loyal to his followers and to the British crown, unselfish and always anxious to find ways to better the condition of his people.

The meeting was declared open by an Onondaga Chief, who laid a string of wampum on the table. Chief Echo, who performed this ceremony, said that the council had seen fit to hold a commemoration in honor of the death of a member of the Six Nations, who had lived over one hundred years ago. He charged the people, no matter of what standing, to be prepared for death at a moment's notice, as the Great Spirit called souls to the great beyond in a minute's time. He welcomed the white visitors with a few appropriate words.

The ceremony of condolence was conducted by Chief John Gibson, who spoke in the Indian language.

Letters were read from Lieut.-Col. and Mrs. Delamere, of Toronto; Principal Gardiner, of the Ontario Institution for the Blind; T. H. Preston, M.P.P. for South Brant; and Hon. William Paterson, Minister of Customs, expressing regret at being unable to be present.

Superintendent Smith said the federation of the Six Nation Indians was the oldest established government on the continent. The constitutions of the present governments were modeled after the Six Nations' constitution. They had shown forethought in framing their system. They believed that at some later day there would be a great confederacy of all the tribes, and they had worked to that end.

Chief A. G. Smith (Mohawk) spoke at some length on the "Life and Times of Joseph Brant." He considered him a thoughtful, unselfish man, who sacrificed many things in order to better the condition of his people. When the Government had given the land grants for the use of the Indians, it was Joseph Brant who advised them to settle and learn to till the ground, rather than to spend their time in laziness. It

was he who brought the white man in to teach them the art of agriculture, and it was he who said: "We cannot succeed unless we obtain education."

Judge Hardy spoke at some length on the career of Joseph Brant, touching on many interesting incidents of his life which brought out the true worth of the man. He considered it a fitting thing to hold a celebration in honor of one so great as Joseph Brant, and he had a feeling of intense interest in all the Indian brethren concerned in such an event. The experiences and exploits of these first inhabitants of our great Dominion were interesting, and Joseph Brant figured as greatest of them all. He referred to the natural endowments possessed by Brant. He was the possessor of an educated, cultivated and trained mind, making friends with all men with whom he came in contact. To show the attitude of Captain Brant as regards education, Judge Hardy read a letter written by Brant to Mr. Wheelock, Principal of a Seminary at Lebanon, Conn., in which he gave Mr. Wheelock full charge of his two sons, that they should be thoroughly educated in all lines, and particularly in morals. Brant was solicitous of education, and desired to educate the Six Nations in the same manner as his own sons. He had also assisted in the promotion of religion, thus proving himself an accomplished man, of broad and noble culture. Judge Hardy read a letter from Aaron Burr to his daughter, recommending Brant to her as a man of education, well bred and a suitable person to be introduced to their friends. Judge Hardy described the interview between John Brant and the poet, Campbell, in which John convinced the author of *Gertrude of Wyoming* that he had done a grave injustice to his father, Joseph Brant. He also referred to Brant's interview with General Herkimer, in which the former announced his fixed intention to adhere to the British side in the war.

W. F. Cockshutt, M.P., made a capital speech, interspersed with humorous stories, which the Indians enjoyed thoroughly. He said his first speech in the House of Commons was on behalf of the Indians, whom he had always been proud to regard as his friends. It was Sir Wilfrid Laurier who had asked him to make that speech on the effect of education on the red man. The Indians had once had the franchise and he believed they should still have it. They were a living, not a dead, race, and they should have legislative privileges. Many of them had demonstrated their capabilities under educational advantages. The late Dr. Oronhyatekha had become the head of a large fraternal order, and at the time of his death he was enjoying a salary as large as that of the Premier of the Dominion. He knew of an Indian girl who had charge

of a large hospital in the United States, and examples of similar success could be found in other walks of life. The Indian was capable of the highest education. The Six Nations had proved their ability to occupy the highest positions in peace as well as in war. They formed the largest reserve on the American continent, possessing over 4,000 souls, and they were the most advanced of all the tribes. He had heard the late Senator Plumb, who was an authority, say that no people had made greater advancement within a given time than the Six Nations; that it had taken the whites nearly 2,000 years to reach a position which the Six Nations had largely attained in one century. As a matter of fact, Longboat had recently shown that he was able to go far ahead of all the whites.

He considered Brant a statesman as well as a warrior. Brant's reputation would remain when his detractors were dead and forgotten. The truth was that he had been earnest, loyal and true; he had nobly done his duty in his day and generation, and bequeathed wise measures which had left their impress to the present time. Look at his influence in this vicinity—Brant county and Brantford city perpetuating his name. To the Indians Canada also owed her very name. "Okanada" was an Indian word, meaning a village or settlement, and thus had become transformed into Canada. He knew that some people tried to make out that the Spanish, when they first landed in the country looking for gold, exclaimed "Acanada"—there is nothing here—and that this was the derivation of Canada, but the first explanation given was obviously the true one. The Indians of the Grand River had been the possessors of many valuable relics, too many of which had found their way to Montreal, to England and to the United States. He was sorry that so many of these things had been taken away from this neighborhood, and he would like to have Judge Hardy start a collection of local Indian relics. He knew that some regarded him as a sentimentalist about the Six Nations, but he believed them to be capable of attaining any heights, becoming members of parliament, and perhaps even providing a premier for the land they once owned. He had heard some men say that the Six Nations should be removed to the north or the west, and their lands be opened for white settlement. He protested most strongly against that. In former times it was largely the Indian trade that had made Brantford, and he was old enough to know how much that fact had been appreciated by the business men of the earlier days. They deserved—richly deserved—the lands given them in Brant county for loyalty to the British crown in a time of peril, and to attempt to force them back from the present reserve would be to break faith and pledges. It could never be done.

After luncheon Chief William Hill was the first speaker. His address was in the Indian language and seemed to please those who understood it.

Warrior Jacob Hill, dressed in regular war costume, his face covered with vermilion and his hands filled with bows and arrows, was called on for a speech. He said he had dropped in accidentally and did not know what the multitude of people meant. On being told the cause of the gathering, he said he was prepared for war but not for speech-making, so he would withdraw.

John Gibson, of the Senecas, made an address in his own language.

William G. Raymond, Postmaster of Brantford, said that if Brant could but stand for a moment on the banks of the Grand River, and view the great changes, he would see naught but what he had laid the foundation for. This successful application of methods by Brant and his followers, he considered, was an example to be followed by all men. He thought that the Six Nations Indians had justly earned every privilege that was granted by the Government and sincerely hoped that the removal of the Reserve was not contemplated.

Frederick Loft, of the Six Nations, employed in the Provincial Secretary's office, Toronto, spoke on the constitution of the Six Nations. He thought that the Indian was rapidly gaining a position of equality with the white man. If the Government contemplated any steps in the removal of the Reserve, they should send a delegation to discuss the matter with the Indian Council. He appreciated all the Government had done for the Indians in teaching them the different departments of agriculture, and sincerely hoped that nothing would be done to retard them from their rapid advancement. The old system of rule which had been in force in Brant's time has passed down through these many years, and though it might have many failings, yet it was a most wonderful constitution. It provided for a great many things just as modern Governments have done, and there is a great resemblance between the two constitutions. He knew that the Chiefs would never consent to be put back and hoped there would be nothing done to mar the peace of the people.

Chief J. S. Johnson considered education the means of elevation for the Indian.

Mr. F. D. Reville, seconded by Mr. E. L. Cockshutt, moved a hearty vote of thanks for the cordial reception tendered the white visitors. The proceedings closed with cheers for the King and the Indians, the latter responding with three war whoops, led by Chief J. S. Johnson.

SKETCH OF BRANT'S LIFE.

A very large audience assembled in Victoria Hall, Brantford, on Monday evening, November 25th, to listen to a patriotic lecture on the life and works of Joseph Brant, delivered by Principal H. F. Gardiner of the Ontario Institution for the Blind, a well-selected program and a speech by Chief William Smith of the Six Nations Indians. The affair was held under the auspices of the Canadian Club, which has a primary object in the dissemination of a broader knowledge of Canadian affairs. Needless to say, the lecture of Principal Gardiner was instructive in its every detail, and was of a highly patriotic color from beginning to end. The days of the early revolutionary wars, especially in relation to the settlement of this part of the province by the Six Nations brought about by their removal from the Mohawk valley before the onslaughts of Sullivan and his artillery, were lucidly portrayed by the speaker. He suggested that one good object the Canadian Club could accomplish would be to mark out the place where Joseph Brant lived between the Mohawk Church and the locks at the river, by the erection of a stone monument. He thought it was a subject calling for the patriotic attention of Brantfordites.

Miss Russell, graduate of the Toronto Conservatory of Music, contributed to the program in very fine style. She recited a poem of Miss Pauline Johnson's, and received a meritorious encore. Miss Russell possesses a very pleasing manner, and is an elocutionist of rare ability. Mr. Joyce also contributed solos to the program, and was in very fine voice. Chief William Smith of the Reserve, was the representative of the Six Nations present, and made a patriotic but brief address in which he expressed unswerving loyalty to the British crown and the Canadian Government. The evening was brought to a close with the singing of the National Anthem, and proved a most enjoyable one in every respect.

Mr. Gardiner said he felt complimented by the invitation of the Brantford Canadian Club to speak about Joseph Brant, especially as he was not a native of the city or the county whose names commemorate the great Indian chieftain, who died 100 years ago. He must be a poor Canadian who could not appreciate the labors and the services, the achievements and the character of a man who had devoted the best years of his life to the interests of the British crown and the welfare of his own race. In the time at his disposal he could not attempt to tell anything like the full story of Brant's life, but without regard to style or method he would endeavor to crowd into his remarks as much informa-

tion as possible about the man in honor of whose memory the meeting had been called.

BRANT'S BIRTH, PARENTAGE AND EDUCATION.

In the eighteenth century the Indian tribe to which Joseph Brant, or Thayendanegea, belonged, dwelt in the valley of the Mohawk, a river 135 miles long, which flows in a southeasterly direction and empties into the Hudson about 10 miles north of Albany, N.Y. But his parents must have strayed many miles from home, for Joseph is said to have been born in the year 1742, "on the banks of the Ohio," a sufficiently indefinite location, since the length of the Ohio River, from Cairo, Ill., to Pittsburg, Pa., is 975 miles. The Ohio at one point comes within little more than 100 miles of Lake Erie, and its chief branch, the Alleghany, approaches within 14 miles of that lake. According to one account, Brant's father died in the Ohio country, and his mother came back to the Mohawk with Joseph and his sister Mary, where she took for her second husband a man named Barnet or Burnet, which was contracted into Brant. Another version makes Joseph Brant the grandson of the Indian Brant, who visited Queen Anne in England in 1710, and the son of Nickus Brant, who lived in the Mohawk country and was mentioned in the papers of Sir William Johnson. Colonel Stone says that Brant was a well-known family name in England. In 1458—nearly 300 years before the birth of Joseph Brant on the banks of the Ohio—Sebastion Brant was born in Strasburg, Germany. He wrote a book containing a poem called the *Narrenschiff*, or *Ship of Fools*, which was translated into Latin, French and English (1508), and it was the first book published in the English language which contained any mention of the New World.

It is not recorded that Brant went to school when a child, but after he had seen some service as a warrior he attended Dr. Wheelock's school at Lebanon, Conn., probably from 1759 to 1761. The labors which he performed as a translator of the Scriptures, his letters and speeches, and his intimate friendship with learned men, indicate that Brant attained considerable culture, probably to a great extent by private study. His essay on "American Antiquities and the Relative Advantages of Savage and Civilized Life," quoted by Stone, betokens extensive reading and keen, intelligent observation. An illiterate savage could not have been esteemed by men like Boswell, Sheridan, the Earl of Moira and the Duke of Northumberland, as Brant undoubtedly was.

When a mere child, during the war between the English and the French, he listened to the call to arms.

BRANT THE WARRIOR.

Brant was at the battle of Lake George, under Sir William Johnson, in 1755, being then only about 13 years old. The Mohawks were led by their King Hendrick, who was slain. For his success in that expedition Sir William received a baronetcy and £5,000.

In 1759 Brant accompanied Sir William Johnson against the French at Niagara. General Prideaux being killed, Sir William assumed command and the fort was taken, thus breaking the chain of forts that the French had designed to establish from Canada to Louisiana.

In 1763-64 Brant was engaged in the war against Pontiac, the Ottawa chief, who captured Mackinaw and besieged Detroit, having combined Delawares, Wyandots, Shawnees, Mingoes and Chippewas against the western garrisons and settlers. Pontiac submitted to the British in 1766. Brant returned from the expedition in 1764 and lived a peaceful life until the outbreak of the Revolution.

In May, 1776, Brant led the Indians at the battle of The Cedars, 40 miles above Montreal. Major Sherbourne surrendered to the British.

Brant's first raid on any of the New York settlements was in May, 1777. In June of that year he went south through the Mohawk country as far as Unadilla on the Susquehanna. He there had an interview with General Herkimer, and announced to him that he was engaged to serve the King. Thence he went to a council at Oswego, where the alliance of the Six Nations with the British was cemented.

Later, in 1777, returning from St. Leger's expedition against Fort Stanwix, Brant met with a severe loss in an engagement, which he attributed to the Oneidas, and attacked them. In retaliation they plundered Miss Molly at the Upper Mohawk Town, and she and her family fled to the Onondagas. She got and gave information which enabled Brant to ambuscade General Herkimer at Oriskany, where there was a drawn battle, both sides losing heavily and both claiming the victory.

In the spring of 1778 Brant was again on the Susquehanna below Unadilla. His first movement was on Springfield, ten miles west of Cherry Valley. He was not at Wyoming, where Colonel John Butler was in command. The fact of his absence from that alleged "massacre" was fully established by John Brant and acknowledged by the poet Campbell, who wrote "Gertrude of Wyoming."

In July, 1778, Brant attacked and wiped out of existence Andrustown, and in August of the same year he laid waste German Flats.

In November he served under Walter Butler in the attack on Cherry Valley.

In July, 1779, Brant destroyed Minisink, and devastated other small places in the Mohawk Valley.

In August, 1779, General Sullivan defeated Brant at Newtown on the site of the present Elmira. The Indians could not stand against Sullivan's artillery, and they were not only defeated, but demoralized. Sullivan proceeded through their country, utterly destroying the houses, their corn and their orchards, which he was surprised to find in such abundance. This policy was adopted by order of General Washington and the American Congress. Sullivan went as far west as the Genessee country and he could have taken Fort Niagara, the winter quarters of the British and Indians, if he had pursued his victory.

In the winter of 1779-80 Brant invaded the Oneida Indians.

On April, 1780, he surprised and destroyed Harpersfield, but saved the life of Col. Harper, ancestor of the New York publishers.

In May, 1780, Brant attacked the Saugerties settlements; in August he burned Canajoharie; in October he successfully invaded the Schoharie country.

After the close of the war, Brant was interested in the formation of a confederacy of the Northwest Indians against the United States. He attended councils on the Detroit River, and in the Miami country, helped to defeat General St. Clair in 1791, and kept in close touch with military affairs until the conclusion of Wayne's Treaty in 1795.

HOW INDIANS FOUGHT.

Rev. Peter Jones, in his chapter on the mode of Indian warfare, says that "the more scalps they take the more they are revered and consulted by their tribe. Their mode of action is entirely different from that of civilized nations. They have no idea of meeting the enemy upon an open plain face to face, to be shot at like dogs, as they say. Their aim is to surprise the enemy by darting upon them in an unexpected moment, or in the dead of night. They always take care, in the first place, to ascertain the position of the enemy. When they find them unprepared or asleep, they creep up stealthily and slowly, like panthers in pursuit of their prey; when sufficiently near, they simultaneously raise the war whoop, and before the enemy awake or have time to defend themselves, the tomohawk is rattling over their heads. When a

village, a wigwam, or a party is thus surprised, there is seldom any mercy shown either to age or sex; all are doomed to feel the weight of the tomahawk and the deep incision of the bloody scalping knife. Such close battles, if they may be so called, seldom last more than a few minutes. If a captive is not adopted by some family who have lost a relative in the war, he is compelled to undergo the most painful death, by being burned alive either at the stake or tree. It is stated that the Indian victims thus burned have never betrayed any weakness in complaining of the severity of their punishment by shedding a tear, or uttering a groan; but, on the contrary, have been known to upbraid their tormentors, telling them that they did not know how to give pain."

With the wisdom that comes after the event, it is now generally conceded that it was a mistake for Britain to employ Indians in the war against the revolting colonies; not that the Americans can afford to throw stones, for they were anxious to get the Indians to fight on their side, and there was not much to choose between the treatment of the whites by the Indians, and the treatment of the Indians by the whites. The Indians practiced the trade of war—always dreadful—in conformity with their own usages and laws. The scalping of a slain foe was not in their opinion barbarous. The scalplock was an emblem of chivalry. The warrior was careful to leave the lock of defiance on his crown, for his enemies to take if they could get it. The stake and the torture were identified with their rude notions of the power of endurance. But whatever degree of hardship and suffering their female captives were compelled to endure their persons were never dishonored by violence; a fact which can be predicated of no other victorious soldiery that ever lived.

The name of Brant has been connected with every species of atrocity from the "massacre" of Wyoming, at which he was not even present, to the deliberate murder of a prisoner. But Colonel Stone has collected evidence to show that on many occasions Brant saved the lives of those who were opposed to him, and while he says that "no matter for the difficulties or the distance, wherever a blow could be struck to any advantage, Joseph Brant was sure to be there." He adds that "there is no good evidence that Brant was himself a participator in secret murders or attacks upon isolated individuals or families." He fought and he fought to win—to kill rather than to be killed. "Whether in the conduct of a campaign or of a scouting party, in the pitched battle or the foray, this crafty and dauntless chieftain was sure to be one of the most efficient, as he was one of the bravest, of those who were engaged. Combining with the native

hardihood and sagacity of his race the advantages of education and of civilized life—in acquiring which he had lost nothing of his activity or his power of endurance—he became the most formidable border foe with whom the Provincials had to contend, and his name was a terror to the land.”

BRANT'S DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

Some time previous to 1765 Joseph Brant married Margaret, the daughter of the Oneida chief, and for several years he lived at Canajoharie on the Mohawk. When Rev. Dr. Stewart visited him there in 1771, he found him comfortably settled in a good house, with everything necessary for the use of his family, consisting of his wife, his son, Isaac, and his daughter, Christina. After Margaret's death, he married her half-sister, Susanna, who died shortly after her marriage without issue. In 1780, at Niagara, he was regularly wedded to his third wife, Catharine, with whom he had been living, according to the Indian fashion, for some time previous. She survived him for thirty years, dying in 1837 at the Mohawk village on the Grand River. By his third wife, Brant had seven children, Joseph, jr., who died in 1830, leaving a daughter, Catharine, who married Aaron Hill; Jacob, who died in 1846, leaving six children; John, who died in 1832, unmarried; Margaret, who died in 1848, leaving several children; Catharine, who died in 1867, having had three children; Mary, who married Seth Hill, and Elizabeth, who died in 1844, having married William Johnson Kerr, a grandson of Sir William Johnson. She had four children, one of whom, Chief Simcoe Kerr, was living at Burlington in 1871. Brant's two children, by his first wife, married and left issue. His sister, Mary, or "Miss Molly," as she was called, is described in Sir William Johnson's will as "my faithful housekeeper," and to her children he left money and land. Dr. Canniff says: "We cannot excuse the conduct of Sir William, when he had lost his European wife, in taking the sister of Brant, Miss Molly, without the form of matrimonial alliance; but we must concede every allowance for the times in which he lived. But while grave doubt may rest upon the moral principle displayed by him, we see no just reason to reflect in any way upon the Indian female. Miss Molly took up her abode with Sir William, and lived with him as a faithful spouse until he died. However, this must not be regarded as indicating depravity on the part of the simple-minded native. It must be remembered that the Indian's mode of marrying consists of but little more than the young squaw leaving the father's wigwam,

and repairing to that of her future husband, and there is no reason to doubt that Miss Molly was ever other than a virtuous woman. And this belief is corroborated by the fact that four daughters, the issue of this alliance, were most respectably married."

Captain Campbell, who visited Brant's house on the Grand River in 1792, reported that "Captain Brant, who is well acquainted with European manners, received us with much politeness and hospitality. Mrs. Brant appeared, superbly dressed in the Indian fashion. Her blanket was made up of silk and the finest English cloth, bordered with a narrow strip of embroidered lace. They have a fine family of children. Tea was on the table when we came in, served up on the handsomest china plate; our beds, sheets and English blankets were fine and comfortable. Two slaves attended the table."

A few years before his death, Captain Brant built a residence on a fine tract of land at the head of Lake Ontario, given to him by the King, but after his death Mrs. Brant came back to the Grand River to live.

BRANT THE BUSINESS MAN.

Brant's record and ability as a man of business cannot be completely understood without reference to the Canadian Archives, in which his name frequently appears. His caution was displayed in going to Montreal in 1775 to negotiate with Carleton and Haldimand about compensation for the lands of the Six Nations in the Mohawk Valley in case the British arms should not be successful. His visit to England to have the King and Government confirm the arrangement and to have his standing in the service confirmed, before committing any overt act against the enemy, was well advised. After the war, he insisted that Haldimand should implement his promise, and made a second visit to England. He had managed to have the women and other non-combatants removed from the Mohawk Valley to Canada early in the struggle, and when peace came he soon got them comfortably settled on the Grand River reserve. How he provided for his own household has been described. He doubtless had many unrecorded difficulties in the distribution and disposal of the land grant, but he seems to have taken a broad view of the future of his people, and his personal honesty is conceded.

THE LAND GRANT ON GRAND RIVER.

The Neuter nation, on the north shore of Lake Erie, like the Eries or Cats on the south shore of the same lake, had been practically exterminated by the Iroquois about the middle of the seventeenth century,

so that there were few human beings in that part of Canada between the Niagara and Detroit Rivers. The Chippewas or Mississaugas laid claim to the country, so the Government bought out their right to a tract bounded on the east by a straight line running from the north end of Burlington Beach to the Falls of the Grand River (Elora), and on the west by a line from the Falls of Elora to the mouth of Catfish Creek, on Lake Erie, about midway from the present Port Stanley to Port Burwell.

Out of this tract, on October 25th, 1784, Sir Frederick Haldimand, by an instrument under his hand and seal declared that the Six Nations "and their posterity should be allowed to possess and enjoy a tract of land six miles in depth on each side of the Grand River," from its mouth to the Elora Falls, a distance of 100 miles. This grant would include, counting land and water, 1,200 square miles, or 768,000 acres, covering the present townships of Sherbrooke, Moulton, Dunn, Canboro', Cayuga, Seneca, Oneida, Tuscarora, Onondaga, Brantford, Dumfries, Waterloo, Woolwich, Pilkington and Nichol. This tract, though much smaller than that which they had been obliged to forsake in the United States, amply satisfied these loyal Indians; indeed, it was not long before they began to dispose of part of their grant. Brant and his people had supposed, it was alleged, that the territory allotted to them had been conveyed in fee by a perfect title. W. H. Smith says: "It is hardly necessary to remark that an estate in fee simple in lands, belonging to the crown, could not be conveyed by Sir Frederick Haldimand's mere license of occupation under his seal. Letters patent, under the Great Seal of England, or of the Province of Quebec, could alone have conferred such a title." It had been expressly declared in 1763, and again in 1788 and 1789, that the Indians were never to alienate their lands without the assent of the crown.

The Indians had not been long in occupancy of the new territory on the Grand River before the white settlers began to plant themselves in their neighborhood. Brant saw that the hunting grounds of his people would be thus circumscribed, and he also saw without regret that the effect would be to drive his people from the hunter to the agricultural state, in which case the territory would be too large, instead of too small. He conceived the idea of selling part of the land for money for the immediate improvement of the people, and part in such a way as to secure a permanent revenue for the Indians. This led to disputes with the Government, especially in Governor Simcoe's time.

The principal chiefs and warriors, in the name of the whole, executed on November 2nd, 1796, a formal power of attorney, authorizing

Captain Brant to surrender into the hands of the Government certain portions of the lands possessed by them, and for which they had found, or intended to find, purchasers, so that His Majesty, thus holding those portions of their lands, relieved from the pledge which had been given for their exclusive possession, might make a clear and free grant, in fee simple, by letters patent, to such persons as the Indians might agree to sell to. This method of proceeding was clearly in accordance with the nature of the tenure under which the Six Nations held, and was, in principle at least, as proper as could be devised for protecting the interests of the Indians and guarding them against hasty and indiscreet sales. The tract which Captain Brant was authorized to surrender was described in the power of attorney referred to, and was stated to contain 310,391 acres. From a report made to the Government in 1830 the disposition of those lands can be ascertained:

94,305 acres, now constituting the township of Dumfries, were sold to P. Steadman for £8,841. This tract passed into the possession of Hon. William Dickson, who paid the price and opened the land for settlement.

94,012 acres, the township of Waterloo, were sold to Richard Beasley, James Wilson and John B. Rousseaux for £8,887.

3,000 acres additional were given to Mr. Beasley to make up a deficiency in Waterloo township.

86,078 acres, the township of Woolwich, were sold to William Wallace for £16,364. Mr. Wallace paid for 7,000 acres, and the Indians reported to the commission that they had given from this tract 10,000 acres to Mrs. Claus, daughter of Sir William Johnson, and 5,000 acres to Captain Brant. Jacob Erb had bargained for 45,185 acres of Woolwich township at half a dollar per acre.

28,152 acres, Nichol township, were sold to Hon. Thomas Clark for £3,564, payable in 1,000 years from the date of the bond, the interest to be paid annually.

30,800 acres, the township of Moulton, were sold to W. Jarvis for £5,775; sold out to Lord Selkirk, who sold to Henry J. Boulton.

The township of Canboro' was granted to John Dockstader, who transferred it to Benjamin Canby for the benefit of Dockstader's Indian children. It was reported that Canby had paid neither principal nor interest.

The township of Sherbrooke appears to have been given to Mr. Dickson, on his agreement to transact all necessary business of a professional character for the Indians.

15,000 acres, comprised in the township of Pilkington, were sold to Captain Pilkington.

The commissioners reported: "Whether Captain Joseph Brant did or did not on all occasions execute the trust reposed in him faithfully towards the Indians the trustees are unable to judge, no evidence having been laid before them upon that subject; and it is indeed only right to observe that no improper conduct whatever has been imputed to him before the trustees; and they are, therefore, bound to assume that he discharged his duty with due fidelity."

Until long after Brant's death, that is to say, until 1830, the entire area of what is now Brantford township remained in possession of the Six Nations Indians, but at that date the town plot of Brantford and the north part of the township were deeded away and further surrenders were made from time to time until the whole township was ceded and settled.

BRANT THE PATRIOT.

Brant was to the day of his death an Indian chief, owing his first duty to his kindred and his nation. He was ready to contest Indian rights with Governor Simcoe, Agent Claus or any other disputant. Nor were his sympathies confined to the Six Nations. For years he was active on behalf of the Indians west of the Detroit River, and only gave up the struggle when he became convinced that the cause could expect no assistance from Great Britain. It was Brant's proud boast that he had never taken pay for work done on behalf of the Indians. He also claimed that his loyal devotion to the British cause during the War of the Revolution was in fulfilment of the pledges given by his forefathers.

One of his biographers says that the interests of his people, which were ever uppermost in his mind while in the fulness of health and strength, seemed to be foremost in his thoughts to the end. His last words were: "Have pity upon the poor Indians; if you can get any influence with the great, endeavor to do them all the good you can." With these sentiments paramount in his thoughts, Joseph Thayendanegea died. His remains were brought to the burying grounds which surround the old Mohawk Church, and there interred among those of many of his kindred.

Forty-three years passed away. The flight of time and the corroding hand of neglect were fast obliterating the little mounds of earth which marked the last resting place of Joseph Brant and his son and successors, John Brant. In the year 1850 the remains of the two chiefs

were re-interred in one common vault. The *Brantford Herald* of November 27th, 1850, said:

"On Monday last the remains of Thayendanegea, which had been previously exhumed, were placed in the tomb at the Mohawk that had been recently prepared for their reception. This was done with no small degree of pageantry. The vast multitude of people who had assembled from different quarters went in procession from the town of Brantford to the Mohawk village. Addresses were delivered by Rev. A. Nelles, Rev. P. Jones, Sir Allan McNab, D. Thorburn, Esq., and others, among whom was an American gentleman whose father had many years ago been most generously treated by Brant. After the speaking was concluded the interment took place, when three volleys were fired over the grave of the brave and faithful Indian soldier, Captain Joseph Brant."

In his address on that occasion Rev. Peter Jones said that Brant's adherence to Great Britain was strong and sincere; and in consequence of that attachment the Six Nations lost their extensive fertile country, now the garden of the state of New York. No one can dispute his gravity. In Indian language it may be said of him: 'His eye was like the eagle's—his motions like arrows from the bow—his enemies fell before him as the trees before the blast of the Great Spirit.' Brant was the principal means of the erection of this church, now the oldest in Canada, and procured the bell which has so often summoned the people of God together to worship in his holy courts; and has tolled for hundreds of those whose bones now lie in that sacred yard. I am informed that it tolled, when Brant died, 24 hours. I am happy to learn that our white friends have it in their hearts to erect a monument to the memory of the Indian brave, that succeeding generations may see and know the hero after whom the town of Brantford is named."

BRANT, THE GENTLEMEN.

Mr. Stewart denies that the family of Brant occupied a pre-eminent position in their village on the Mohawk River, and contends that Joseph's influence was acquired by his uncommon talents and address as a councillor and politician. "Distinguished alike for his address, his activity and his courage—possessing in point of stature and symmetry of person that advantage of most men even among his own well formed race—tall, erect and majestic, with the air and mien of one born to command—having, as it were, been a man of war since his boyhood—his name was a tower of strength among the warriors of the wilderness." Re-

garding his first visit to England in 1776, it has always been said that he was not only well received, but that his society was courted by men of rank and station—statesmen, scholars and divines. He had little of the savage ferocity of his people in his countenance; and when, as he ordinarily did, he wore the English dress, there was nothing besides his color mark to mark wherein he differed from other men. He was provided with a splendid costume after the manner of his own nation, in which he appeared at court.

On his second visit to England in 1785-86, he was received with even greater favor, for he had made the acquaintance of many officers of the army and other persons of prominence who vied with one another to do honor to Brant. Lord Dorchester, Earl Moira, General Stuart, the Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Warwick, Charles Fox, the Bishop of London and the Prince of Wales were among his intimates. With King George II. and the royal family he was a great favorite. Speaking of the people he met at the table of the Prince of Wales—Fox, Burke and Sheridan, and others of that splendid galaxy of eloquence and intelligence—Col. Stone says that, "though deficient in his literary acquisitions, Brant, with great strength of mind and shrewdness of observation, had moreover sufficient taste and cultivation to appreciate society, even of this elevated and intellectual character. The natural reserve of the Indian he could assume or throw off at pleasure and with a keen sense of the ludicrous he could himself use the weapons of humor and sarcasm with a good share of skill and dexterity." Brant's method of impressing the Turkish diplomat who had allowed his curiosity to get the better of his caution is too well known to require repetition.

BRANT'S RELIGION.

About the time of Brant's second marriage (1772-3) he became the subject of serious religious impressions. He attached himself to the church, was a chastened and regular communicant at the celebration of the Eucharist; and from his serious deportment, and the anxiety he had ever manifested to civilize and Christianize his people, great hopes were entertained from his future exertions in that cause. No doubt has ever been entertained of his sincerity at that time; and it has been attributed to the counteracting influences of the dreadful trade of war, in which it was his fortune afterward again so actively to become engaged, that those manifestations of Christian utility were effaced; entirely eradicated they were not, as was shown at a subsequent stage of the career of this remarkable man. As far back as 1762 Rev. Charles

J. Smith, a missionary to the Mohawks, took Brant as an interpreter. Rev. Dr. Wheelock receiving a report from Rev. Mr. Kirkland that, on account of the outbreak of the war, Mr. Smith was obliged to return, but Joseph tarried and went out with a company against the Indians and was useful in the war; in which he behaved so much like the Christian and the soldier that he gained great esteem; adding "he now lives in a decent manner, and endeavors to teach his poor brethern the things of God, in which his own heart seems much engaged. His house is an asylum for the missionaries in that wilderness."

Brant assisted in translating the prayer book and portions of the Scriptures into the Mohawk language, and after he came to reside in Canada, his efforts for the moral and religious improvement of his people were indefatigable. One of his first stipulations with the commander-in-chief, on the acquisition of his new territory, was for the building of a church, a school house and a flouring mill and he soon made application for a resident clergyman. It is no less interesting than true that the first Episcopal Church erected in Upper Canada was built by Brant, from funds collected by him while in England in 1786. The communion service is of beaten silver, each piece bearing an inscription stating it to have been given to the Mohawks for the use of their chapel by Queen Anne. The church bell was made by John Warner, Fleet Street, London, 1786. Brant died at Wellington Square (now Burlington), on November 24, 1807, at the age of 64, and his remains were interred by the side of the Mohawk Church on the Grand River. Not far away is the institute for the education of Indian children, maintained by the New England Company, which was originally constituted a corporation under the name of "The President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England," by an ordinance issued in 1649. It was this Company which supported various missionary undertakings in New England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, until interrupted by the war between Britain and her colonies. The operations of the Company have since been carried on in what is now the Dominion of Canada.

THE MAN BRANT.

As a warrior, Brant was cautious, sagacious and brave; watching with sleepless vigilance for opportunities of action, and allowing neither dangers nor difficulties to divert him from his well settled purposes. His constitution was hardy, his capacity of endurance great; his energy untiring, and his firmness indomitable. He was at once affable and

dignified, avoiding frivolity on the one hand and stiffness on the other. His temperament was decidedly amiable; he had a keen perception of the ludicrous, and was both humorous and witty himself. In his dealings and business relations he was prompt, honorable and expert, and a pattern of integrity. The purity of his private morals has never been questioned, and his house was the abode of kindness and hospitality.

F. W. Halsey, in his book on "The Old New York Frontier," says that in the town named after him an imposing monument perpetuates the memory of Brant. In that soil, therefore, sleeps in his last sleep the most interesting Indian, who, in that eventful eighteenth century, forever linked his name with the history of central New York. Stone is not alone among Brant's eulogists. William C. Bryant, of Buffalo, had remarked that the evidence is incontestable that he was a great man—in many respects the most extraordinary his race has produced since the advent of the white man on this continent; and John Fiske, in one of his later books, declares that he was the most remarkable Indian known to history. Schoolcraft calls him the Jephtha of his tribe, and lauds his firmness and energy of purpose as qualities, which few among the American aborigines have ever equalled. But the best evidence of the man's personal worth lies in the high respect and friendship which he inspired among educated and titled Englishmen, as shown in many ways and notably in his correspondence. Brant, says Halsey in conclusion, has deserved no large part of that load of obloquy which on this frontier for many years rested upon his name. He was better than the Tories under whose guidance he served, and far better than most Indian chiefs of his time. There was much in the man that was kindly and humane. If he loved war, this was because he loved his friends and his home still more. He fought in battle with the vigor and skill of a savage, but we are to remember that he fought where honor called him. To the story of his life peculiar fascination must long be attached, a large part of which springs from the potent charm of an open personality. In Brant's character were joined strength and humanity, genius for war and that unfamiliar quality in the Mohawk savage, bonhomie.

Mr. Gardiner said he had not attempted to depict Brant as a man free from imperfections. He had his faults, as which of us has not? Doubtless, he made mistakes. His judgments were not infallible. Could he have foreseen that, within one hundred years from the time when he sold hundreds of thousands of acres for 50 cents an acre, payable either in spot cash or at the end of 1,000 years, Woolwich, Waterloo, Dumfries and the other townships bordering the Grand River would be filled with smiling farms, while the hum of manufacturing industry would be

heard from such busy centres of population as Berlin, Preston, Galt, Paris and Brantford, he would probably have advised the leasing of the lands at a ground rent adjustable every 40 or 50 years, and would thus have secured for his people an ample income for all time to come. Doubtless, in the lust of battle, he committed acts for which he was afterwards sorry. But Brant has now been dead long enough for an unprejudiced public to estimate him fairly, and the verdict will surely be that the good in him far outweighed the evil, and that his name is entitled to rank with the Robinsons and Ryersons, the Merritts and McNabs, the Tisdales and Sherwoods, the Cartwrights and Hamiltons whom by common consent Canadians delight to honor. Joseph Brant was a man, take him for all in all, we shall not look upon his like again.

V.

THE PIONEERS OF MIDDLESEX.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

You will see by the addenda that the paper I have promised to read is entitled "The Pioneers of Middlesex," though that scarcely correctly describes my attempt. What I intend to speak to you about is certainly men who were pioneers in the county of Middlesex, though I intend to deal principally with them in their character as pioneers and founders of the city of London.

London, often spoken of as the Forest City, from the fact that when and for many years after it was first laid out, indeed, until a period well within living memory, there remained a wide expanse of unbroken forest within a very short distance of the site upon which this beautiful city of the west now stands.

In the year 1826 Thomas Talbot, Mahlon Burwell, James Hamilton, Charles Ingersoll and John Matthews were appointed by government Commissioners to erect county buildings in the town of London, in the Province of Upper Canada, which had been named as the county town of the county of Middlesex in the same province in the place of Victoria previously named.

Before going any further a few words may be said about some of these commissioners. Thomas Talbot was the famous Colonel Talbot, who came to Canada with Governor Simcoe in 1792, and eleven years later, in the year 1803, founded the town of St. Thomas. It would occupy more time than the Ontario Historical Society has at its disposal for the whole of its meeting, to attempt to give any history of the famous Thomas Talbot.

His whole life is bound up with the city of St. Thomas, with the early settlers on Lake Erie, with the Talbot Settlement and the county of Elgin. He is one of the most notable characters of the early days of Upper Canada, now Ontario, and one could only deal efficiently with the circumstances of his advent in Canada and his subsequent sojourn here in a long series of papers.

Mahlon Burwell, another of the commissioners, was a Colonel of Militia. He was one of the very earliest settlers on the shores of Lake Erie, the town of Port Burwell receiving its name from him.

James Hamilton was a member of the famous Niagara family of that name. They were, 80 years ago, greatly interested in the lake trade; built several steamers themselves and exercised a wide influence in the province.

Charles Ingersoll was the founder of the town of Ingersoll in the county of Oxford, where he was a very large land owner. Of John Matthews I do not possess any very accurate information, beyond the fact that he was a prominent figure of Lobo.

Every student of Canadian History is aware that Governor Simcoe, when he first visited Upper Canada, had it in his mind to plant his capital on the River La Tranche, on the site now occupied by London. This idea, though, was speedily abandoned, and it was quite thirty years after Governor Simcoe's time before the present city of London was founded.

In 1826 the first survey was made for the proposed town. The work was carried out by Colonel Mahlon Burwell, assisted by Freeman Talbot and Benjamin Springer as chain bearers.

Everything must have a beginning and the first beginning of the present city of London was very modest, indeed, some two or three log cabins being the first houses erected.

Colonel Talbot had a very great deal to do with settling the place. He was apparently land commissioner, the patents all being in his hands; but it must also be admitted that the conditions entitling a proposed settler to a tract of land were not very rigid. They were the payment of a fee of £8 currency or \$32 upon the patent, with the additional condition that they built a house, the quality not being specified, though the size was to be 24 feet by 18. There were no stipulations as to it being a one or a two-storey building, and it goes without saying that no sanitary regulations were enforced; all the settler had to do was to pay the patent fee and build any kind of a shack that he fancied so long as it was at least 24 feet in length.

The boundaries of the first town were Wellington Street on the east, North Street, now known as Carling Street, on the north, and the River Thames on the south and west.

Among the very early settlers were Robert Carfrae, who was related to a well known resident of York, Hugh Carfrae; John Yerex, Dennis O'Brien, Patrick McMannis and Thomas Fisher. John Yerex was father of the first native born Londoner, Nathaniel Yerex, who first saw the light of day in 1826, very shortly after the survey was made for the new town. Information is very vague as to the first year or two of London's history, though it is known that in the year 1827 the

total population of the place numbered 133, there being in all thirty-three families. The first marriage, which took place in the town, was that of Thomas Carling, father of the late Senator Carling, to Miss Anne Routledge, and it was performed not by a clergyman but by a magistrate, Colonel Mahlon Burwell.

Reference has been made previously to the county buildings. These were duly erected and completed in 1827, the builders being Ewart & Clarke, who were contractors in the town of York, now Toronto, the former of whom, two years later, erected the buildings on the north side of King Street West in that city, between Simcoe and John Streets, which for more than sixty years was the home of Upper Canada College.

Among the very early merchants in London was an American citizen, George Goodhue, who soon became a naturalized British subject and for many years occupied a prominent and responsible position, both as business man and a politician in the Province of Upper Canada. Mr. Goodhue commenced business in London in 1829, and very shortly afterwards was joined by Lawrence Lawrason, who was the first postmaster in the place.

There are many of Mr. Goodhue's relatives and descendants still living in the province, while there are still not a few residents in the city who have a vivid recollection of the gentleman himself.

Lawrence Lawrason, his partner, was a Canadian by birth, having been born in the Province of Upper Canada early in the last century. His father had emigrated to this country at a period the date of which I am uncertain.

Lawrence Lawrason married Miss Abigail Lee, a daughter of Dr. Hooker Lee and a sister of Dr. Hiram D. Lee, one of the pioneer medical practitioners in the London district. By this marriage there were two daughters and one son born to Mr. and Mrs. Lawrason. The latter married a Miss Bettridge, of Woodstock, and died in Muskoka from the effects of an accident about twenty years ago. One of Mr. Lawrason's daughters, Mrs. Reed, of British Columbia, survives, while the remaining one, the late Mrs. Lionel Ridout, died about fourteen years since. Mr. Lawrason was a Conservative among Conservatives in his political views and sat in the Provincial Parliament as member for London in the year 1844. He continued in business in partnership with Mr. Goodhue for many years. When that partnership was dissolved he was joined by his wife's nephew, Hiram Chisholm, and then a few years later, having retired from active business, he was appointed the first police magistrate for London. He died in 1881. His wife survived him for about sixteen years.

Another of the early settlers whom I have mentioned was Thomas Fisher. He only lived in London for two or three years, but he was one of those who assisted in making the first clearing. After leaving the newly-founded town, which he did somewhere about 1829, Thomas Fisher removed to the township of Etobicoke in the county of York, and there on the River Humber established a grist mill which continued in operation under various owners from early in the thirties until about 1860. Mr. Fisher died about 1878 at a very great age, but to the very last he was pleased to relate that he had taken part in the foundation of London.

The first two-story frame house and store erected in London was the work of G. J. Goodhue, and the first post office was opened by Lawrence Lawrason, who afterwards joined the former in business, as I have previously stated. One of the very first, if not the very first, doctor in London, to whom belongs the honor of establishing what is now the present city hospital, was Archibald Chisholm. Dr. Chisholm married Selina, the eldest daughter of Dr. Hooker Lee and sister of Lawrence Lawrason's wife. Dr. Chisholm died in 1832 or 1833. The date is somewhat uncertain but the former is the more probable one. His widow, on January 29th, 1834, married Colonel Edward William Thompson of Toronto township, who died in 1865, and Mrs. Thompson, formerly Mrs. Chisholm, died in Toronto in 1884.

Dr. William Hooker Lee, who has previously been mentioned, died in London, Ontario, March 30th, 1829, aged 67 years. One of Dr. Lee's sons, Hiram Davis Lee, who had studied medicine and taken his degree, played a very prominent part, not only in the history of the province but in that of the town of London. Having in his earlier days seen service in the War of 1812 and thus brought himself under the notice of the authorities, he was, on October 14th, 1833, appointed Government Medical Officer for London District. Dr. Lee married in 1819 Anne Terry, daughter of Parshall Terry, one of the most notorious of the U. E. Loyalists, who settled in Canada, he having been a Lieutenant in the famous corps of Butler's Rangers who fought with such intrepidity and vigor during the Revolutionary War. When the revolted colonists attained their independence Parshall Terry and the whole of the other officers of the rangers found it highly desirable to leave the new United States of America and become settlers in Canada. Parshall Terry was one of the best known of the U. E. Loyalists. He first settled in Kingston, then removed to York, being one of the most prominent of the early citizens of that place, where he also possessed a considerable amount of land, granted to him for his services. Terry was also a land

owner in the county of Middlesex. He was a member of the second provincial parliament, and died in Toronto in 1807.

Dr. Lee who was Terry's son-in-law had a very large family, one of whom is still alive, though in extreme old age, was Grace Simcoe Lee, the well-known actor of fifty years since. Dr. Lee died a victim to his own sense of public duty and heroic self-forgetfulness, whilst doing his duty among the fever-stricken emigrants suffering from the dreaded ship-fever in the emigration sheds of London in 1847.

My paper has already taken up a considerable amount of time, and yet it seems to me as if I had scarcely touched the fringe of my subject, namely, the Pioneers of London. Let me, though, go on a little further. The first Anglican clergyman in London was the Rev. E. J. Boswell, who came here in the year 1829 and established St. Paul's parish. For some reason or other Mr. Boswell does not seem to have had a very happy sojourn in London, for he only remained for about three years, being succeeded in 1832 by Benjamin Cronin, for more than thirty years rector of St. Pauls, and for nearly fourteen years Bishop of Huron.

The Anglicans in 1830 had no place of worship in London. This is shown by the fact that on January 16th, 1830, in reply to an application from Mr. Boswell that his congregation might use the court room for divine service, Colonel Mahlon Burwell writes:—

“The magistrates cannot grant the congregation the use of the court room, as it was erected for the only purpose of accommodating his Majesty's courts of law in the administration of justice. They do not conceive that they possess the right of granting you your request.”

In the year 1835 there was a small frame church built near where the present custom house stands. This was destroyed by fire in the early part of 1844, but to the credit of the congregation, almost immediately rebuilt.

The first Presbyterian minister was the Rev. William Proudfoot. His name is mentioned in many places as early as 1831. Among the Baptists the earliest name of any accredited minister belonging to that denomination is that of the Rev. Thomas Hutchins, who officiated at the solemnization of a marriage on February 4th, 1833.

The Methodist Church appears to have been fairly established in the London District about the year 1833, the name of the Rev. John Beatty frequently recurring in documents relating to that denomination.

In the Congregationalist body there was a church formed so far back as 1835, the minister of which was the Rev. William Lyall.

The Roman Catholic Church first established a congregation in the London District about 1830. It was not a remarkably strong one, as there were in the early days not a very large number of adherents of that faith in this part of Canada.

Turning to municipal matters. The first president of the village council was George J. Goodhue, who has often been mentioned already. The second in 1841 was James Givins, better known as Judge Givins.

Judge Givins was a son of Colonel James Givins, an officer in the Queen's Rangers, commanded by Governor Simcoe. He occupied a very conspicuous position in military and political circles in the early part of last century. He had great influence with the government of the day and was appointed Indian Commissioner. He was one of the very first householders in the town of York and built what was for the time a very handsome residence in the western portion of the city, which was only pulled down about 1888.

The first town warden of London was John Jennings, a well known distiller, who was appointed in 1838. The village was created a town in 1848, the first mayor being Simeon Morrell. It was created a city on January 8th, 1855, Murray Anderson being the first mayor.

The members of the Provincial Parliament were as follows:—

Hamilton Killaly, 1841.

Lawrence Lawrason, 1844.

John Wilson, 1847.

T. C. Dixon, 1851.

John Wilson, 1854.

John Carling, 1858, until Confederation.

I cannot conclude this paper without referring to two notable events in the history of London. The first was the great fire which occurred in 1845 when more than 150 buildings were destroyed and damage done to the extent of \$100,000, an enormous sum for such a poor and small place as London was then.

The next event happening in London that I wish to refer to was happily one which was for the benefit and not the injury of the town. It was the fact that in 1854 the Provincial Agricultural Association held their first exhibition there during the month of October, that exhibition being the precursor of the Western Fair which will open here next week.

VI.

THE BEGINNING OF LONDON.

By CL. T. CAMPBELL, M.D.

When Canada passed under the control of the British Government, the problems arising in the effort to govern an alien race, were rendered more serious by the influx of the loyal English, who left the United States after the establishment of the Republic. To relieve the burden of Government it was decided to divide the territory into two sections—Lower Canada, where the French element would predominate, and Upper Canada, which would be essentially English. The proclamation of Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General, announcing the new order of things, was issued on May 26th, 1791. The Governor-General, having his headquarters in Lower Canada, his authority in Upper Canada was, to some extent, delegated to a Lieutenant-Governor—Colonel John Graves Simcoe being the first appointed to that office. At the time of its constitution the population of the new province would be about 20,000. There were villages at Kingston and Newark, and a number of small settlements generally located near the St. Lawrence River and Lakes Ontario and Erie.

Col. Simcoe had served in the British army during the American Revolution. He had personal knowledge of the intense anti-British feeling in the States; and was certain that many years would not elapse before the war would be renewed. This thought dominated his policy during his administration. To settle Upper Canada with loyal Britons—soldiers, especially, and to place it in a state of defence, that would protect it from hostile raids from over the border, was to be his mission.

As he looked over the map, he saw the western part of his province especially liable to attack; for at two points—the Niagara River and the Detroit River, the enemies' forces could be easily concentrated and an invasion easily affected. To establish a strong military centre from which his forces could be promptly despatched either east or west, seemed to him a necessity.

His map at the Home Office indicated the River La Tranche to be a large stream extending from the lake well up to the northeast, with only a short portage necessary to connect it with the Ouse or Grand

River. Here was a military highway which he thought could be utilized to good advantage. Of course the maps of those days were not the most accurate. Gallinee's map (1670) the first drawn, only outlined the coast; Farquharson's (1684) indicated a river where the Thames might be, and so did that of Jeffery in 1762. A report accompanying Billini's map (1744) refers to it as the Askenessippi or Antlered River; and it appears to have been about this time that the trappers had dubbed it *La Tranche* (the cut or trench). Later geographies give it a fuller outline, and hinted at greater magnitude. But Cartography in the past never hesitated to draw on its imagination; and Col. Simcoe might be excused if his expectations were tempered by his desires.

Coming to Canada in the latter part of 1791, the Governor pursued his enquiries at Montreal with apparent success. In a letter to the Hon. Henry Dundas, Colonial Secretary, written from Montreal, on the 7th December, 1791, he says:—

"I am happy to have found in the surveyor's office an accurate survey of the River *La Tranche*. It answers my most sanguine expectations; and I have but little doubt that its communications with the Ontario and Erie will be found to be very practicable, the whole forming a route which in, all respects, may annihilate the political consequence of Niagara and Lake Erie. . . . My ideas, at present are to assemble the new corps, artificers, etc., at Cataraqui (Kingston), and to take its present garrison and visit Toronto and the heads of *La Tranche*, to pass down that river to Detroit, and early in the spring to occupy such a central position as shall be previously chosen for the capital."

The Governor had doubtless a busy winter in Newark, his temporary capital, during the first year; but he was laying his plans for the future. In a letter to the Colonial Office of April 28th, 1792, he writes:

"Toronto appears to be the natural arsenal of Lake Ontario, and to afford easy access overland to Lake Huron. The River *La Tranche*, near the navigable head of which I propose to establish the capital, by what I can gather from the few people who have visited it, will afford a safe, more certain, and I am inclined to think by taking advantage of the season, a less expensive route to Detroit than that of Niagara."

Again, on the 30th of August, he announces his intention of establishing himself at the forks of *La Tranche* in the spring following. It was in a proclamation issued this year that he christened the river the Thames.

The spring of 1793 came; and as a first step towards locating himself midway between the Niagara and Detroit Rivers, he made a trip

across the peninsula. It required two months for the journey; and that without any unnecessary delay at any point. His Secretary, Major Littlehale, kept a diary which was published in a pamphlet by Dr. Scadding some years ago. A portion of the original manuscript is in possession of the family of the late Mr. Shanly of this city.

It is not possible to map out with precision the route of this first British journey of exploration across the southwestern peninsula of Ontario. There were no cities to be seen; few settlements to be visited. The major does not seem to have taken any observations of latitude or longitude; and his references to points which were considered of interest are not always sufficiently clear for us to identify them; nor are the descriptions we get of the physical aspect of the country as exact as a scientific observer would make.

Speaking in general terms, and using the well-known names of places not then existant, we may say that, leaving Newark on the 4th of February, 1793, the governor and his party went by way of St. Catharines, Hamilton, Brantford and Woodstock, following a line from there south of the south branch of the Thames through Westminster Township to Delaware. Here they took to the ice on the river for a short distance; returning to *terra firma* they passed through the newly-established Moravian Missions to Dolson's, near Chatham, and from there to Detroit by canoe. Returning from Detroit the Governor retraced his steps to Delaware, and on Saturday, the 2nd of March, came to the forks of the Thames. Here I give the record in full:—

“March 2nd. We struck the Thames at one end of a low, flat island, enveloped with shrubs and trees. The rapidity and strength of the current were such as to have forced a channel through the mainland, being a peninsula, and to have formed the island. The Governor wished to examine the situation and its environs, and therefore remained here all day. He judged it to be a situation eminently calculated for the metropolis of all Canada. Among many other essentials it possesses the following advantages: command of territory, internal situation, central position, facility of water communication up and down the Thames into Lakes St. Clair, Erie, Huron and Superior, and for small craft to probably near the Moravian settlement; to the northward by a small portage to the waters flowing into Lake Huron; to the southeast by a carrying place into Lake Ontario and the River St. Lawrence; the soil luxuriantly fertile; the land rich and capable of being easily cleared and soon put into a state of agriculture; a pinery upon the adjacent high knoll, and other timber on the heights, well calculated for the erection of public buildings; a climate not inferior

to any part of Canada. To these natural advantages, an object of great consideration is to be added; that the enormous expense of the Indian department would be greatly diminished, if not abolished. The Indians would, in all probability be induced to become the carriers of their own peltries; and they would find a ready, continuous, commodious and equitable mart, honorably advantageous to the Government, and the community generally, without their becoming a prey to the monopolizing and unprincipled trader.

"March 3rd. We were glad to leave our wigwam early this morning, it having rained incessantly the whole night; besides, the hemlock branches upon which we slept were wet before they were gathered for our use. We first ascended the height at least 120 feet, into a continuation of the pinery already mentioned; quitting that we came to a beautiful plain, with detached clumps of white oak and open woods, then crossing a thick swampy wood, we were at a loss to discover any track; but in a few moments we were released from this dilemma by the Indians, who, making a cast, soon discovered our old path to Detroit."

Analyzing the record in the diary, we should infer that the Governor coming from Detroit, south of the Thames, struck the river at what is now called "The Cove." The stream had here made a sharp curve to the south, then west, then north, near where the curve began, thus forming a peninsula. During a heavy flood its waters had cut across the neck of the peninsula, and formed an island. How long that was before the Governor's visit we cannot tell. Spending the night at the Forks, probably where the bowling club grounds are situated, he turned southward, climbing the high bank at the Ridgeway near Becher Street, which seems to have been covered with pines. Going south, in order to strike the trail by which he had passed to Detroit the previous month, he found a plain with clumps of white oak, then a swampy wood, and finally came to the site of his former encampment on the 14th of February, which, as we learn from an earlier part of the diary, was at an Indian village, some four miles distant from two little lakes, presumably the ponds well known, between the second and third concession of Westminster.

During the summer the Governor sent Mr. McNiff to make a survey of the Forks, and in forwarding this to Mr. Dundas on the 30th of September, he wrote:

"The tract of country which lies between the river (or rather, navigable canal, as its Indian name and French translation import), and Lake Erie, is one of the finest for all agricultural purposes in North America, and far exceeds the soil or climate of the Atlantic States.

There are few or no interjacent swamps, and a variety of useful streams empty themselves into the lake or the river. . . They lead to the propriety of establishing a capital of Upper Canada, which may be somewhat distant from the centre of the colony. . . The capital I propose to be established at new London."

The settlement of the peninsula, at first confined to the lake shore and the river bank, now began moving to the interior. A treaty with the Indians, dated May 22nd, 1784, had secured for the new settlers a legitimate title to their lands. The earliest pioneers in our own neighborhood appear to have located at Delaware. James R. Brown, of Edinburgh, who published his "Views of Canada and the Colonists," in 1844, and who claimed to have his information direct from some of the original settlers, tells us that: Shortly after the landing of the U. E. Loyalists in the Niagara District, a party of them left Ancaster for the West, with tobacco, whisky, calico, knives and trinkets for the Indian trade. Striking La Tranche, about the present site of Woodstock, they took canoes and followed the river down past the forks, and camped near the present village of Delaware, making it the headquarters of their traffic with the Indians. The location pleased them, and they sent word back to their friends in Ancaster, some of whom speedily joined them, and the foundation of the first settlement was made. More precise knowledge of Delaware refers to a later period, when Governor Simcoe, following his regular policy of encouraging settlement, made a number of grants of land—including one of two thousand acres to B. Allen, on condition that he would erect a grist mill. This was commenced in 1797, on Dingman's Creek; but before he finished it Allen had to go to jail for counterfeiting. He seems to have been an energetic person, but not an exemplary citizen. A post office was established at Delaware, with Dan Springer for Postmaster. This was, at the time, the only post office between Niagara and Detroit.

The name London was connected with this locality at an early period in its history. At first it was applied only to the Governor's town site, but later to a distinct section of country. In 1787 Lord Dorchester divided Upper Canada into four districts, named from west to east, Hesse, Nassau, Mecklenberg, and Lunenberg. A few years later (1792) this intensely German nomenclature was dropped by Gov. Simcoe, and they were called Western, Home, Midland and Eastern. Subsequently there was a rearrangement: 38 George III., chap. 5, passed in 1789, divided up the province into nine districts—Western, London, Gore, Niagara, Home, Midland, Newcastle, Johnston and Eastern. These districts were subdivided into counties or "circles," though the

latter title appears to have been used only in some official documents. Section 36 of the Act gives the county of Middlesex as made up of the townships of London, Westminster, Dorchester, Yarmouth, Southwold, Dunwich, Aldboro and Delaware. In 1821, Lobo, Mosa, Ekfrid and Caradoc were added to Middlesex, and McGillivray and Biddulph in 1865. The southern townships were formed into the county of Elgin in 1852.

Townships at first were numbered, but names soon took the place of numbers; and the one laid out at the forks of the Thames and north of its south branch was called London.

The most extensive grants of land in the peninsula were made to Col. Talbot, who located not far from Port Stanley in 1803—Lord Durham's celebrated report credits him with having received 48,500 acres. North of London township the Canada Company controlled the land; at the western extremity of the peninsula Col. Baby had a large section; while east of London, Reynolds, Ingersoll and Nelles had extensive grants. And throughout the peninsula the hardy pioneer entered and took possession.

But the site of the Governor's capital remained vacant. That, however, was not his fault. Reading Canadian history casually, one might get the idea that he changed his mind and selected Toronto. As a matter of fact he never changed. His correspondence with the home office shows this clearly.

I have given an extract from his letter to Mr. Dundas in 1793, inclosing McNiff's survey, October 23rd, of the same year, he urges upon the imperial authorities the advisability of at once occupying London in the public interests; and in December he advises that the troops should be removed from Detroit—one-half to be located at Chatham, which he had selected for his future navy yard, and the rest sent to London.

A letter which he received from Dundas, dated March 16th, 1794, showed that the Government approved of his ideas as to the future capital, and he was told that the Governor-General, Lord Dorchester, had been instructed to raise two battalions of 700 men each, and from these he would receive a sufficient detachment to garrison his proposed post on the Thames and his capital city.

In all his correspondence up to the date of his removal from Canada, Simcoe persistently clung to the idea of founding his capital on the Thames. Even after buildings had been erected at York, or Toronto, for Government purposes, he would only consider them as temporary works, and in one letter we find him suggesting that, "should the seat

of Government be transferred to the Thames, the proper place, the buildings and grounds at York can be sold to lessen or liquidate the cost of their construction." (Letter to Portland, February 27th, 1796). He left the country this year, and his successor in the administration—Peter Russell—inherited his views, speaking in his reports to England of York as "The temporary seat of Government;" until Portland in September, 1797, gave him to distinctly understand that the matter was finally settled and that "the selection of York had been made on mature reflection."

The trouble was that Simcoe was only Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada, while Lord Dorchester was Governor-General of the entire colony, though Simcoe had great difficulty in realizing his subordinate position. He was in the west, and thought he knew the requirements of his own province; but Dorchester, who lived in Lower Canada, could not see the wisdom of placing the capital of Upper Canada so far away, and preferred to have it in a place more accessible by water from Montreal and Quebec. So he decided on York, and the home Government very naturally accepted the view of their chief officer in the colony. But Londoners may well bear in grateful recollection the first governor of our province, who could see no place to equal "Georgina-upon-the-Thames," as he was once inclined to name it, or London as it has ever since been known.

And so, while all around, farms were being located, and the lands being cleared, London remained in primeval beauty. George Heriot, Deputy Postmaster General of British North America, who saw it about 1807, writes of it in his "Travels through Canada." Coming eastward from Detroit up the valley of the Thames he pictures the country for us:

"In proceeding upward, the sinuosities of the river are frequent, and the summits of the banks rather elevated, but not broken. On either sides are villages of the Delawares and Chippewas. Somewhat higher up at the confluence of the two forks of the river, is the site of which Governor Simcoe made choice for a town to be named London. Its position with relation to Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario is central, and around it is a fertile and inviting tract of country. It communicates with Lake Huron by a northern or main branch of the same river and a small portage or carrying place.

"Along the banks of the Thames are several rich settlements, and new establishments are every week added to this as well as to other parts of the neighboring country by the immigration of wealthy farmers from the United States.

"On the east side of the forks, between the two main branches, on a regular eminence, about forty feet above the water, there is a natural plain denuded of wood except where small groves are interspersed, affording in its present state the appearance of a beautiful park on whose formation and culture taste and expense have been bestowed."

The war of 1812-15, though it moved over the western peninsula, found London still the natural park that Heriot described, and left it unstained by blood of friend or foe. A sharp skirmish occurred a few miles west. Lieut.-Governor Sir Gordon Drummond had established a military post at Delaware, and from it a sortie of 240 men under Captain Basden was made against a United States post at Longwoods, on March 3rd, 1814. Our troops did not succeed in capturing the post attacked, but the United States Commandant evidently found the neighborhood too warm for comfort and retreated to Detroit. The Delaware post was strengthened during the summer by the addition of some light infantry and a party of dragoons, but there was no more fighting.

At the close of the war the surrounding townships began to fill up more rapidly with settlers. What is now Middlesex, had been generally surveyed and lands granted. The earliest settlers in Middlesex and Elgin were doubtless those who came through the instrumentality of Col. Talbot. Here are a few of the names: Daniel Springer, R. B. Bingham, Timothy Kilbourn, Joseph Odell, Andrew Banghart, Seth Putnam, Mahlon Burwell, Jas. Nevills, Jacobus Schenck, Leslie Patterson, Sylvanus Reynolds, William Orr, Henry Cook, Samuel Hunt, Richard Williams, Peter Teeple, John Aikens, Maurice Sovereign, Henry Daniels, James Smiley and Abraham Hoover.

Westminster had been surveyed by Watson in 1809-10, and we find the Odells there in 1810, Norton in 1810 and Griffith and Patrick in 1812. George Ward purchased land from the Indians in 1810; his name is familiar to us in connection with Wardsville. About the same time A. McMillan settled in Byron. Nissouri was surveyed in 1818, and its settlement began with the McGuffins, Vinings, Hardys and Satchers.

Prior to 1818 London township had very few families, but in that year a large addition was made. Richard Talbot, an Irish gentleman, received a large grant from the Imperial Government—a condition being that he should bring out at least sixty adults. To insure the stability of the new settlement each man was required to advance 50 pounds, which was to be returned to him as soon as he had built a log house. On the way out some dropped from the ranks at Kingston, but about forty families came on to London. Among them were: Richard

Talbot, John and Edward Talbot, William Gerrie, Thomas Brooks, Peter Rogers, Thomas Guest, Frank Lewis, Benjamin Lewis, William Haskett, William Mooney, William Evans, William O'Neil, Edmund Stoney, Joseph O'Brien, Geo. Foster, Thos. and James Howay, John Phalen, Jos. Hardy, John Grey, Jos. Keays, Robt. Ralph, John Sifton and Thos. Howard.

Probably the nearest settler to the site of London was John Applegarth, who about 1816 commenced cultivating hemp, an industry which was at that time encouraged by money grants from the English Government. He located on a ridge east of Mount Pleasant Cemetery and built a log cabin. He was not very successful, however, and shortly after moved south to the neighborhood now occupied by Mr. A. C. Johnstone; and his deserted cabin fell into the occupation of some squatters. There was no bridge over the river at this time, but a canoe ferry, a short distance below the forks, served the purpose of communication.

During this period the official centre of the London District was off to one side, at Vittoria, about six miles south of the present town of Simeoe, and fifty miles in a straight line from the forks. A court house had been erected in that village, and the district school was also located there. It had been started at Charlotteville in 1807; John Mitchell, who had come from Scotland to act as tutor for Col. Hamilton's children, secured two lots, and in a small building opened the school. It was removed to Vittoria shortly after. Mitchell was made a judge in 1819, and remained on the bench until 1844.

Great inconvenience was experienced by the residents of the district in their enforced attendance at Vittoria. They had now reached a very respectable number. Gourlay's statistics, in 1817, places them at 8,907, while Fothergill's record in 1825 showed an increase to 12,351. The roads were not of the best. By an act passed in 1793, every settler was required to clear a road across his own lot; but as crown lands and clergy reserves came between lots, the road often began on one side of a man's farm and ended on the other. Of course there was the Government road, running westward from York, which had been originated by Governor Simeoe. Col. Talbot was also engaged in constructing Talbot Street through his own settlement. But the facilities for travel were primitive at the best. And when the court house in Vittoria was burned in 1825, the people of Middlesex made a vigorous effort to remove the headquarters of the district to a more convenient locality. Especially persistent in their labours to this end were Charles Ingersoll and Peter Teeple, of Oxford; M. Homer, of Blenheim; Dan Springer, of Delaware,

and Ira Schofield, of London township—leading merchants and magistrates of this section. They were determined, if possible, to have the seat of Government transferred from Vittoria to London; and though they met with considerable opposition, especially from the southern townships, they were finally successful.

On the 30th of January, 1826, an act was passed by the Provincial Parliament, (George IV., chapter XIII) "to establish the district town of London in a more central position." After reciting the burning of the court house in Vittoria, and noting the inconvenient location of that place for the business of the district, it declares that "it is expedient to establish the district town at the reservation heretofore made for a town near the forks of the River Thames, in the townships of London and Westminster;" and orders that "the court of quarter sessions for the peace, and the district courts in and for said district, shall be holden and assembled within some part of the reservation . . . so soon as a jail and court house shall be erected thereon;" and in the meantime at such place as the sheriff may appoint.

The original reservation made by Simcoe appears to have extended to the 3rd concession, London, north of London West, and south to the present southern limit of the city in Westminster, all the lots in this space having been laid out in park lots. The grants to settlers in the vicinity had, however, encroached somewhat on the limits of the reservation.

Another act, passed at the same session (Chap. XIV.), makes provision for the survey of the town and the building of the court house. The first section provides that "a town shall be layed out and surveyed under the direction of the Surveyor-General within the reservation heretofore made for a town near the forks of the Thames in the townships of London and Westminster, in the county of Middlesex in the said district of London, and a plan thereof shall be furnished by the said Surveyor-General to the commissioners hereinafter named; and in the said plan or survey a tract of space of not less than four acres shall be designated as reserved for the purposes of a court house and jail."

Section 2 appoints Hon. Thomas Talbot, Mahlon Burwell, James Hamilton, Charles Ingersoll and John Matthews, of Lobo, as commissioners, for erecting the court house and jail.

Section 3 authorizes the justices of the peace to levy by assessment on every inhabitant householder in the district, an additional rate of one-third of a penny in the pound to defray the cost of building. Section 4 gives the commission power in the meantime to borrow not more than 4,000 pounds, at interest not exceeding 6 per cent.

Section 5 requires the commissioners to meet at St. Thomas, on the first Monday in March, 1826, and organize by the election of a president and secretary.

The first step taken under the acts above cited was the appointment of Mr. Mahlon Burwell to make the survey of the proposed town. The plan in the Crown Lands Department, Toronto, a copy of which I have here, shows that it contained about 240 acres. The river formed the southern and western boundaries of the town; to the east it extended as far as Wellington Street; on the north it was bounded by North Street or Queen's Avenue, as it is now called. North Street, however, did not run in a straight line; a short distance west of Richmond the line of survey turned southwest, striking what is now Carling Street, about where the police court stands, and running from thence direct to the river. This was owing to the fact that the land to the northwest of this jog was part of the Kent farm, which extended westward over the river. The land along the river bank was not surveyed into lots, but was left as a strip of meadow surrounding the town plot on two sides, and varying from one to six chains in width. It is evident, from an inspection of the map, that there were a number of small streams in the locality, all signs of which have long since disappeared. The most important commenced on York Street, probably beyond the town boundary, and running south and west, entered into the river near the foot of Bathurst Street. It was subsequently converted into a covered drain, which the older property holders of that section can well remember.

In selecting names for the streets, the surveyor chose some well-known to the people of the colony at that time. North and South Streets appropriately marked the boundaries of the town in those two directions, while Thames Street was but a proper compliment to the river which ran near by. Loyalty was satisfied by naming one street King and giving two others to members of the royal family—the Dukes of York and Clarence, Dundas, Bathurst, Horton and Grey were called after British ministers, whose departmental duties had brought them into frequent contact with Canadian affairs. The Duke of Wellington was complimented by having one street named after him, and another, Hill, for his mother. Simcoe Street kept in memory the name of the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, while the name of the popular Governor-General, the Duke of Richmond, whose sad death from hydrophobia in 1819, created a melancholy interest throughout the country, was given to what is now one of our leading thoroughfares. Two streets were named after local celebrities—Col. Talbot, the

uncrowned king of the country, and Thomas Ridout, Surveyor-General of Upper Canada, or possibly his son, equally well-known in London.

The first man to move into the new town was a Scotch tailor, Peter MacGregor, who came in from the neighborhood of Byron, and took up a lot (21 S. King), on which he erected a little shanty to serve the purpose of a hotel. He wanted to be on hand to provide for the comforts of the London pioneers; though the first provision seems to have been little more than a jug of whiskey on the stump of a tree at the front door. His wife, formerly a Miss Poole, of Westminster, was an energetic, bustling woman, and developed the hotel business as rapidly as she could—though for some time the accommodation was limited; and when there was an influx of visitors at the first courts holden in town, most of them, we are told, had to go some three miles to Flanagan's to find shelter. This first house built in London was situated on the south side of King Street, a short distance west of Ridout. MacGregor did not obtain a patent from the crown for some years—the record in the registry office giving the date as July 25th, 1831. It was the lot on which now stands the Grand Central Hotel. The first lot patented was by J. G. Goodhue, the pioneer merchant, who received his deed for lot 20, N. Dundas Street, being half an acre on the corner of Dundas and Ridout Streets, on September 11th, 1830. He had, however, commenced business before that date, in fact, he seems to have opened his store in 1826—the same year in which MacGregor arrived. Other lots were rapidly taken up and a number of settlers made the new town their home.

The commission appointed to attend to the erection of the court house met in St. Thomas, in March, 1826, and commenced their work as speedily as possible. The plan of the building is said to have been in imitation of one of the baronial homes of Great Britain, and was adopted more as a compliment to Col. Talbot than with any view to public convenience. At first, a temporary building was constructed on the northeast corner of Dundas and Ridout Streets, and in this the first Court of Quarter Sessions was held January 9th, 1827, Col. Ryerse being chairman of the bench of magistrates. It was scarcely completed before it was required. Thomas Pomeroy, a sheriff's officer, was murdered, and his murderer tried, found guilty, and hanged in three days after sentence was pronounced. It was not convenient to keep a prisoner any length of time in these primitive jails.

In the *Gore Gazette* of July 31, 1827, a paper published by Geo. Gurnett, Ancaster, appears a letter from a traveller who had visited London during the holding of a court, and who tells a very amusing

story of a trial for assault made by a little Irish pensioner on a big Yankee from Delaware, who had offended the loyalty of the Irishman by some insulting remarks, and received a blow on the mouth, which knocked out some of his teeth. The fiery pensioner was defended by Mr. TenBrock in an eloquent speech, and was sentenced to a fine of one shilling. The writer says:

"I was much pleased with the delightful situation of the town, commanding as it does a most extensive view of the richest, most fertile, and most thickly settled part of the province; as well as a delightful prospect of both branches of the picturesque river Thames. The new court house, which is to be a fine building in the gothic style, 100 feet long, 50 feet wide and 50 feet high, having an octagon tower fourteen feet in diameter at each of its angles, is now building by Mr. Edward, an architect of first-rate ability. The house in which the law courts are now held is a building erected by subscription, and eventually intended for the district school-house."

The new court house was built by Mr. John Ewart of Toronto. Thomas Park, father of the late Police Magistrate, was his foreman, or partner, and had charge of the work. He became a citizen of the new town. One of the employees was Robert Carfrae, whose widow died on Carfrae Street a few years ago. The brick for the building, as I am informed by Hon. Freeman Talbot, was manufactured by a Toronto man, William Hale, who also became a resident of London. There were two brickyards, one at the rear of the present Robinson Hall, and the other in London West, on land subsequently belonging to Walter Nixon.

As soon as preparations were commenced for the building of the court house and goal, a post office was opened, with Major Ira Schofield as Postmaster. The office was kept in a little log house on Dundas Street. As near as I can discover, its site would be about the Queen's Avenue entrance to the Sacred Heart Academy, between Colborne and Maitland Streets.

Thus the beginning of London centred in a tavern, a goal and a post office. Churches came later; for the pioneer clergymen held services in private houses. And three or four years elapsed before any building was erected for religious worship.

When the court house was completed, the temporary building was converted into a school-house, according to the original intention; and Peter Van Every, jr., who had been acting as jailer, became the first schoolmaster. The early teachers in Upper Canada, it is said, were largely recruited from the ranks of retired soldiers, and were mostly Irish. I am not sure whether Van Every was an Irishman or not; his name is not good Irish, at all events.

The construction of the court house definitely marked the foundation of London; though, at first, it was not a distinct municipality, and its officials exercised their authority over a larger tract of country than the few acres of which the new town was composed. Of the first settlers, some like Parke, and Carfrae, and Hale, came in connection with the building of the court house; some, like John TenBrock, a lawyer, who came from Long Point to practice in the courts. Others came to London as a suitable place from which to supply the wants of the people of the surrounding country, at that time the most important element in population of this section.

Peter McGregor's little pioneer hotel soon took second place, for in 1828 Abraham Carroll built the Mansion House on the north side of Dundas Street, east of Ridout, a more pretentious establishment, and one which provided ample accommodation for the travelling public for many years. Mr. Goodhue's store was the general emporium, which supplied the material needs of the community as well as any of our modern departmental stores. Rev. E. J. Boswell came as a Church of England Clergyman in 1829; though Rev. Mr. McIntosh, of Kettle Creek, held occasional services before that date. Mr. TenBrock was the pioneer lawyer; and Dr. Arch Chisholm the first physician.

The first officials, as near as I can find, were the following: Sheriff, Daniel Rappalge; judge, James Mitchell; clerk of the peace, John B. Askin; deputy clerk, William King Cornish; high constable, John O'Neil; jailer, Samuel Park; court crier, Gideon Bostwick; registrar, Mahlon Burwell; treasurer, John Harris.

For the first few years London did not seem to grow very rapidly, though all circumstances were radiant with hope for its future. Andrew Picken's book "The Canadas," published in England in 1832, has this to say of it as it appeared in 1829:

"London is yet but inconsiderable; but from its position in the heart of a fertile country, is likely to become of some importance hereafter, when the extreme wild becomes more settled. The town is quite new, not containing above 40 or 50 houses, all of bright boards and shingles. The streets and gardens are full of black stumps, etc. They were building a church, and had finished a handsome gothic court house."

Such was the beginning of London. This is not the place to trace its development to its present condition; or to forecast its future. The population represented at the beginning, by Peter McGregor and his wife, has increased to 50,000. The area of 240 acres in the first survey, has broadened to 4,500. The nominal value of the original site has

advanced to \$30,000,000. The beginning of London was humble; its growth has been steady; its condition is prosperous; its future is bright; and the most sanguine hopes of its loyal citizens will doubtless, in due time, be realized.

VII.

AN EPISODE OF THE WAR OF 1812. THE STORY OF THE
SCHOONER "NANCY."

BY LIEUT.-COL. E. CRUIKSHANK.

In the summer of 1789, the firm of Forsyth, Richardson & Co., fur merchants of Montreal, undertook the construction of a schooner for the navigation of the upper lakes. As I have related in a former paper, John Richardson, one of the partners, went to Detroit to superintend the work, in which he was deeply interested.

"The schooner," he wrote on the 23rd September, 1789, "will be a perfect masterpiece of workmanship and beauty. The expense to us will be great, but there will be the satisfaction of her being strong and very durable. Her floor timbers, keel, keelson, stem, and lower uttock are oak. The transom, stern-post, upper uttocks, top timbers, beams and knees are all red cedar. She will carry 350 barrels."

He ordered a suitable figure-head of "a lady dressed in the present fashion with a hat and feather" from the carver Skelling of New York. The schooner was launched on the 24th September, 1789, "a most beautiful and substantial vessel," and in the spring following made her first voyage from Detroit to Fort Erie, whence she sailed upwards in June with a full cargo, bound for the Grand Portage at Sault Ste. Marie, with the intention of visiting Mackinac on her way back.

"She is spoken of here," Richardson wrote from Niagara, "in such a high strain of encomium as to beauty, stowage, and sailing, that she almost exceeds my expectations."

By 1793, the Nancy had become the property of George Leith Co., and is described as being of sixty-seven tons burden. Sometime before the end of the century, she passed into the possession of the Northwest Fur Company, by whom she was employed in the transportation of furs and merchandise on Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan. In 1805

she was navigated by Capt. Wm. Mills, who had some years before owned her in connection with Forsyth, Richardson and Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Montreal.

In a list of merchant vessels prepared early in 1812 by Colonel Matthew Elliott for the information of Major-General Brock, the Nancy is described as a schooner of about one hundred tons, lying at McIntosh's wharf, at Moy, opposite Detroit.

On July 1st, 1812, when the declaration of war by the United States became known to Lieutenant-Colonel St. George, the commandant of the British Garrison at Amherstburg, she was still lying at Moy waiting for a favorable wind to carry her into Lake Huron, and he at once ordered her to be brought down under the guns of that post to secure her from capture. Some light brass guns with which she had been armed were mounted in row-boats to patrol the river, and the schooner was impressed into the government service as a transport. On July 30 she sailed for Fort Erie under convoy of the Provincial schooner, Lady Prevost. Five days later she left Fort Erie on her return voyage, in company with the armed brig General Hunter, having on board sixty soldiers of the 41st Regiment and a quantity of military stores. The timely arrival of this small reinforcement had considerable weight among the reasons which induced General Hull to evacuate Canada.

During the summer and autumn of that year the Nancy was constantly employed in the important service of transporting troops, stores, and provisions between Detroit and Fort Erie.

On April 23rd, 1813, she was included in the small squadron assembled to transport General Procter's division from Amherstburg to Miami Bay, to undertake the siege of Fort Meigs.

The next recorded incident in her history is narrated in a letter from her commander, Captain Alexander McIntosh, to Captain Richard Bullock of the 41st Regiment, commanding the garrison at Mackinac, dated "5 miles from St. Joseph's," on the 16th of October, 1813. On the 4th of that month he had sailed from St. Joseph's for Amherstburg to obtain a much needed supply of provisions, and arrived at the mouth of the St. Clair river on the following afternoon when he sent two men ashore to ascertain whether it would be safe for him to enter the river. As they were prevented from returning by rough water, he decided to venture as far as the foot of the rapids. There he learned that the whole of the British squadron on Lake Erie had been taken and that the Americans were in possession of Detroit and Amherstburg. It was also reported that two of their armed schooners and two gun-boats were awaiting his appearance in the river below.

"Next day about noon," Captain McIntosh wrote, "a white flag was seen coming towards us in a canoe. About half an hour afterwards I was hailed from the shore by a Canadian, ordering me to give up the vessel and that my property, as also that of the crew, should be respected. I went ashore to see who this man was. It was Lieutenant-Colonel Beaubien, of the militia, who wished me to surrender the vessel to him, repeating what he had already said. I told him I would give an answer in an hour's time. I immediately went back and got all ready to defend the vessel. After the time had elapsed I went to him, gave him my answer, which was that I would defend the vessel until necessity compelled me to give her up, and that if the wind proved strong enough, I would attempt going back to the lake. He then replied, 'We shall fire on you.' I asked what number of men he had. 'Fifty,' was his answer. I returned to the vessel, made sail and was fishing the anchor when they commenced firing. I returned the fire as quickly as I received it, which continued for a quarter of an hour or more. They then ceased, whether from want of ammunition or that we had killed any, I know not. During the action I was placed at the helm and exposed to the whole of their fire, but luckily escaped. Several shots struck the main boom and railing. No person was injured from their fire, but the blowing up of a couple of cartridges burnt one of the men severely on the face and hands. Whether it was from a piece of the cartridge or their fire, our main sail was blazing which was no sooner seen than extinguished. During the engagement my men behaved with the greatest coolness, and I cannot say too much for them. We were all this time sailing with a very light breeze but not sufficiently strong to ascend the rapids. That night I received a letter from the same Lieutenant-Colonel, repeating what he had already said. I returned no reply. This was brought by Reaume, who is now with Mr. D. Mitchell, prisoners of war, they having gone ashore the morning of the action. Next morning at daylight we got under weigh. At 8 a.m. (we) entered the lake on which we have been fighting the elements these nine days, twice narrowly escaping going ashore."

As early as the 3rd of October, Captain Bullock had received information of the disastrous result of the battle on Lake Erie from Major-General Proctor, who informed him that he had already recommended that supplies for his garrison should be forwarded from York to Machedash Bay. His stock of provisions was then nearly exhausted, but by purchasing everything that could be obtained in the small settlements on the mainland he succeeded in laying in enough to keep his men until February. The Nancy arrived on the 18th with her sails

and cables so badly damaged as to render her unfit to navigate the lake during the storm of autumn, and Captain McIntosh determined to take her to the Northwest Company's post, at Sault Ste. Marie, in the hope of procuring the necessary materials to refit her during the winter. Before he sailed, Robert Dickson, Agent for the Western Indians, arrived from Machedash on his way to Prairie du Chien. After consulting with him, Bullock proposed that six gun-boats should be built at Machedash to keep open the communication and protect supplies on their way to Mackinac, and requested that the garrison should be reinforced early in the spring by twenty artillerymen and two hundred infantry with four field guns. An officer and twenty-seven men of the Michigan Fencibles were at once detached with Mr. Dickson to establish a post at Green Bay and the remainder of the garrison was put on short rations.

Continued stormy weather made it impossible to send forward any supplies from Machedash before navigation closed, but it also prevented the American squadron from entering Lake Huron to undertake the reduction of Mackinac as had been at first intended.

The Governor-General was, however, fully impressed with the great importance of maintaining possession of that place, and lost no time in preparing a small force for its relief as soon as the lake again became navigable.

"Its geographical position is admirable," he wrote to Lord Bathurst. "Its influence extends and is felt amongst the Indian tribes at New Orleans and the Pacific Ocean; vast tracts of country look to it for protection and supplies, and it gives security to the great establishments of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies by supporting the Indians on the Mississippi; the only barrier which interposes between them and the enemy, and which if once forced (an event which lately seemed probable), their progress into the heart of these Companies' settlements by the Red River is practicable and would enable them to execute their long-formed project of monopolizing the whole fur trade into their own hands. From these observations, your Lordship will be enabled to judge how necessary the possession of this valuable post on the outskirts of these extensive provinces is becoming to their future security and protection."

The failure to forward supplies caused him considerable uneasiness, but having been informed that there were some cattle and a quantity of potatoes on the island he anticipated that the garrison would be able to subsist until spring. Their stock of provisions might be increased considerably by fishing.

Lieutenant-Colonel Robert McDouall, of the Glengarry Light Infantry, an officer of tried courage and discretion, was selected for the command of this expedition. About the end of February, 1814, McDouall crossed Lake Simcoe on the ice, following the Nine Mile Portage from Kempenfeldt Bay to the head waters of the Nottawasaga River, where he was directed to select a suitable place for building the necessary boats for the conveyance of troops and stores across Lake Huron. He was accompanied by a party of shipwrights, twenty-one seamen, eleven artillerymen in charge of four field guns, and two companies of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, many of whom were expert boatmen. Although this route had the merit of being shorter than that by way of Machedash, yet it was less known and much obstructed by rocks and shoals which in many places rendered the channel so narrow that nothing larger than batteaux could pass. Favored by the unusual mildness of the season, McDouall began the descent of the river on the nineteenth of April, with thirty batteaux of the largest class, heavily loaded with provision and military stores. Six days later, he sailed from its mouth, and after an extremely hazardous and stormy voyage, arrived at Mackinac, on May 18th, with the loss of but a single boat, the crew and cargo of which were saved.

"The difficulties which were experienced in conducting open and deeply-laden batteaux across so great an extent of water as Lake Huron, covered with immense fields of ice and agitated by violent gales of wind," Prevost wrote to Lord Bathurst, "could only have been surmounted by the zeal, perseverance, and ability of the officer commanding the expedition. For nineteen days it was nearly one continued struggle with the elements, during which the dangers, hardships, and privations to which the men were exposed were sufficient to discourage the boldest amongst them, and at times threatened the destruction of the flotilla."

Dickson arrived at Mackinac a few days later, bringing with him two hundred picked warriors, and every effort was made to strengthen the defences of the island. It was proposed that the Nancy should be cut down to the dimensions of a gunboat and armed with the guns brought from the Nottawasaga, but as it was evident that she could not keep the lake in the face of the overwhelming force which the enemy could bring up from Lake Erie, McDouall became satisfied that he could make better use of these guns on shore and she was accordingly retained in service as a transport and sent away for a cargo of supplies.

On June 21st information was received that the trading post of Prairie du Chien, where Dickson had established his headquarters

during the winter, had been taken by a large force under the command of General William Clark, Governor of the Missouri Territory, which had ascended the Mississippi in boats from St. Louis, and next day a Winnebago chief came in to demand assistance, relating that besides several Indians of his own tribe, the wife of Wabash, a leading Sioux chief, who was then at Mackinac on his way home from Quebec, had been murdered in cold blood. This news caused an irresistible outcry for vengeance from the Indians who demanded to be led against the enemy without delay.

"I saw at once the imperious necessity which existed of endeavoring by every means to dislodge the American general from his new conquest and make him relinquish the immense tract of country he had seized upon in consequence and which brought him into the very heart of that occupied by our friendly Indians," McDouall wrote. "There was no alternative, it must either be done or there was an end to our connection with the Indians, for if allowed to settle themselves in place by dint of threats, bribes, and sowing divisions among them, tribe after tribe would be gained over or subdued and thus would be destroyed the only barrier which protects the great trading establishments of the Northwest and the Hudson's Bay Company."

He, therefore, promptly decided to attempt the recovery of Prairie du Chien at the manifest risk of imperilling his own position by greatly weakening his garrison. A company of sixty-three volunteers was enrolled in forty-eight hours. Sergeant Keating of the Royal Artillery, with a sergeant and thirteen men of the Michigan Fencibles, was put in charge of a field gun and the whole of the Sioux and Winnebago warriors on the island, 155 in number, were detailed to accompany them. The expedition set off on its voyage of more than six hundred miles on the seventh day after the news had been received under command of Major William McKay, a veteran fur trader. At Green Bay, McKay was joined by a second company of volunteers, which increased his white force to one hundred and twenty men, and during his advance by way of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, the number of his Indians was gradually augmented to 450. The journey was accomplished in nineteen days, and on the 17th of July, McKay unexpectedly invested the American Fort at Prairie du Chien, which was surrendered forty-eight hours afterwards by its garrison of three officers and seventy-one men of the regular army.

Meanwhile, a formidable expedition for the recovery of Mackinac had been organized at Detroit. The land force consisted of a detachment of United States Artillery, with several field guns and howitzers.

a battalion of regular infantry, composed of picked companies from the 17th, 19th and 24th regiments, and a battalion of Ohio Volunteers, numbering in all nearly a thousand men. Lieutenant-Colonel George Groghan, who had gained much reputation among his countrymen by his successful defence of Fort Stephenson, was selected for the command of these troops, and Major A. H. Holmes, who had lately conducted a vigorous raid from Detroit up the Thames as far as Delaware, was given the second place as commandant of the regulars. Six of the largest vessels of the Lake Erie squadron, mounting sixty guns and manned by more than five hundred seamen and marines under Commodore Sinclair, provided with launches for landing artillery, were detailed to convey these troops to their destination. Sinclair sailed from Detroit on the 3rd of July but did not succeed in entering Lake Huron until the 12th, when he shaped his course for Machedash Bay where he had been informed that the British had established a depot of supplies and were building gunboats, but having no pilot familiar with those waters and being enveloped for several days in a dense fog in a perfect maze of islets and sunken rocks, the attempt was abandoned and he steered for the Island of St. Joseph. Arriving there on the 20th July, he learned that the military post had been abandoned a few weeks before and the garrison withdrawn to Mackinac. While his squadron lay windbound near this place, the Northwest Company's schooner Mink, on her way from Mackinac to Sault Ste. Marie, was intercepted and taken by its boats, which were then despatched to destroy the trading station at the latter place. This was accomplished without opposition, but much of the property deposited there had been removed before their arrival.

On July 26th the American squadron came in sight of Mackinac. Its presence in the lake had been known to the garrison for some time, and every possible precaution had been taken in anticipation of an attack. A strong redoubt had been completed on the summit of the cliff overlooking the former works which so greatly increased their strength that McDouall considered his position one of the strongest in Canada. "We are in a very fine state of defence here," he wrote "the garrison and Indians are in the highest spirits and all ready for the attack of the enemy. We apprehend nothing for the island but from want of provisions."

The Nancy had already made two successful trips to the Nottawasaga and sailed again for that place a few days before. A message to her commander, warning him of the appearance of the American squadron off Mackinac and advising him to take his vessel as far up the river

as possible and remain there until the blockade of the island was at an end, was entrusted to Lieutenant Robert Livingston, a daring and adventurous officer of the Indian Department, who volunteered to deliver it. After serving for several years as a midshipman in the Royal Navy, Livingston obtained a commission in the Royal Canadian Volunteers, which he retained until the disbandment of that corps at the peace of Amiens. He then became a fur trader and was living at St. Joseph's when the war began. Having raised a company of volunteers, he was appointed adjutant of the battalion organized for the capture of Mackinac, in July, 1812. Being despatched to Detroit in charge of the prisoners, he was detained by the enemy but soon effected his escape. Two days later, he was wounded and taken prisoner in a skirmish, again recovering his liberty at the surrender of Detroit. After receiving his commission in the Indian Department, he was frequently employed in conveying important despatches owing to his intimate knowledge of the country, and in this service travelled a distance of 8,890 miles, mainly by canoe or on snow shoes. In the summer of 1813, Livingston assembled a body of Indians on the north shore of Lake Huron, whom he conducted to Niagara to assist in the investment of Fort George. In a skirmish near the Four Mile Creek, on the 17th of August, he received four severe wounds and was again taken prisoner, but on the night of the 19th October, he escaped from Fort Niagara and secreted himself in the woods until he found means to cross the river, subsisting for seven days on acorns only. He had acted as pilot for McDonall's force during its voyage to Mackinac and conducted the Nancy to the Notawasaga on her first trip. Although two of his wounds were still unhealed, his zeal and energy seemed unimpaired and he eagerly undertook this difficult and important mission.

Foul weather prevented the American vessels from approaching the shore for several days, but on August 1st a party of soldiers was landed on Round Island where they had a skirmish with some Indians. After carefully reconnoitering the harbour and the vicinity of the forts, Croghan decided to adopt the advice of former residents of the island who accompanied him as guides and attempt a landing on its western coast where there was a break in the cliffs and his largest ships could anchor within three hundred yards of the shore. From this place, however, he would be compelled to advance for nearly two miles through dense woods before reaching an open space where a favorable position existed for assailing the works "by gradual and slow approaches" under cover of his artillery which he knew to be superior in range and weight of metal. Nearly a thousand men, including a body of marines,

were accordingly landed on the morning of August 4th and began their march across the island.

McDouall promptly advanced to meet them with one hundred and forty men of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment and Michigan Fencibles and about one hundred and fifty Indians, mostly of the Folles Avoines or Menomonee tribe from the Wisconsin River, whom he considered the bravest and best fighting men of any at his disposal. With this force he occupied an excellent position in which his men were hidden among thickets and underwood on the edge of a small clearing across which the enemy must pass in their advance, yet it could easily be turned as there were paths leading around either flank which he had not force enough to guard. When the enemy came in sight, he opened fire upon them from two field guns, without effect except to check their advance and cause them to attempt a movement around the clearing in the direction of his left flank. But the battalion of regular troops which undertook this flank march was suddenly assailed by a party of Menomonees from an ambush among the thickets. Their first fire killed Major Holmes and severely wounded Captain Desha, next in command. Two other officers, Captain Van Horne of the 19th and Lieutenant Jackson of the 24th Infantry, were mortally wounded and their men instantly fell into great confusion. A field piece was brought up, but the fire of their unseen foes was so effective and the disorder became so great that Croghan soon decided to retire to his shipping to avoid a worse disaster, leaving behind him two wounded men and the bodies of Major Holmes and others of the dead.

Captain Sinclair stated that "it was soon found that the further the troops advanced, the stronger the enemy became and the weaker and more bewildered our force were; several of the commanding officers were picked out and killed or wounded without seeing any of the enemy. The men were getting lost and falling into confusion natural under such circumstances, which demanded an immediate retreat or total defeat and a general massacre must have ensued."

In all three officers and fifteen men were killed and one officer and fifty-eight men wounded, while McDouall's force was so well concealed that he had not a single man hurt.

Sinclair had learned from a prisoner taken in the Mink that reinforcements and supplies had arrived at Mackinac from the Nottawasaga River and that the Nancy had lately been despatched thither for more. By destroying her and blockading the river he hoped to retrieve his defeat and ultimately compel the garrison to surrender for want of provisions, and also prevent the Northwest Company from receiving any further supplies.

About the middle of July, Lieutenant Miller Worsley, of the Royal Navy, with a small detachment of seamen, had arrived at the mouth of the Nottawasaga, where he awaited the appearance of the Nancy for more than a week, suffering much discomfort from bad weather and swarms of mosquitoes. On her arrival, the schooner was loaded with three hundred barrels of provisions and a quantity of much-needed military stores, and on August 1st, she again set sail for Mackinac. Before she entered the lake, Livingston met her with McDouall's instructions, and Worsley at once turned back. The Nancy was towed up the river about two miles to a place where she was hidden from view from the bay by intervening sandhills and the construction of a log blockhouse for her protection on a commanding position on the right bank was begun. Information of her perilous situation was sent to Lieutenant-General Drummond, who was then besieging Fort Erie, and he promptly gave orders for the assembly of a body of militia and Indians for her defence. But on the 13th of August, before these instructions could be fully carried into effect, part of the American squadron, consisting of the brig Niagara and the schooners Scorpion and Tigress, made their appearance in Nottawasaga Bay, having on board a detachment of artillery with several field guns and three companies of regular infantry under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan.

Lieutenant Livingston, who had returned that morning from York with despatches, was at once employed in assembling the neighboring Indians, but only succeeded in mustering twenty-three. Worsley had under his command Midshipman Dobson and twenty-one seamen of the Royal Navy and nine French Canadian boatmen. Three guns had been mounted in the blockhouse, two of which were twenty-four pounder carronades, taken from boats lying in the river, and the other was a six pounder field piece. With such inadequate means Worsley gallantly undertook to offer the stoutest resistance possible. Late in the afternoon, Croghan landed his troops on the narrow peninsula separating the lower reach of the river from the bay, and while exploring it for the purpose of selecting a suitable place for encamping, he discovered the Nancy lying on the opposite side of the stream close under the guns of the blockhouse. Next morning Sinclair anchored all his vessels near the shore within easy range and opened fire with little effect, as both vessels and blockhouse were screened from view by the sandhills, surmounted by a thin belt of trees and bushes. About noon, however, two howitzers were landed and placed in a favorable position within a few hundred yards. Their fire speedily became so damaging that Worsley determined to destroy the schooner and retire into the woods. The guns

had accordingly been spiked and a train of powder laid to the Nancy when a well directed shell burst inside the blockhouse, setting fire to a quantity of combustible material near the magazine which soon blew up, communicating the flames to the schooner which was entirely destroyed with her valuable cargo still on board. Worsley had defended himself "very handsomely," as Sinclair said, but lost only one man killed and another severely wounded. The Indians continued to fire for some time from the edge of the woods and no pursuit was attempted. Eventually Sinclair sent a party of men across the Nottawasaga in boats who brought off the guns from the smoulding ruins of the blockhouse and took away a batteaux which had escaped destruction, after which they endeavored to obstruct the river by felling trees across it. On the following day Sinclair sailed for Lake Erie in the Niagara, leaving Lieutenant Turner in command of the Scorpion and Tigress, with instructions to maintain a rigid blockade until "driven from the lake by the inclemency of the season, suffering not a boat or canoe to pass in or out of this river," but authorizing him at the same time to detach the Tigress to cruise for a week or two at a time in the vicinity of St. Joseph's to intercept fur canoes passing between Sault Ste. Marie and French River. Twenty-five picked men from the 17th United States Infantry were detailed to serve on these vessels as marines, and the Scorpion was provided with a boarding netting as a protection against a night attack by small boats.

"Against attacks of this kind, which he might be driven to by his desperate situation, as this blockade must starve him into a surrender, I must particularly caution you," Sinclair said in his instructions. "If we can keep their boats from passing until October, I think the bad weather will effectually cut off all communication by anything they have on float, and in the spring an early blockade will possess us of Mackinac."

A brigade of boats from Montreal, by way of French River, under Captain J. M. Lamotte, laden with supplies for Mackinac, received timely warning of their presence before entering Lake Huron and turned back to a place of safety.

Upwards of a hundred barrels of provisions still remained in a store-house several miles up the Nottawasaga which the enemy had not discovered, and two batteaux and Livingston's large canoe had escaped destruction. In these circumstances Worsley determined to elude the blockading vessels. The obstructions were quietly removed from the river, seventy barrels of provisions were taken on board, and on the night of the 18th, he entered the bay without being observed. Six days

later, when within a few miles of St. Joseph's, after rowing three hundred and sixty miles along the north shore of the lake, he was greatly surprised to discover both the schooners which he had seen in Nottawasaga Bay a week before, cruising among the islands ahead. As it would be scarcely possible to pass them unobserved, with his heavily-loaded boats in the narrow channel known as the Detour which they were evidently watching, he turned back and concealed them in a secluded bay. His whole party of twenty-five persons then embarked in Livingston's canoe on the night of August 29th, and after passing one of these vessels within a hundred yards in the darkness, arrived at Mackinac at sunset on September 1st.

Worsley lost no time after reaching the island in soliciting permission to lead an attack on the two schooners which were lying about fifteen miles apart when last seen by him. Next day four large row-boats were equipped for this enterprise. One of these, armed with a six pounder, was manned by Midshipman Dobson, a gunner's mate and seventeen seamen of the Royal Navy, under Worsley himself. The other three were manned by a picked detachment of two sergeants, six corporals and fifty privates of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, commanded by Lieutenants Bulger, Armstrong, and Radenhurst. Bulger's boat was armed with a three-pounder in charge of a bombardier and a gunner of the Royal Artillery. As it was reported that the blockading vessels were accompanied by a body of Indians, whom they had induced to co-operate with them, about two hundred warriors were also embarked in nineteen canoes, under the orders of Dickson and four officers of his department. The expedition left Mackinac that evening, and at sunset on the 2nd of September, arrived at the Detour, thirty-six miles distant, where they expected to find one of the schooners. The men were landed on the island and the boats concealed in a secluded bay. Early next morning Worsley and Livingston went out in a canoe to reconnoitre and soon discovered one of the schooners at anchor about six miles away. It was thought prudent to defer the attack until night when they could approach her unseen. At six o'clock the whole force was re-embarked and rowed as quietly as possible towards the enemy. When about three miles from the schooner the Indians were directed to remain behind and await further orders, but Dickson and three of their principal chiefs were taken on board the boats, making a total of ninety-two of all ranks. The night was very dark and still. About nine o'clock the outline of the schooner was described close ahead. It was then arranged that Worsley's and Armstrong's boats should board her upon the starboard side and Bulger's and Radenhurst's on the lar-

board. Their approach was so noiseless that Worsley's boat was within ten yards of her and Bulger's not far behind when they were discovered and hailed. No answer being returned, a gun was fired without doing any injury and a hasty and ill-directed fire of musketry was opened upon them. In the face of this the boarders quickly gained the deck on both sides nearly at the same instant and within five minutes the commander of the schooner, Sailing Master Champlain, and all his officers were cut down with several of his men and the remainder driven below. From between decks they kept up a desultory fire which killed one of Worsley's seamen. After all resistance had ceased it was ascertained that the prize was the *Tigress*, having a crew of thirty-one persons, of whom four were killed and four wounded. Worsley lost two seamen killed and one seaman wounded, but Lieutenant Bulger, Gunner McLaughlin and six privates of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment were also wounded. The prisoners were sent away in boats under guard, and Livingston was despatched in a canoe to ascertain the position of the other schooner. In two hours he returned with information that she was apparently beating down toward the *Tigress* under sail. As it seemed highly improbable that the firing could have been heard by her crew, Worsley determined not to alter the position of his prize and to keep the American colors flying. During the night of the 5th, the *Scorpion* anchored within two miles of the *Tigress* without making any effort to exchange signals or communicate with her in any way. At break of day next morning, Worsley slipped his cable and ran silently down towards her under the jib and foresail only with a dozen sailors in sight besides a few soldiers who were lying down covered with overcoats. Four or five of the *Scorpion's* crew in charge of the gunner were scrubbing her deck, and although the approach of the *Tigress* was observed and duly reported it excited no suspicion in the minds of her officers. At the distance of a dozen yards the twenty-four-pounder on the *Tigress* was fired into the *Scorpion's* hull as a signal for the remainder of the soldiers to rush on deck. Worsley then ran alongside and grappled with her. The boarders fired a single volley and sprang on her deck, meeting with scarcely any resistance from her bewildered crew, of whom two were killed and two wounded before they surrendered. Like the *Tigress* the *Scorpion* mounted a single twenty-four-pounder but also had a twelve pounder in her hold, the carriage of which had become unfit for use. She was commanded by Lieutenant Daniel Turner and had a crew of five officers and thirty-one soldiers, seamen and soldiers. It appeared that these vessels had been forced out of Nottawasaga Bay by a fierce gale which had nearly driven the *Niagara*

on shore after parting from them and even compelled Sinclair to cut loose his launch and the captured boat which he was towing astern. For the last five days the Scorpion had been cruising between St. Joseph's and the French River in the hope of intercepting Lamotte's Brigade of boats from Montreal, of whose approach they had received some information. In her capture Worsley had but a single seaman wounded. He had regained entire control of Lake Huron and effectually relieved Mackinac from all danger of being forced to surrender from want of provisions. This expedition was admirably planned and executed and certainly richly deserved the success with which it was crowned. The prizes were fine vessels for lake service and were at once placed in commission under the names of the Surprise and the Confiance. They sailed at once for the Nottawasaga whence they returned in the beginning of October with a supply of provisions sufficient to maintain the garrison of Mackinac for six months.

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.

Major-General Brock to the Earl of Liverpool.

YORK, 23rd November, 1811.

(Extract.)

I have directed a survey of a tract of land on Lake Simcoe belonging to the Indians to meet your views. The merchants are particularly anxious to obtain a route for their goods unconnected with American territory.

"It is proposed to purchase 428 acres of land and erect grist mills for the convenience of a populous neighborhood."

From a memorial enclosed in the foregoing letter from General Brock to the Earl of Liverpool, signed by William McGillivray, William Hallowell, Roderick McKenzie, Angus Shaw, Archibald McLeod, James Hallowell, jr., and others composing the Northwest Fur Company.

NOTE. For two round trips of the Nancy from Detroit River to Fort Erie, in 1812, the Northwest Company claimed and received £500. For her services in 1813-14, her owners were allowed £1,243 5s. 0d. and the further sum of £2,200 as compensation for the loss of the vessel.

(Extract.)

"We have been continually subjected to the vexatious interference of the United States customs' officials since 1796, and have had boats and property seized. We suggest the establishment of a road from Kempenfeldt Bay to Penetanguishene and will change our route in that direction as soon as practicable. We apply for a grant of land at each end of the road and at the landing at Gwillimbury.—2,000 acres on Kempenfeldt Bay, 2,000 acres at Penetanguishene, 200 at Gwillimbury—consideration, £4,000 in goods to be paid the Indians."

Extract from a letter unaddressed and unsigned in the Canadian Archives. Series C, Volume 257, page 144.

"It appears to be a matter of essential expediency, if not of indispensable necessity, that Mr. Dickson should be sent on forthwith to Michilimackinac by Machedash or if he finds it more convenient to go only to the mouth of the French River in Lake Huron, and in either case to wait for the canoes with the Indian presents which will in all probability reach Lake Huron in the month of September."

From Robert Dickson to Noah Freer, Military Secretary to the Governor-General.

YORK, 29th September, 1813.

With the assistance of Mr. Cameron, I have got the provisions in the way of being transported to Lake Huron and shall set out for Michilimackinac to-morrow. I shall attend particularly to the route and shall transmit my remarks on the return of the canoe by the Grand River. . . .

Should our fleet be totally destroyed on Lake Erie, as we have reason to believe, the bay at Machedash or Penetanguishene are both good harbors and there is plenty of excellent wood in the vicinity for constructing a vessel of any dimensions.

From an unsigned memorandum addressed to Major-General Procter, dated 6th October, 1813. (Canadian Archives, Series C, Volume 680, page 146.)

(Extract.)

"Penetanguishene Bay is an excellent harbor, and easy of access from Lake Huron; the entrance into it is not half a gun-shot across,

and the ground very commanding. Near to the water's edge is the finest oak and pine timber that can be imagined. Here (if there are ships' stores in the country for the purpose), vessels might be built in the winter to command Lake Huron and secure the Indians notwithstanding our being driven from Lake Erie."

From Robert Dickson to Noah Freer.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 23rd October, 1813.

(Extract.)

"I send you a map of Lake Simcoe on a large scale. I think that if a road is to be cut the best route is from Kempenfeldt Bay to Penetanguishene."

From Captain Richard Bullock, 41st Regiment, to Noah Freer.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 23rd October, 1813.

(Extract.)

"Mr. Dickson and I have consulted together as to the best means of defence for the security of Michilimackinac, and we are of the opinion that should the enemy not attack us here this fall, the first and most essential thing to be recommended is the building this winter of six large gunboats at Machedash Bay to protect supplies of any description from falling into their hands; that a re-inforcement of at least two hundred men with an officer of engineers and twenty artillerymen would be required and ordnance as per the enclosed return. . . .

"The pork and flour which you mentioned in your letter that Mr. Dickson was to take in charge and which we are so much in want of, I am sorry to say, he has not brought. I understand from him that it was to be forwarded from York to Machedash on Lake Huron, to which place, he informs me he must send for it, and I shall lose no time in sending what canoes I can for that purpose."

From Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, to Sir George Prevost, Governor-General of Canada.

DOWNING STREET, 3rd December, 1813.

(Extract.)

"From every information which I have been able to collect, the port of Machedash at the mouth of the Severn is peculiarly well calculated

for a naval depot. It has been long used as a post by the persons trading with the Indian nations; it has a good land and water communications with Kingston and is less distant than the former dockyard at Amherstburg. It has moreover this advantage that nothing short of the most serious disaster could render it necessary to abandon it or its communication with Kingston.

“Upon a consideration of all these advantages, His Majesty’s Government have determined to convey to you the necessary authority for erecting such block-houses and other defences as may be required to secure this post from attack or insult. As soon as these shall be completed you will make every exertion to build and fit out vessels calculated to meet those which the enemy may transfer to the lake. As the success of this measure depends much upon the rapidity of execution, I would recommend to your serious attention the advantage of laying down vessels at Quebec or Montreal which might afterwards be transported in frame to Machedash and set up there in a much shorter time than would have been required to build them there.”

From Captain Richard Bullock to Noah Freer.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 30th December, 1813.

(Extract.)

“In my letter to you of the 23rd October, I mentioned that I should lose no time in sending what canoes I could to Machedash for the flour and pork Mr. Dickson had directed to be sent to that place from York.

“Having no alternative, on the 28th October I despatched two large canoes and a bateau manned with Indians and some of the Michigan Fencibles with an interpreter and a sergeant of the veterans for that place. Previous to this party leaving the island I was told by the oldest residents the impracticability of the undertaking, but our situation warranted me to make the trial. On the 2nd of November the bateau with the sergeant and one of the canoes returned, the Indians having refused to proceed, owing to the weather setting in very severe with frost and snow, and they had to cut their way through the ice to get back. It was now too late to send off another party, nor indeed could I get any person on the island to undertake it notwithstanding a large sum was offered by the commissary for that purpose. The other canoe with Indians, having presents for a few of the inhabitants on the north shore of Lake Huron, were prevailed on by the interpreter to go on for the

purpose of delivering them. The interpreter on his return informed me that when the presents were delivered the weather becoming more moderate, he further prevailed on the Indians to go to Machedash for what provisions they could bring in the canoe, where they arrived on the 15th November, but to their great disappointment the provisions had not been brought to that place. In consequence lest they should be frozen up, they lost no time in returning here, and after suffering very severely, arrived on the 2nd instant."

From Lieutenant-General Sir Gordon Drummond to Sir George Prevost.

KINGSTON, 19th January, 1814.

(Extract.)

In reply to Your Excellency's letter of the 2nd instant, marked private, I beg to assure you that I have lost no time in giving ample instructions relating to the supply of troops and provisions to be forwarded to Michilimackinac by Lakes Simcoe and Huron, as also with regard to the building of gunboats and bateaux at Panatanguishene for their conveyance thither.

"In fact I had, prior to the receipt of Your Excellency's letter, already ordered two of the latter description of boats to be constructed at that place for the transport of the provisions and stores for some time since deposited at Machedash, and also for 100 barrels of flour and 50 of pork which I had ordered in addition before I left York."

From Lieutenant-Colonel R. H. Bruyeres, R.E., to Sir George Prevost.

YORK, 23rd January, 1814.

(Extract.)

"I have made every enquiry since I have been here respecting the practicability of building four gunboats in Penetanguishene harbor on Lake Huron for the purpose of communicating from thence to the island of Michilimackinac as early as the opening of navigation will permit. I have seen the only person here that could be competent for this service (Mr. Dennis, late master builder at Kingston). He is at present unemployed, but from the conversation I have had with him he is unwilling to engage in this business, owing to the impossibility of

obtaining workmen here for that purpose. Captain Barclay, whom I have seen on this subject, very strongly recommends a Mr. Bell, who was master builder at Amherstburg. He is now at Kingston and I have written to General Drummond to endeavor to engage him for this service and to procure twelve shipwrights to accompany him. I have stated fully all that will be necessary, and I still hope that this business will be accomplished. . . .

"Mr. Crookshank, the Commissary, is at present at Lake Simcoe where I understand he is gone to make arrangements for the building of five bateaux to convey provisions that were left on the communication to be sent to Michilimackinac."

From Lieutenant-General Drummond to Sir George Prevost.

KINGSTON, 28th January, 1814.

(Extract.)

"I have the honor to acquaint Your Excellency that I have received a communication from Deputy Assistant Commissary-General Crookshank, at York, on his return from Lake Simcoe where he had been to make arrangements for forwarding supplies to Michilimackinac.

"He informs me that from the authority of several credible persons and likewise from Mr. Wilmot, the surveyor, who had been employed in running the line from Lake Simcoe to Penetanguishene Bay that it is impracticable to transport anything by that route previous to a road being cut upwards of thirty miles in length, and that it was calculated to take 200 men for at least three weeks before it could be made passable, and in case of deep snow it could not be done at all.

"In consequence of the delay and difficulty attending such a measure Mr. Crookshank has made arrangements for forwarding the supplies to Nottawasaga Bay on Lake Huron, a distance of only 20 miles from Penetanguishene.

"The opening of the road to the river leading to Nottawasaga Bay will take but 12 men for about 10 days, and in the course of a few days, as soon as a shed can be erected on the other side of Lake Simcoe, he will commence sending the stores across it, should a thaw not prevent.

"As Mr. Crookshank found it almost impossible to procure hands to build boats and altogether no person to contract for the whole or even a part, I have had a communication with the Commissioner of the Navy here who says he could furnish 30 workmen with an able foreman that would ensure the measure being completed in a given time and

contract at once the building of as many as should be required, and they could set out from hence at a day's notice well furnished with tools and oakum, and every other requisite for the occasion.

"This mode of proceeding would undoubtedly prove somewhat expensive, but I see no alternative.

P.S. Since writing the above I have received a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Bruyeres from York corroborating that part of Mr. Crookshank's letter relative to the inability of procuring persons there to build at Penetanguishene Bay, and asserting the only way this object can be accomplished is by sending up builders with the necessary materials of pitch, ironwork, etc., from Kingston."

From Captain Richard Bullock to Noah Freer.

FORT MICHILIMACKINAC, 26th February, 1814.

(Extract.)

"The number of boats I can send to Nottawasaga and Penetanguishene Bay in the ensuing spring to assist in bringing in the supplies, etc., will be two bateaux, two large birch canoes and a keel boat."

From Lieutenant-General Drummond to Sir George Prevost.

KINGSTON, 21st May, 1814.

(Extract.)

I have the honor to enclose herewith the copy of a report I have just now received from Colonel Claus, Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, from which I am concerned to learn that the enemy have passed up the River St. Clair with two vessels and six gunboats containing about 300 men, about the 22nd or 23rd of last month for Lake Huron.

"Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall's last brigade of boats for Michilimackinac left Nottawasaga on the 20th of the same month, which I most anxiously hope has arrived at its destination in safety."

(Extract from Colonel Claus's Report Enclosed.)

Thirteen Indians from Naywash's band arrived at Burlington, on the 9th instant, from Flint River, and say that they were informed that two vessels and six gunboats with about 300 men had passed the River St. Clair about the 22nd or 23rd April for Michilimackinac and that no more than about 250 men remained at Detroit.

From Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall to Lieutenant-General Drummond.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 26th May, 1814.

(Extract.)

“The Nancy being just under way, I refer to my letter to Colonel Harvey for particulars of our voyage. I avail myself of the few minutes left me before she sails to urge in the strongest terms the necessity of Mr. Crookshank being immediately directed to deposit for us at the mouth of the Nottawasaga River another supply of provisions consisting of from three to four hundred barrels of flour and pork, otherwise this place will be in great danger from the want of that article, owing to the great issues to the Indians which I have curtailed as much as possible, even at the risk of offending them.”

From Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Nichol.

KINGSTON, 30th May, 1814.

(Extract.)

“In addition to the establishment at Long Point, I should strongly recommend the formation of one at Penetanguishene on Lake Huron. The road, however, to the north of Lake Simcoe which is, I understand, about twenty-four miles, should be previously opened. A flotilla on Lake Huron will be found of great service, both as it respects offensive and defensive operations. The remoteness of the situation will keep the enemy ignorant of our movements.”

From Lieutenant-General Drummond to Sir George Prevost.

KINGSTON, 2nd July, 1814.

(Extract.)

“I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of an interesting letter I received from Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall from Michilimackinac. I am apprehensive his Indian allies, unless he can find some method of employing them so as they may in a greater degree supply themselves with food, will cause him some uneasiness and difficulties with regard to provisions. To enable him to meet all their demands, however, as much as possible, I have given directions to Deputy Commissary Couche to take measures for securing a constant supply to his post, and I understand Deputy Assistant Commissary General Crookshank is at

Nottawasaga at present on this business as well as for the purpose of improving the road to that place from Lake Simcoe.”

From Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall to Lieutenant-General Drummond.

MACHILIMACKINAC, 17th July, 1814.

(Extract.)

I was greatly disappointed at the Nancy bringing us last trip only eleven barrels for Government. I at least expected three hundred. I also received but little comfort on Mr. Crookshank telling me that by the 20th instant, he was in hopes to have 200 barrels at the Nottawasaga River. However, as it is of great consequence, even the securing of that quantity, I am now despatching the Nancy for it. I, however, beg to represent the great necessity which exist that the supplies should be more liberal for this place. It is now the last point of connection with the Indians and I believe the great importance of their alliance and the policy of conciliating them as much as possible is generally admitted, particularly as the enemy is making such efforts to seduce them from us; and yet what means are placed in my hands to counteract the influence of the Americans? A continual interchange of Indians is going on at this place and some have come a great distance for its defence, and yet I have been compelled to refuse rations to their wives and children, and to many others in a half-famished state; even my own garrison I am compelled to reduce the rations of, and as soldiers have but little foresight and think only of the present, it adds to the general discontent on the subject of provisions. In what a predicament does this leave me, and in what a situation should I be left if great efforts are not made for my relief? Every day adds to my perplexity on this subject. I now only issue 250 rations daily to Indians which make the whole about 550. It is absolutely essential and cannot with prudence be otherwise, that in calculating the supplies for this garrison, at least *three hundred Indians* should be included, and I am fully convinced that they could never be expended to a better purpose. . . .

(Canadian Archives, C, 685, page 67.)

From Captain A. Slinclair to the Secretary of the Navy.

UNITED STATES SLOOP NIAGARA,

OFF ST. JOSEPH'S, 22nd July, 1814.

SIR,—The wind became favorable on the evening of the 3rd instant, the troops were embarked and I sailed from Detroit that night, but

such were the difficulties I had to encounter on the flats of Lake St. Clair, where, instead of ten feet, as I had been led to believe there was, I found only eight, and the rapid current of that river, that I did not reach Lake Huron until the 12th. From thence I shaped my course as directed for Machedash Bay and used every possible effort to gain it, but not being able to procure a pilot for that unfrequented part of the lake, and finding it filled with islands and sunken rocks which must inevitably prove the destruction of the fleet as it was impossible to avoid them on account of the impenetrable fog with which this lake is almost continually covered, and finding the army were growing short of provisions from the time already elapsed, it was agreed between Colonel Croghan and myself to push for this place where we should procure such information as would govern our future operations. We were favored in winds and arrived here on the 20th. The enemy had abandoned his work, consisting of a fort and a large block-house, etc.; those we destroyed but left untouched the town and Northwest Company's storehouses.

From Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall to Lieutenant-General Drummond.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 28th July, 1814.

(Extract.)

“We are here in a very fine state of defence, the garrison and Indians in the highest spirits and all ready for the attack of the enemy. I apprehend nothing for the island but from the want of provisions. I have, therefore, to beg to supplicate, to entreat, my dear General, that every effort may be made, every step be immediately taken which can facilitate our being supplied. There are now three bateaux in the Nottawasaga River, a fourth can be carried over from Lake Simcoe. These should be manned by the crew of the Nancy, mounting one of her carronades in one of them and could bring 140 barrels of flour which should be taken to the depot at the River Sauganock, and being there secured, the party would have sufficient time to return to the River Tessalon which we consider (the secret being well kept) as out of the reach of the enemy, and which (should the blockade not be raised in time) can easily be brought here over the snow in the winter. The River Sauganock is fifteen miles *on our side* of the Cloche and is the place where the Montreal canoes are directed to deposit the cargoes they brought from that place and likewise the first cargo of flour they bring from the River Nottawasaga. The River Tessalon is thirty miles from St. Joseph's and is the place where the second cargoes of both the

canoes and the bateaux must be landed, as by that time the enemy's squadron may have been obliged to leave us, but be that as it may, we consider it a safe place. Should the Nancy's crew come with the bateaux as proposed she must be hauled as high as possible up the river. A subaltern and 20 men and some Indians stationed for her defence and that of the depot which, I think, will perfectly secure both."

From Lieutenant Daniel Turner to Captain A. Sinclair.

UNITED STATES SCHOONER SCORPION,
OFF MICHILIMACKINAC, July 28th, 1814.

SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that, agreeable to your orders of the 22nd instant, I proceed on the expedition to Lake Superior with launches. I rowed night and day, but having a distance of sixty miles against a strong current, information had reached the enemy at St. Mary's about two hours before I arrived at that place, carried by Indians in their light canoes, several of whom I chased, and by firing on them and killing some, prevented their purpose, some I captured and kept prisoners until my arrival, others escaped. The force under Major Holmes prevented anything like resistance at the Fort; the enemy carrying with them all their light valuable articles, peltry, clothes, etc. I proceeded across the strait of Lake Superior without a moment's delay, and on my appearance the enemy, finding they could not get off with the vessel I was in quest of, set fire to her in several places, scuttled and left her. I succeeded in boarding her, and by considerable exertions, extinguished the flames and secured her from sinking. I then stripped and prepared for getting her down the falls. Adverse winds prevented my attempting the falls until the 26th, when every possible effort was used, but I am sorry to say without success to get her over in safety. The fall in three-quarters of a mile is forty-five feet and the channel very rocky, the current runs from twenty to thirty knots, and in one place there is a perpendicular leap of ten feet between three rocks. Here she bilged but was brought down so rapidly that we succeeded in running her on shore below the rapids before she filled and burned her. She was a fine new schooner, upwards of one hundred tons, called the Perseverance, and will be a severe loss to the Northwest Company. Had I succeeded in getting her down safe, I could have loaded her with advantage from the enemy's store-houses. I have, however, brought down four captured boats loaded with Indian goods to a considerable amount, the balance, contained in four large and two small store-houses,

were destroyed, amounting to from fifty to one hundred thousand dollars. All private property was, according to your orders, respected. The officers and men under my command behaved with great activity and zeal, particularly Midshipman Swartwout.

From Captain A. Sinclair to the Secretary of the Navy.

UNITED STATES SLOOP NIAGARA,

OFF MICHILIMACKINAC, July 29th, 1814.

SIR,—Whilst windbound at St. Joseph's I captured the Northwest Company's schooner, Mink, from Michilimackinac to St. Mary's with a cargo of flour. Receiving intelligence through this source that the schooner Perseverance was laying above the falls at the lower end of Lake Superior in waiting to transport the Mink's cargo to Fort William, I despatched the ships' launches under Lieutenant Turner of the Scorpion, an active and enterprising officer, to capture, and, if possible, get her down the falls. Colonel Croghan attached Major Holmes with a party of regulars to co-operate in the expedition in which the capture of St. Mary's was included. The official report of the result made by Lieutenant Turner I herewith enclose you. The capture of the Perseverance gave us the complete command of Lake Superior, and had it not been for the strong force at Michilimackinac forbidding a separation of our means of attacking that place and feeling myself bound by my instructions to do so before I was at liberty to enter into any extensive enterprise of my own planning, I should have availed myself of this unlooked for advantage and have broken up all their establishments on Lake Superior. The capture of Fort William alone would have nearly destroyed the enemy's fur trade, as that is his grand depot and general rendezvous from which his extensive trade branched out in all directions, and at which place there is never less than a million in property, and at this season of the year it is said there is twice that amount. I fear such another opportunity may never recur. The capture of those two vessels and the provisions will, however, prove of very serious inconvenience to the enemy in that quarter where the loss cannot possibly be retrieved. Flour was before this loss worth sixty dollars per barrel with them, and salt provisions fifty cents per pound, etc.

From Major A. H. Holmes to Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan.

UNITED STATES SCHOONER SCORPION, 27th July, 1814.

SIR,—Pursuant to your orders of the 22nd instant, I left the squadron with Lieutenant Turner of the Navy, and arrived at the Sault Ste.

Marie the day after. Two hours before the Northwest Agent had received notice of our approach and succeeded in escaping with a considerable amount of goods after setting fire to the vessel above the falls. The design of this latter measure was frustrated only by the intrepid exertions of Mr. Turner with his own men and a few of Captain Saunder's company.

The vessel was brought down the falls on the 25th, but having bilged, Mr. Turner destroyed her. Most of the goods we have taken were found in the woods on the American side and were claimed by the agent, John Johnson, an Indian trader.

I secured this property because it was good prize by the maritime law of nations as recognized by the English courts (witness the case of Admiral Rodney, adjudged by Lord Mansfield), further, because Johnson has acted the part of a traitor, having been a citizen and magistrate of Michigan Territory, and at its commencement and now discharging the functions of a magistrate under the British Government; because his agent armed the Indians from his stores at our approach, and, lastly, because those goods, or a considerable part, were designed to be taken to Michilimackinac. Pork, salt, and groceries compose the chief part. Johnson himself passed to Michilimackinac since the squadron arrived at St. Joseph's.

From Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall to Lieutenant Worsley.

MICHILIMACKINAC; 28th July, 1814.

SIR,—The American expedition destined for the attack of this island having at length made its appearance under the command of Commodore Elliott and Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan, consisting of the Niagara, 20 guns, Lawrence, 20 Hunter, brig 8, and a large schooner of guns, the Mary of guns, five gunboats and the Mink, their prize, I hasten to apprise you of the circumstance, lest the Nancy and her valuable cargo fall into their hands, and that you may be enabled to take such steps for her preservation as will appear to you most expedient under the circumstances. I have taken such precautions as were in my power to make you acquainted with this event in case you may be on your passage. If so, I would recommend you to return to the Nottawasaga River and to take up the Nancy as high as possible, place her in a judicious position and hastily run up a log house (such as were made when the boats were built, but larger) with loopholes and embrasures for your two six pounders which will enable you to defend her should you be attacked, which is not unlikely.

The mode of obtaining her cargo which is of such value to us will depend upon the result of the attack which we daily expect, and of the duration of the blockade. I see no other way of obtaining the provisions, but by bringing them protected by carronades in the bows of two of them. You will probably receive instructions from Kingston as to your conduct.

(From Niles' Register, Volume VII, page 132. Captured by Captain Sinclair, at Nottawasaga.)

From Captain Sinclair to the Secretary of the Navy.

UNITED STATES SLOOP NIAGARA,

OFF THUNDER BAY, August 9, 1814.

SIR,—I arrived off Michilimackinac, on the 26th July, but owing to a tedious spell of bad weather, which prevented our reconnoitering or being able to take a prisoner who could give us information of the enemy's Indian force which from several little skirmishes we had on an adjacent island, appeared to be very great, we did not attempt a landing until the 4th instant, and it was then made more with a view to ascertain the enemy's strength than with any possible hope of success. Knowing at the same time that I could effectually cover their landing and retreat to the ships from the position I had taken within 300 yards of the beach. Colonel Croghan would never have landed, even with this protection being positive that the Indian force alone on the island with the advantages they had, were superior to him, could he have justified himself to his government without having stronger proof than appearances that he could not effect the object in view.

Mackinac is by nature a perfect Gibraltar, being a high, inaccessible rock on every side except from the west, from which to the heights you have near two miles to pass through a wood so thick that our men were shot in every direction, and within a few yards of them, without being able to see the Indians who did it, and a height was scarcely gained before there was another within fifty or one hundred yards, commanding it where breastworks were erected and cannon opened on them. Several of these were charged and the enemy driven from them, but it was soon found the further our troops advanced the stronger the enemy became, and the weaker and more bewildered our force were; several of the commanding officers were picked out and killed or wounded without seeing any of them. The men were getting lost and falling into confusion, natural under such circumstances, which demanded an imme-

diate retreat or a total defeat, and massacre must have ensued. This was conducted in a masterly manner by Colonel Croghan who had lost the aid of that valuable and ever to be lamented officer, Major Holmes, who with Captain Van Horne, was killed by the Indians. The enemy were driven from many of their strongholds, but such was the impenetrable thickness of the woods that no advantage gained could be profited by. Our attack would have been made immediately under the lower fort so that the enemy might not have been able to use his Indian allies to such advantage as in the woods, having discovered by drawing a fire from him in several instances that I had greatly the superiority of metal of him, but its site being about 130 feet above the water, I could not, when near enough to do him an injury, elevate sufficiently to batter it. Above this, nearly as high again, he has another stronghold commanding every point on the island and almost perpendicular on all sides. Colonel Croghan not deeming it prudent to make a second attempt upon this place and having ascertained to a certainty that the only naval force the enemy have upon the lake consists of a schooner of four guns, I have determined to despatch the Lawrence and Caledonia to Lake Erie immediately, believing that their service in transporting our armies there will be wanting, and it being important that the sick and wounded amounting to about one hundred, and that part of the detachment not necessary to further our future operations here should reach Detroit without delay. By an intelligent prisoner captured in the Mink, I ascertained this and that the mechanics and others sent across from York during the winter were for the purpose of building a flotilla to transport reinforcements and supplies to Mackinac. An attempt was made to transport them by way of Machedash, but it was found impracticable from all the portages being a morass; that they then resorted to a small river called Nottawasaga, situated to the south of Machedash, from which there is a portage of three leagues over a good road to Lake Simcoe. This place was never known until pointed out to them by an Indian. This river is very narrow and has six or eight feet of water in it, and is then a muddy rapid shallow for forty-five miles to the portage where their armada was built and their store-houses are now situated. The navigation is dangerous and difficult, and so obscured by rocks and bushes that no stranger could ever find it. I have, however, availed myself of this means of discovering it. I shall also blockade the mouth of French River until the fall, and those two being the only two channels of communication by which Mackinac can possibly be supplied, and their provisions at this time being extremely short, I think they will be starved into a surrender. This will also cut

off all supplies to the Northwest Company who are now nearly starving, and their furs on hand can only find transportation by way of Hudson's Bay. At this place, I calculate on falling in with their schooner which it is said is gone there for a load of provisions and a message sent to her not to venture up while we are on the lake.

From Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan to the Secretary of War.

UNITED STATES SLOOP NIAGARA,

OFF THUNDER BAY, August 9th, 1814.

SIR,—We left Fort Gratiot (head of the straits of St. Clair) on the 12th ultimo, and imagined we should arrive in a few days at Machedash Bay. At the end of a week, however, the Commodore from want of pilots acquainted with the unfrequented part of the lake, despaired of being able to find a passage through the islands into the bay, and made for St. Joseph's where he anchored on the 20th day of July. After setting fire to the Fort of St. Joseph's, which seemed not to have been recently occupied, a detachment of infantry and artillery, under Major Holmes, was ordered to Sault St. Mary's for the purpose of breaking up the enemy's establishment at that place. For particulars relative to the execution of this order, I beg leave to refer you to Major Holmes' report herewith enclosed. Finding on my arrival at Michilimackinac, on the 26th ultimo, the enemy had strongly fortified the height overlooking the old fort of Mackinac, I at once despaired of being able with my small force to carry the place by storm and determined (as the only course remaining) on landing and establishing myself in some favorable position whence I should be enabled by gradual and slow approaches under cover of my artillery in which I should have the superiority in point of metal. I was urged to adopt this step by another reason not a little cogent; could a position be taken and fortified on the island, I was well aware it would either induce the enemy to attack me in my stronghold or force his Indians and Canadians (his most efficient and only disposable force) off the island, as they would be very unwilling to remain in my neighborhood after a permanent footing had been taken. On inquiry I learned from individuals who had lived on the island, that a position as desirable as I might wish, could be found on the west end and therefore immediately made arrangements for disembarking. A landing was effected on the 4th instant under cover of the guns of the shipping, and the line being quickly formed, had advanced to the edge of the field spoken of, when intelligence was con-

veyed to me that the enemy was ahead, and a few seconds more brought us a fire from his battery of four pieces firing shot and shell. After reconnoitering his position which was well selected, his line reached along the edge of the woods at the further extremity of the field and was covered by a temporary breastwork. I determined on changing my position (which was now two lines, the militia forming the front) by advancing Major Holmes' battalion of regulars on the right of the militia, thus to outflank him, and by a vigorous effort to gain his rear. The movement was immediately ordered, but before it could be executed, a fire was opened by some Indians posted in a thick wood near our right which proved fatal to Major Holmes and severely wounded Captain Desha (the next officer in rank). This unlucky fire by depriving us of the services of our most valuable officers, threw that part of the line into confusion, which the best exertions of the officers were not able to recover. Finding it impossible to gain the enemy's left owing to the impenetrable thickness of the woods, a charge was ordered to be made by the regulars immediately in front. This charge, although made in some confusion, seemed to drive the enemy back into the woods from whence an annoying fire was kept up by the Indians.

Lieutenant Morgan was ordered up with a light piece to assist the left now particularly galled; the excellent practice of this brought the enemy to fire at a longer distance. Discovering that this position from whence the enemy had just been driven (and which had been represented to me as so high and commanding), was by no means tenable from being interspersed with thickets and intersected in every way by ravines. I determined no longer to expose my force to the fire of an enemy, deriving every advantage from numbers and a knowledge of the position, and therefore ordered an immediate retreat towards the shipping.

This affair which cost us many valuable lives, leaves us to lament the fall of that gallant officer, Major Holmes, whose character is so well known to War Department. Captain Van Horne of the 19th Infantry and Lieutenant Jackson of the 24th Infantry, both brave and intrepid young men, fell mortally wounded at the head of their respective commands. Captain Desha of the 24th Infantry, although severely wounded, continued with his command until forced to retire from faintness through loss of blood. Captains Saunders, Hawkins, and Sturgis, with every subaltern of that battalion, acted in the most exemplary manner. Ensign Bryan, 2nd Rifle Regiment, acting adjutant of the battalion, actively forwarded the wishes of the commanding officer. Lieutenants Hickman, 28th Infantry, and Hyde, of the United States

Marines, who commanded the reserve, claim my particular thanks for keeping that command in readiness to meet any exigency. I have before mentioned Lieutenant Morgan's activity; his two assistants, Lieutenant Pickett and Mr. Peters, conductor of artillery, also merit the name of good officers.

The militia were wanting in no part of their duty; Colonel Cotgreave, his officers and soldiers deserve the warmest approbation. My acting adjutant-general, Captain N. H. Moore, 28th Infantry, with Volunteer Adjutant McComb, were prompt in delivering my orders. Captain Gratiot, of the Engineers, who volunteered his services as adjutant on the occasion, gave me valuable assistance.

On the morning of the 5th, I sent a flag to inquire into the state of the wounded (two in number), who were left on the field, and to request permission to bring away the body of Major Holmes which was also left, owing to the unpardonable neglect of the soldiers in whose hands he was placed. I am happy in assuring you that the body of Major Holmes is secured and will be buried at Detroit with becoming honors.

I shall discharge the militia to-morrow and will send them down with two regular companies to Detroit. With the remaining three companies I shall attempt to destroy the enemy's establishment in the head of Naw-taw-wa-sa-ga River, and if it is thought best erect a post at the mouth of that river.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of a detachment commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Croghan, in the affair of the 4th August.

11th August, 1814.

Artillery—Wounded—Three privates.

Infantry—17 Regiment. Killed—Five privates; wounded—two sergeants, two corporals, fifteen privates, two privates since dead; two privates missing.

19th Regiment. Wounded—One captain, nineteen privates. Captain J. Van Horne, and one private since dead.

24th Regiment. Killed—Five privates; wounded, one captain, one lieutenant, three sergeants, one musician, five privates. Captain Desha, severely. Lieutenant H. Jackson, and one sergeant since dead.

32nd Regiment. Killed—Major A. H. Holmes.

United States Marines. Wounded—One sergeant.

Ohio Militia. Killed—Two privates; wounded, five privates. One private since dead.

Extract from a letter to W. D. Thomas, M.D., surgeon of the 104th Regiment at York or Kingston.

NOTTAWASAGA, 6th August, 1814.

It is now nearly a month since I left York in company with Lieutenant Worsley of the Navy on my way to the land of promise, but things have turned out rather unfortunately, for you still behold me a sojourner in the wilderness. We had waited about a week on the banks of this river before the Nancy arrived during which time we suffered every misery you can imagine from bad weather and mosquitoes, etc., etc. The land here is the most barren I have seen. It seems to have been formed from time to time by the washing of Lake Huron, it being for upwards of two miles composed entirely of banks of sand on which nothing grows but small brushwood. We found a number of Indians encamped on the lake shore who were extremely troublesome until the vessel arrived. It was not possible to keep them out of our wigwams. You may then imagine what a pleasant sight the Nancy was for us. We found her a very fine schooner with an admirable cabin. Her cargo was not completed before Sunday last and she got under way on Monday with every prospect of reaching Mackinac in a short time, which is only 220 miles from hence. We had been out but a few hours when we met an express from Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall to say that the American squadron from Lake Erie of large force was blockading the island and we could not possibly reach it. We, therefore, had the mortification to put back into this wretched place where we are busily employed in erecting a block-house to contain and defend the stores and schooner in case of an attack which is an event I have no doubt of, but I hope from the strength of the ground Worsley has chosen and the goodness of his crew that we shall be able to beat off a very strong force. The river is too narrow to sail up, we shall, therefore, only have gunboats to contend with. I hope Mackinac has provisions for three months, and the enemy, it is said, cannot keep out so long on account of the climate, so that the Nancy can make a run late in the season with the stores, if we succeed in defending them. I expect the man who brought the express the other day, who has gone on to York, and intends going back to Mackinac in a canoe. I shall trust my person with him as he thinks he can again give Jonathan the slip.

(From Niles' Register, Volume VII, page 132-3. Taken by Sinclair at Nottawasaga.)

From Lieutenant-General Drummond to Sir George Prevost.
CAMP NEAR FORT ERIE, August 11, 1814.

(Extract.)

Instantly on the receipt of these letters, I directed a communication to be made to the officer commanding at York, covering extracts of the most important parts of them, with instructions that the commissariat should be called upon to carry into effect the request of Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall as far as relates to that department in the transport of provisions, etc., and that a detachment of militia and Indians should be sent to Nottawasaga for the protection of the Nancy schooner.

(Canadian Archives, Series C, Volume 685, page 73.)

From Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall to Sir George Prevost.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 14th August, 1814.

SIR,—I have reported to Lieutenant-General Drummond the particulars of the attack made by the enemy on this post on the 4th instant. My situation was embarrassing. I knew that they could land upwards of a thousand men, and after manning the guns at the forts, I had only a disposable force of one hundred and forty to meet them, which I determined to do in order as much as possible to encourage the Indians, and having the fullest confidence in the little detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment. The position I took up was excellent, but at an unavoidable and too great a distance from the forts, in each of which I was only able to leave twenty-five militia-men. There were likewise roads upon my flanks, every inch of which were known to the enemy by means of people formerly residents of this island, which were with them. I could not afford to detach a man to guard them, and it is one of the misfortunes of having to do with Indians and depending upon them, that they will do as they like, and in action it is impossible to form any previous judgment whether they will behave well or ill or are disposed to fight or not.

My position was rather too extensive for such a handful of men. The ground was commanding, and in front clear as I could wish it, on both flanks and rear a thick wood. My utmost wish was that the Indians would only prevent the enemy from gaining the woods upon our flanks which would have forced them upon the open ground in my front. A natural breastwork protected my men from every shot, and I told them

that on the close approach of the enemy they were to pour in a volley and immediately charge. Numerous as they were, all were fully confident of the result.

On the advance of the enemy my six-pounder and three-pounder opened a heavy fire upon them, but not with the effect they would have had, not being well manned, and for want of an artillery officer which would have been invaluable to us as they moved slowly and cautiously, declining to meet me on the open ground, but gradually gaining my left flank, which the Indians permitted even in the woods without firing a shot. I was even obliged to weaken my small front by detaching the Michigan Fencibles to oppose a party of the enemy which were advancing to the woods on my right. I now received accounts from Major Crawford of the militia that the enemy's two large ships had anchored in the rear of my left and that troops were moving by a road in that direction towards the forts. I therefore moved to place myself between them and the enemy, and took up a position effectually covering them from whence collecting the greater part of the Indians who had retired and taking with me Major Crawford and about 50 militia. I again advanced to support a party of the Fallsovine Indians who, with their gallant chief, Thomas, had commenced a spirited attack upon the enemy who, in a short time lost their second in command and several other officers, seventeen of which we counted dead upon the field besides what they carried off and a considerable number wounded. The enemy retired in the utmost haste and confusion, followed by the troops, till they found shelter under the very broadside of their ships within a few yards of the shore. They re-embarked that evening and the vessels immediately hauled off.

Though the enemy, formidable as they were in numbers, have made so poor a business of their attack, yet I must still ever regret their being not more effectually punished which would not assuredly have been the case had not the Indians gradually disappeared, leaving both flanks uncovered. The gallant Fallsovinces with a few Winnebagoes, Chipewas, and Ottawas certainly retrieved their character.

I am now fully convinced of the great danger of depending upon these people for the defence of this island, they are as fickle as the wind, and though the American Commodore avowed to Major Crawford his intention of renewing his attack, the instant he received some re-inforcements (by the end of this month), yet all my endeavors have not been able to prevent a great many from going away, according to their custom after an action. Should they be as good as their word (and they say the island must be retaken, cost what it will), I shall have to

encounter them with a force considerably diminished while theirs will have been proportionately increased.

I have, therefore to assure Your Excellency that the present garrison is entirely inadequate to the defence of the island which has now assumed a degree of importance which it never had before, and which would be productive of most serious consequences were its safety and due security to be neglected. Indeed, it is of such consequence that this frontier should be kept in a respectable state of defence that when all the re-inforcements have arrived it would be worth while to employ a regiment between this place and the Mississippi. We here require at least one hundred picked men and an officer and twenty artillery and a company (and a small detachment of artillery) are absolutely necessary to defend Colonel McKay's new conquest. The fort is represented to me as being strongly situated and being capable of making an excellent defence.

The enemy's designs upon that fine country have been long formed and they had not a doubt of the whole of it as well as this island being by this time in their possession by which means our connection with all the Indians of the Mississippi would have been completely cut off. Nothing could have opposed them on that river, and they could with impunity have carried their schemes of conquest even to Hudson's Bay.

It will give me uncommon satisfaction should Your Excellency be convinced of the importance of securing the Mississippi and the beneficial consequences which must result therefrom, for I should then consider it practicable that a company under an active intelligent officer might still garrison Fort McKay previous to the winter. They might embark at Nottawasaga in the Nancy and have ample time to reach that place, whereas if omitted till next next year it will be the middle of June before they can reach it, which I much fear will enable the enemy previously to attack it.

Mr. Rolette tells me there are ample supplies to maintain the garrison. The Indians cannot be relied on for its defence, but a company of regular troops would rally round them and firmly retain in our interest all the tribes on the Mississippi. A number of them, particularly those in the neighborhood of St. Louis, being without support from us, and in the power of the enemy, have accordingly temporized and kept back. A similar instance of this lately occurred. Governor Clark on his return route made peace with the Sauks and Renards, but the instant they heard of the capture of the fort and the arrival of the British then they immediately obeyed Colonel McKay's summons, was supplied by him with ammunition and attacking Major Campbell's flotilla, effected

the destruction of his whole detachment. This signal and justly deserved punishment together with the capture of Fort McKay and the general union of the Indians will cause great terror in St. Louis, and fully deter them from making any attempts on the reconquered country till the ensuing spring.

(Canadian Archives, Series Q, Volume 128-1, page 229.)

From Captain A. Sinclair to Lieutenant Daniel Turner.

NOTTAWASAGA RIVER, August 15, 1814.

SIR,—Having accomplished the object for which the squadron came into this quarter in the destruction of the enemy's whole naval force on this lake. I am on the eve of returning to Lake Erie, but as it is all important to cut the enemy's line of communication from Michilimackinac to York which is through the Nottawasaga River, Lake Simcoe, etc., and on which his very existence depends, you will remain here and keep up a blockade until you shall be driven from the lake by the inclemency of the season, suffering not a boat or canoe to pass in or out of this river. I shall leave the Tigress with you. In case accident should happen to either one of the vessels, the other may afford her necessary assistance. Should you deem it proper to send the Tigress up to cruise a week or two about St. Joseph's in order to intercept the enemy's fur canoes between Ste. Marie's and French River, you can do so, as one vessel is sufficient to blockade this river.

I should recommend your immediately finding out an anchorage to cover you from the northwest gales, as that is the only wind which can affect you in this bay. I see from the Nancy's log book that the small island on the southwest of this bay is such a place as you could wish, directions for which, I herewith give you. The island north of us may also give you good anchorage, but always be sure of some good bottom before anchoring, as the loss of an anchor might prove of serious consequence to you. Should you find anchorage on both sides, I should recommend your changing frequently, and in a way not to be observed by the enemy who might not only avail himself of your position to move out his boats on the opposite side, but he might attempt surprising you by throwing a number of men on board. Against attacks of this kind which he might be driven to by his desperate situation as this blockade must starve him into a surrender by spring, I must particularly caution you. When the Tigress is here it would be well to be on the opposite shore and sometimes to run out of sight, taking care to scour

both shores as you return. I shall endeavor to annoy the navigation of the river by felling trees at its mouth in order that a portage must be performed there which must be seen by you.

I wish you to take an accurate survey of this bay and its islands, and if possible, of the one on the north of it called Machedash, observing all its islands, bays, shoals, anchorages, courses, distances, and soundings, particularly attending to the kind of bottom.

Should anything occur to make it necessary, you can send the *Tigress* express to me. If we can keep their boats from passing until October, I think the weather will effectually cut off all communication by anything they have on float, and in the spring an early blockade will possess us of Mackinac.

You will be particularly careful in having communication with the shore, and when you send a party for wood, let it be on an island and under protection of your guns and a guard from both vessels. Wishing you a pleasant cruise, I am your, etc.

From George Crookshank to Peter Turquand, Deputy Commissary General.

YORK, 21st August, 1814.

SIR,—I have the honor to report that I have just returned from Nottawasaga. On my arrival there I learned from Lieutenant Worsley, Royal Navy, that the enemy's fleet had appeared off the mouth of the Nottawasaga on the 13th, and on the 14th that they landed a large party of men, in consequence of which I regret to say he had to destroy the *Nancy* with all the cargo to prevent the same from falling into the enemy's hands, a copy of the invoice and receipts for the same, I herewith enclose. There was also 50 bags of flour, private property, on board which I had directed Mr. Livingston to load a canoe with and proceed and I would replace the same, but the enemy had appeared before Mr. Livingston had reached that place. One of the largest size gunboats which had been brought down from Mackinac for the purpose of loading the vessel fell into the hands of the enemy. I have also enclosed a return of the quantity of provisions remaining in the storehouse at Nottawasaga, part of which Lieutenant Worsley takes on with him in two boats and a large canoe with Mr. Livingston. As Mr. Worsley had hands for manning another boat, I directed one to be sent across from Lake Simcoe to him, and think it probable they have left Nottawasaga to-day in case the boat sent across the carrying place should not have got injured in the transport. In that case Lieutenant

Worsley would proceed with the two boats and the canoe, as it is doubtful whether Mr. La Mothe, who has charge of the government canoes, will return for provisions. I will immediately send out three bateaux and endeavor to get hands for manning the same they they may make two trips with flour to the place pointed out by Colonel McDouall, and shall send out sufficient to make up the 600 barrels required for that post.

All the public letters that were forwarded in charge of Lieutenant Worsley for Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall, I learn were burnt in the vessel, of which I have to request you will inform Colonel Foster as some of the packets that were delivered to Lieutenant Worsley were from General Drummond.

P.S. The enemy's fleet left Nottawasaga River on the 15th instant and stood up the lake.

(Canadian Archives, Series C, Volume 685, page 145.)

From Lieutenant-Colonel George Croghan to Brigadier-General Duncan McArthur.

DETROIT, August 23rd, 1814.

DEAR SIR,—I communicated in my report of the 11th instant my intention of continuing on Lake Huron with three companies for the purpose of breaking up any depots the enemy might have on the east side of the lake.

We were fortunate in learning that the only line of communication from York to Mackinac, etc., was by way of Lake Simcoe and Nottawasaga River which runs into Lake Huron about 100 miles southeast of Cabot's Head. To that river, therefore, our course was directed in the hope of finding the enemy's schooner, Nancy, which was thought to be in that quarter. On the 13th instant the fleet anchored off the mouth of the river and my troops disembarked on the peninsula formed between the river and lake for the purpose of fixing a camp.

On reconnoitering the position thus taken, it was discovered that the schooner, Nancy, was drawn up in the river a few hundred yards above us under cover of a block-house erected on a commanding situation on the opposite shore.

Having landed with nothing larger than four pounders, and it being now too late in the evening to establish a battery of heavy guns, I determined on remaining silent until I could open with effect.

On the following morning a fire for a few minutes was kept up by the shipping upon the block-house, but with little effect as the direction

to it only could be given, a thin wood intervening to obscure the view. About 12 o'clock, two howitzers (an eight and a half and a five and a half inch) being placed within a few hundred yards of the block-house, commenced a fire which lasted but a few minutes when the house blew up and at the same time communicated the fire to the Nancy which was quickly so enveloped in flames as to render any attempt which might have been made to save her unavailing. My first impression on seeing the explosion was that the enemy after having spiked his guns had set fire to the magazine himself, but on examination it was found to have been occasioned by the bursting of one of our shells which firing some combustible matter near the magazine gave the enemy but barely time to escape before the explosion took place. The Commodore secured and brought off the guns which were mounted within the block-house (two twenty-four pounder carronades and one long six pounder) together with some round shot, grape, and canister. The enemy will feel severely the loss of the Nancy, her cargo consisting (at the time of her being set on fire) of several hundred barrels of provisions intended as a six months' supply for the garrison at Mackinac.

Having executed (so far as my force could effect) the orders of the 2nd of June, from the Secretary of War. I left Nottawasaga on the 15th and arrived on the 21st at the mouth of the River St. Clair with my whole force, except a few soldiers of the 17th Infantry, who were left as marines on board the two small vessels which still continue to cruise on that lake.

From Captain Sinclair to the Secretary of the Navy.

ON BOARD THE UNITED STATES SLOOP NIAGARA,
ERIE, September 3, 1814.

SIR,—Immediately after the attack on Michilimackinac I despatched the Lawrence and Caledonia with orders to Lieutenant-Commandant Dexter to make all possible despatch to Lake Erie and there co-operate with our army, etc., while I shaped my course in pursuit of the enemy's force supposed to be about Nottawasaga, and I cannot but express my surprise at having passed those vessels and arrived at Erie before them. By that opportunity I informed you of my movements up to the 9th ultimo, since which time I have been fortunate enough to find His Britannic Majesty's schooner laden with provisions, clothing, etc., for the troops at Mackinac.

She was two miles up the Nottawasaga River under a block-house strongly situated on the southeast side of the river, which running

nearly parallel with the bay for that distance, forms a narrow peninsula. This and the wind being off shore afforded me a good opportunity of anchoring opposite to her within good battering distance, but finding the sand hills and trees frequently interrupting my shot, I borrowed one of the howitzers from Colonel Croghan, mounted it on one of my carriages and sent it on the peninsula under command of Lieutenant Holdup. A situation was chosen by Captain Gratiot, of the Engineers, from which it did great execution. The enemy defended himself very handsomely until one of our shells burst in his block-house and in a few minutes blew up his magazine. This set fire to a train which had been laid for the destruction of the vessel and in an instant she was in flames. I had made the necessary preparation with boats for getting on board of her, but frequent and heavy explosions below made the risk of life too great to attempt saving her. She was, therefore, with her valuable cargo, entirely consumed. I cannot say whether those who defended her were blown up in the block-house or whether they retreated in rear of their work which they might have done unseen by us as it afforded a descent into a thick wood. I hope the latter. A number of articles were picked up at a considerable distance off. Among them was the commander's desk containing copies of letters, etc., several of which I enclose herein for your information. They seem to show the vessel to have been commanded by Lieutenant Worsley of the Royal Navy; of what infinite importance her cargo was to the garrison at Mackinac, and that they have nothing now afloat on this lake. The Nancy appeared to be a very fine vessel between the size of the Queen Charlotte and Lady Prevost. There were three guns on the block-house, two twenty-four pounders and one six pounder. I cannot say what was on the vessel as all her ports were closed. I also got a new boat called a gun-boat, but unworthy the name, being calculated only to mount a 24 pound carronade.

The Nottawasaga is too narrow and overhung with trees for a vessel to get up except by warping which prevented my sending boats in or Colonel Croghan from attempting to turn his rear as we saw a number of Indians skulking and occasionally firing across from the banks. It was in this way the only man we had touched was wounded.

You will see by the enclosed letters the short state they are in for provisions at Michilimackinac, and I am assured from the best authority that this is the only line of communication by which they can be supplied, that of the Grand River being rendered impassable for anything heavier than a man can carry on his back by sixty portages. I have therefore left the Scorpion and Tigress to blockade it closely until

the season becomes too boisterous for boat transportation. Colonel Croghan thought it not advisable to fortify and garrison Nottawasaga as the enemy's communication from York is so short and convenient that any force he could leave there would be cut off in the winter.

I was unfortunate in getting embayed in a gale of wind on a rocky iron bound shore which occasioned the loss of all the boats I had in tow which was the captured gunboat and my launch. I felt fortunate in saving my vessel, lumbered as she was, with 450 souls on board and shipping such immense quantities of water as to give me very serious alarm for some hours. I was compelled to strike some of my guns below, and nothing saved her at last but a sudden shift of wind, as there is nothing like an anchorage in Lake Huron except in the mouths of the rivers, the whole coast being a steep perpendicular rock. I have several times been in great danger of total loss in the extremely dangerous navigation entirely unknown to our pilots except directly to Mackinac, by falling suddenly from no soundings to three fathoms and twice in a quarter less twain all a craggy rock. These dangers might be avoided from the transparency of the water, but for the continued fogs which prevail almost as constantly as on the Grand Bank.

By the arrival of the mail a few hours after I anchored at Detroit I learned the critical state of our army on the peninsula and that the Somers and Ohio had been captured. The craft from the flats with part of my guns had not yet arrived, but being certain that my presence would be necessary at the earliest possible moment, I availed myself of a fair wind and sailed for this place when I am happy to learn that our army feel secure where they are. I have, however, sent the Lawrence, Lady Prevost, and Porcupine to Buffalo, there to render any assistance which may be required and shall follow myself in the course of twenty-four hours. There is such an imminent risk of the loss of the fleet at this season of the year lying to an anchor near Buffalo where the bottom is composed entirely of sharp rock, a strong current setting down and exposed to the open lake from which the heaviest gales are experienced, that I shall not, unless positively ordered to do so from the Department, continue there a moment longer than I can ascertain the commanding general's views, and in what way I can co-operate with him. Daily and dearly bought experience teaches us that we ought not to risk our fleet in a situation where they are so liable to be lost. Lieutenant Kennedy has no doubt informed you of the total loss of the Ariel after being on float and ready to remove from there.

N.B. A company of riflemen from Sandusky has just arrived here and been forwarded on to Fort Erie without delay.

Lieutenant-General Drummond to Noah Freer.

CAMP BEFORE FORT ERIE, August 24th, 1814.

SIR,—Herewith I have the honor to transmit for the information of the Commander of the Forces, a distressing account of the only remaining vessel of any burden in our possession on Lake Huron having been destroyed with her cargo of provisions and stores for Michilimackinac at Nottawasaga.

It would appear that Lieutenant Worsley, of the Royal Navy, who was on his way to relieve Lieutenant Poyntz, and who took charge of the Nancy schooner, was under the necessity of so doing to prevent her falling into the enemy's hands, they having shown themselves with a force at the mouth of that river; Lieutenant Worsley had one seaman killed and one severely wounded, but further particulars I have not been as yet made acquainted with.

P.S. Since writing the foregoing, a letter of which the enclosed is a copy, has been handed to me by Department Commissary General Turquand, from Department Assistant Commissary General Crookshank to him under date of the 21st instant. I presume the senior officer of the Commissariat Department in this Province has duly appreciated the conduct of Mr. Crookshank, and has not failed to report the same in the most favorable point of view to the Commander of the Forces, particularly for his indefatigable and unremitting exertions in procuring and forwarding to the post of Michilimackinac every article of the various stores and provisions required of him, and through a communication, which by his personal observation and perseverance, was completed when scarcely imagined to have been commenced upon.

I feel much pleasure, therefore, in drawing to the notice of His Excellency, the name of an officer so highly deserving of commendation.

(Canadian Archives, Series C, Volume 685, page 138.)

From Lieutenant-General Drummond to Sir George Prevost.

CAMP BEFORE FORT ERIE, September 5th, 1814.

(Extract.)

I take this opportunity of acquainting you that Deputy Assistant Commissary General Crookshank still continues unremitting in his exertions to forward supplies to Michilimackinac. Three only of eleven canoes from Montreal have proceeded to the post, and the crews of the three (the others having altogether refused to proceed) he found it

necessary to bribe largely for that purpose. Mr. La Mothe has returned to Montreal to procure fresh canoes. But I have directed Colonel Claus to send steady Indians without delay in charge of the remaining canoes to Michilimackinac, and as the loss of the Nancy schooner has been a very serious one indeed, I have directed as many bateaux as are necessary to be taken from York to Nottawasaga for the purpose of transport across Lake Huron.

(Canadian Archives, Series C, Volume 685, page 168.)

From Lieutenant A. H. Bulger to Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 7th September, 1814.

SIR,—I have the honor to report to you the particulars of the capture of the United States schooners *Scorpion* and *Tigress* by a detachment from this garrison under the command of Lieutenant Worsley of the Royal Navy and myself.

In obedience to your orders we left Michilimackinac on the evening of the 1st instant in four boats, one of which was manned by seamen under Lieutenant Worsley, the others by a detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment under myself, Lieutenants Armstrong and Radenhurst. We arrived near the Detour about sunset on the following day, but nothing was attempted that night as the enemy's position had not been correctly ascertained. The troops remained the whole day concealed among the rocks, and about six o'clock in the evening embarked and began to move towards the enemy. We had to row about six miles during which the most perfect order and silence reigned. The Indians which accompanied us from Mackinac remained about three miles in our rear. About 9 o'clock at night we discovered the enemy and had approached to within one hundred yards of them before they hailed us. On receiving no answer they opened a smart fire upon us, both of musketry and from the 24-pounder. All opposition, however, was in vain for in the course of five minutes the enemy's vessel was boarded and carried by Lieutenant Worsley and Lieutenant Armstrong on the starboardside, and my boat and Lieutenant Radenhurst on the larboard. She proved to be the *Tigress* commanded by Sailing Master Champlin, mounting one long 24 pounder with a complement of 30 men. The defence of this vessel did credit to her officers who were all severely wounded. She had three men wounded and three missing, supposed to have been killed and thrown immediately overboard. Our loss is two seamen killed and seven soldiers and seamen slightly wounded.

On the morning of the 4th instant the prisoners were sent in a boat to Mackinac under guard, and we prepared to attack the other schooner which we understood was anchored 15 miles further down. The position of the Tigress was not altered, and the better to carry on the deception the American pendant was kept flying. On the 5th instant we discovered the enemy's schooner beating up to us. The soldiers I directed to keep below or to lie down on the deck to avoid being seen. Everything succeeded to our wish, the enemy came to anchor about two miles from us in the night, and as the day dawned on the 6th instant we slipped our cable, ran down under our jib and foresail. Everything was so well managed by Lieutenant Worsley that we were within 10 yards of the enemy before they discovered us. It was then too late, for in the course of five minutes her deck was covered with our men and the British colors hoisted over the American. She proved to be the Scorpion, commanded by Lieutenant Turner of the United States Navy, carrying one long 24-pounder and one long 12-pounder in her hold with a complement of 32 men. She had two men killed and two wounded.

I enclose a return of our killed and wounded and am happy to say that the latter are but slight.

To the admirable good conduct and management of Lieutenant Worsley, of the Royal Navy, the success is in a great measure to be attributed, but I must assure you that every officer and man did his duty.

(Canadian Archives, Series C, Volume 685, page 172.)

Return of the killed and wounded of the troops employed in the capture of the United States schooners, the Scorpion and Tigress, on the 3rd and 6th September, 1814.

Royal Artillery. One rank and file wounded.

Royal Newfoundland Regiment. One lieutenant and six rank and file wounded.

Officer wounded. Lieutenant Bulger, Royal Newfoundland Regiment, slightly.

A. H. BULGER,

Lieutenant Royal Newfoundland Regiment.

N.B.—Three seamen killed.

(Canadian Archives, Series C, Volume 685, page 175.)

From Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall to Lieutenant-General Drummond.

MICHILIMACKINAC, 9th September, 1814.

SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that some Indians on their way to the falls of St. Mary's returned to me with the intelligence that part of the enemy's squadron had, on the 25th ultimo, again made their appearance in the neighborhood of St. Joseph's, likewise occupying the passage of the Detour, their intention evidently being to cut off supplies and prevent all communication with this garrison.

On the 31st I was joined by Lieutenant Worsley, of the Royal Navy, with seventeen seamen, who had passed in a canoe sufficiently near the enemy to ascertain them to be two schooner-rigged gunboats of the larger class. On stating to me his opinion that they might be attacked with every prospect of success, particularly as they were at anchor nearly five leagues asunder, I immediately determined to furnish him with the requisite assistance.

In the course of the next day, four boats were accordingly equipped, two of them with field pieces in their bows. One of them was manned by the seamen of the navy, the remaining three by a detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment under Lieutenants Bulger, Armstrong, and Radenhurst, consisting of fifty men. The whole sailed the same evening under the command of Lieutenant Worsley.

I have now the satisfaction of reporting to you the complete success of the expedition, Lieutenant Worsley having returned to this place on the 7th instant with his two prizes, consisting of the United States schooners, Scorpion and Tigress, the former carrying a long 24 and a long 12-pounder, and the latter a long 24. They were commanded by Lieutenant Turner, of the American Navy, and are very fine vessels. For the particulars of their capture I beg to refer you to the enclosed statement of Lieutenant Bulger, whose conduct in aiding the execution of this enterprise (in which he was slightly wounded) reflects upon him great credit, and I beg leave to recommend him as a meritorious officer of long standing, who has been in many of the actions of this war. Lieutenants Armstrong and Radenhurst possess similar claims, and with the detachment of the brave Newfoundland Regiment, who were familiar with this kind of service, merit my entire approbation. Neither should I omit noticing the zeal displayed by Mr. Dickson and Lieutenant Livingston, of the Indian Department, who volunteered their services on this occasion.

In calling your attention to the conspicuous merit of the officer who so judiciously planned and carried into effect this well concerted

enterprise, I am conscious that I only do Lieutenant Worsley a strict justice in acknowledging the eminent services which he has rendered this garrison. You are already acquainted with the unequal conflict which he sustained at the mouth of the River Nottawasaga, and the almost unprecedented defence he made of the Nancy schooner with only twenty-one seamen and a few Indians against the American squadron, and upwards of three hundred troops. Since that period he, with his gallant little band of seamen, has traversed this extensive lake in two boats laden with provisions for this garrison, and having at this extremity of it, discovered two of his former opponents his active and indefatigable mind never rested till he had relieved us from such troublesome neighbors and conducted the blockading force in triumph into our port.

Such, Sir, have been the services of Lieutenant Worsley, during the short time that he has been stationed on Lake Huron. I have to beg that you will strongly recommend him to the protection of Commodore Sir Jas. Yeo, and also to the patronage of His Excellency the Governor-General in order that my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty may be enabled to appreciate them as they merit.

(Canadian Archives, Series C, Volume 685, page 176.)

From Lieutenant Worsley to Sir James L. Yeo.

MICHILIMACKINAC, September 15th, 1814.

SIR.—In my last despatch from the Nottawasaga River, I informed of my intention to proceed in boats to Michilimackinac. I have now the honor to report to you that I left that place, on the 18th of August, with two bateaux laden with flour for the garrison of Michilimackinac and had the good fortune to arrive on the sixth day, within 8 miles of the island of St. Joseph's, without any accident. On the 24th of August I discovered two of the enemy's schooners under sail between the islands opposite St. Joseph's, and seeing no probability of my being able to pass them in my bateaux, owing to the narrowness of the channel, I determined on concealing them in a secure place, in the choice of which I was greatly assisted by Lieutenant Livingstone, of the Indian Department, who had accompanied me in his canoe from the Nottawasaga River, and whose zeal and activity for the service I beg to acknowledge. As soon as the bateaux were hauled up and concealed, I embarked with my men in a canoe and proceeded in the night for the island of Michilimackinac with the intention of applying to Lieutenant-Colonel

McDouall for assistance in men to attempt cutting out the enemy's vessels. I had the good fortune to pass them unobserved on the night of the 29th of August, and of satisfactorily observing their position and force. I reached the island of Michilimackinac at sunset on the following day, and made known my intentions and wishes to Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall, who immediately granted all the assistance I asked for. A detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, under Lieutenant Bulger, was nominated to accompany me on that service with which, and my own seamen, I manned four bateaux. In one of which I placed a six-pounder, and in the second a three-pounder, which boat I gave the command of to Lieutenant Bulger. On the 1st of September, I left Michilimackinac and arrived near the Detour, distant from thence 36 miles, on the following evening.

In consequence of it having been reported that the enemy had several canoes of Indians with them as a precautionary measure, I acceded to Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall's wishes that a select body of Indian warriors should accompany the expedition, and I feel under great obligation to Mr. Dickson, the head of the Indian Department (who volunteered his services to head them), for the good order and regularity they observed the whole time. On the 3rd instant I went in a canoe for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy's position, being fearful they might have shifted it during my absence, leaving the boats concealed in a small bay. Being only able to see one of the enemy's schooners which was anchored about 6 miles from us and in mid-channel of the Detour, I conceived it prudent to wait for the cover of night. At 6 p.m. I embarked in my boats and proceeded towards the Detour. The night being favorable, we had approached within ten yards of the enemy's schooner before they hailed us, but before we had time to get alongside, they fired their gun, which providentially missed us, and at the same time opened a smart fire with their small arms with very little effect. We soon got alongside and gained the deck where the contest was short, the enemy being driven below from whence, however, they fired several muskets, which unfortunately killed one of my seamen. She proved to be the United States schooner, *Tigress*, mounting one long 24-pounder with a complement of 31 men and officers, commanded by Sailing Master Champlin, who, with the rest of his officers, was severely wounded. Their loss was four wounded, one killed and three missing, reported to have been killed and thrown overboard. Our loss in this affair was trifling, having had two seamen killed, Lieutenant Bulger and seven soldiers wounded. Early in the morning of the 4th instant I despatched the prisoners under guard to Michilimackinac and

prepared to attack the enemy's other vessel, which I understood was anchored some distance from me among the islands. I despatched Lieutenant Livingston in his canoe to look out, who, in two hours, returned and informed me that the enemy's schooner was beating up to me. As I knew from the distance she must have been off that they could not have heard the firing, and consequently must have been ignorant of her consort's having been captured. I determined not to alter the position of the Tigress, but to keep the American pendant still flying. This I did, being aware that if she once had a suspicion of my being an enemy she would escape from her superior sailing. Everything succeeded to my wishes. Unsuspicious of what had taken place, she anchored within two miles of me in the course of the night of the 5th instant I slipped my cable and ran down under my jib and foresail, keeping ten or twelve men on deck, the rest being in the hold or cabin, excepting a few soldiers whom I had covered up with great coats, etc., to prevent anything that could excite suspicion. So little were they apprehensive of our design that they were employed in washing decks, when within about twelve yards of her I fired my long 24-pounder, which was the signal for the soldiers in the hold to board. I immediately ran on board of her when the soldiers fired a volley, and boarded with the whole of my crew. She was immediately carried and the British flag hoisted over the American. She proved to be the United States schooner, Scorpion, commanded by Lieutenant Turner, mounting one long 24-pounder and one long 12-pounder in her hold, and a complement of five officers and 31 seamen. The loss of the enemy on this occasion was two killed and two wounded, that of ours, one wounded.

These vessels had been detached from the American squadron purposely to cut off all communication with Michilimackinac, and to destroy the Uorthwest trade. Several articles of private property plundered from the inhabitants of St. Mary's and St. Joseph's were found on board. They are both fine vessels, well equipped and nearly new, and in my opinion, perfectly calculated for His Majesty's service. It is a pleasing duty to me to point out to you the gallant and steady conduct of all engaged in the affair. To Lieutenants Bulger, Armstrong and Radenhurst, and the gallant detachment of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, I am highly indebted for their cool and determined conduct which was such as has ever marked the character of that meritorious corps. The two former officers are of long standing in the service. I beg leave to recommend them to you for the information of the Commander of the Forces, for their meritorious conduct on this occasion. I herewith enclose you a list of the killed and wounded, also the dimen-

sions of both schooners, which, until your pleasure is known, I have called one the Surprise and the other Constance. I shall sail from this island for the Nottawasaga River directly. I have had the schooners surveyed and valued for the purpose of bringing up stores and provisions to this island.

(Canadian Archives, Series M, Volume 6, page 202.)

From Captain Sinclair to the Secretary of the Navy.

UNITED STATES SLOOP NIAGARA,

OFF ERIE, October 28th, 1814.

SIR,—I am under the mortifying necessity of stating to you that the report mentioned in my last letter of the vessels left in the upper lake, having been surprised and captured by the enemy, has turned out to be correct. The boatswain and four men from the Scorpion made their escape on their way to Kingston, and crossed Lake Ontario from the Bay of Quinte to the Genesee River, and from thence to this place. The man's story is a most unfavorable one, and such as I am loath to believe, true from the well known character of Lieutenant Turner. He says the blockade of Nottawasaga River was raised a short time after my departure, that the lieutenant who commanded the Nancy (and who escaped in the woods when she was destroyed), had passed up to Mackinac in boats, and it was by him and his crew they were captured. The Tigress had been separated from them five days among the islands, during which time she had been captured. They came in sight of her laying at anchor in the evening; the wind being light they anchored some distance from her without passing signals. In the morning there was only four or five men and no officer on deck. The Tigress got under way, ran down, fired into them and was on board without any report being made to Mr. Turner, nor was there an officer of any grade on deck when she was captured. The wind was light, the Scorpion had the advantage of a long 12-pounder over the other, and could have recaptured her with much ease. The Tigress had made great resistance, but was overpowered by an overwhelming force. Her commander, Sailing Master Champlin, and all her officers were wounded, as were many of her men, and some killed. I had given Lieutenant Turner a picked crew from this vessel with my sailing master, and had added to both their crews, 25 chosen men, borrowed from Colonel Croghan to act as marines, I had also left him a boarding netting, indeed, there was no precaution I did not take in anticipation of every effort. I knew

the enemy would make to regain their line of communication on which their very existence depended.

I herewith enclose you my instructions to Lieutenant Turner, After which I cannot express to you, Sir, my chagrin at the little regard which appears to have been paid to them, and the evil consequences growing out of such neglect, consequences, but too well known to you and to the government. You must first believe the infinite interest I had taken in the expedition from the moment I had been entrusted with the conducting it, and the sanguine hope I had formed of its complete success, and the benefits resulting from it to my country to enable you to form an adequate idea of the mortification I now experience.

From Niles' Register, Volume VII, page 173.

ERIE, November 11th, 1814.

Arrived on Sunday last the cartel schooner Union, R. Martin, master, 16 days from Mackinaw, and 3 days from Detroit, with furs and peltry, the property of J. J. Astor. Besides several other passengers, came Sailing Master Champlin, Commander of the Tigress, who, we are happy to learn, is now in a fair way of recovering from the wounds he received in gallantly defending his vessel. Lieutenant Turner and most of the officers and men of the captured schooners have been sent to Quebec. Lieutenant Worsley was at the head of the expedition sent against the Scorpion and Tigress. After the block-house and Nancy were blown up at Nottawasaga, he coasted round from that place in boats and canoes with 22 men, and arrived safe at Mackinaw. He immediately applied to Lieutenant-Colonel McDowell for 100 of the Newfoundland Regiment (mostly fishermen), and said he would bring the two American schooners. Unfortunately he succeeded.

The Union was detained at Mackinaw 38 days until the schooners made a trip to Nottawasaga and returned with provisions. During this time her crew were closely watched. The commanding officer placed sentinels over the vessel, who were permitted to plunder with impunity. When Mr. Champlin and the seamen, all paroled prisoners, were put on board the Union, Lieutenant-Colonel McDowell refused to order on board any provisions, saying he supposed Mr. Astor had a sufficiency.

The passengers from Mackinaw speak in high terms of the humane and gentlemanly conduct of Mr. Robert Dickson; at the same time they depict the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel McDowell as illiberal, rascally and contemptible. The principal agent of Mr. Astor says that

Lieutenant-Colonel McDowell is unquestionably the greatest savage he saw on the island.

Result of proceedings, and the opinion of a Court of Inquiry, held on board the United States ship Independence, in Boston harbor, by order of the Secretary of the Navy, to investigate the loss, by capture, of the United States schooners Scorpion and Tigress, while under the command of Lieutenant Daniel Turner, of the United States Navy, on Lake Huron, in the month of September, 1814.

All the evidence being thus closed, the Court proceeded to deliberate on the testimony adduced, and having fully considered the same, came to the following result:

That the Scorpion, under the command of Lieutenant Turner, and the Tigress, under the command of Sailing Master (now Lieutenant) Champlin were left on the 16th of August last, in Gloucester Bay, by Commodore Sinclair, to blockade Nottawasaga River; that the Scorpion had thirty men, including her officers and mounted one 24-pounder, and although there was a 12-pounder on board, its carriage had been so much disabled as to render it useless, and Lieutenant Turner had not the means of repairing it. It is in evidence, and fully proved, that the Scorpion had no boarding netting, and that she was deficient in spare cordage; that she had no signals, and that her crew was composed of men of the most ordinary class.

The Court find that the Tigress had twenty-eight men, officers included, and mounted one 24-pounder, that she had neither boarding nettings nor signals, and was deficient in cordage. It does not, however, appear that the armament of these schooners was deficient except in pistols.

The Court are of the opinion that inasmuch as no anchorage was found in Gloucester Bay, and it having become dangerous to remain there any longer from the severity of the gales which were increasing, Lieutenant Turner was perfectly justified in raising the blockade of Nottawasaga River and proceeding to St. Joseph's, that the positions taken by him while at St. Joseph's, and in the neighborhood of French River, were well calculated to annoy the enemy in his line of communication with Mackinac.

The Court find that after Lieutenant Turner had proceeded to cruise off French River on the night of the 3rd of September last, the Tigress was attacked by the enemy in five large boats (one of them

mounting a 6-pounder and another a 3-pounder), and by about nineteen canoes, carrying about 300 sailors, soldiers, and Indians, under the command of an English naval officer; that owing to the extreme darkness of the night the enemy were not perceived until they were close on board, nor were they then discovered except by the sound of their oars.

After they were discovered every exertion was made by Lieutenant Champlin, his officers and men to defend his schooner that bravery and skill could suggest, and not until all the officers were cut down, did the overwhelming numbers of the enemy prevail. The enemy having thus captured the Tigress and having mounted on her their 6 and 3-pounders, and having placed on board a complement of between seventy and one hundred men, remained at St. Joseph's until the 5th of September. On the evening of that day the Court find that the Scorpion returned from cruising off French River, and came to an anchor within five miles of the Tigress without any information having been received or suspicion entertained by Lieutenant Turner of her capture. At the dawn of the next day, it appears that the gunner having charge of the watch, passed word to the sailing master that the Tigress was bearing down under American colors. In a few minutes after she ran alongside the Scorpion, fired, boarded, and carried her.

It appears to the Court that the loss of the Scorpion is in a great measure to be attributed to the want of signals, and owing to this deficiency no suspicions were excited as to the character of the Tigress, and from some of the English officers and men on board her being dressed in the clothing of her former officers and men, and the remainder of her crew being concealed, a surprise was effected which precluded the possibility of defence.

The Court are therefore of opinion from the whole testimony that the conduct of Lieutenant Turner was that of a discreet and vigilant officer.

WM. C. AYLWIN,
Judge Advocate.

JOHN SHAW,
President.

Approved,

B. W. CROWNINSHIELD.

(From Niles' Register, Volume VIII, pages 403-4.)

VIII.

REGISTER OF BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS, AT ST. THOMAS, U.C., COMMENCING WITH THE ESTABLISH- MENT OF THE MISSION IN JULY, 1824.

THIS REGISTER IS PRESENTED TO THE MISSION OF ST. THOMAS BY THE
REVEREND A. MACKINTOSH, ITS FIRST MISSIONARY.

REGISTER OF ST. THOMAS, 1824.

ALEXANDER MACKINTOSH,

Rector and Missionary.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 25th July, 1824—Mary Ann, infant daughter of James Hepburn and Margaret, his wife, Southwold, was baptized by me, this day, by public baptism. Ann Mitchell, Margaret Hepburn, Thomas Ryal, Sponsors.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 25th July, 1824—Benjamin Petit and Lydia Johnson, both of Southwold, were married by me, this day, by banns. Witnesses—Thomas Talbot, John Warren, Josiah C. Goodhul, Bela Shaw.

Burial.

St. Thomas, 31st July, 1824—Maria Moorehouse, a native of
, aged 3 years, was interred by me, this day.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 1st August, 1824—Thomas, infant son of Phineas Drake, and Emily, his wife, Yarmouth, was baptised by me, this day, by public baptism. Richard C. Drake, Richard D. Drake, Mary Spades, Sponsor.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 2nd August, 1824—Samuel Horton, of Southwold, and Catharine Gozorte, of London, were married by me, this day, by banns. Witnesses—John Rolph, Bryant Wade, Abraham Youngs.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 8th August, 1824—Mary Lawrence, daughter of Daniel Rapelje, and Elizabeth, his wife, Yarmouth, was baptised by me, this day, by public baptism. George Lawrence, Mary Lawrence, Elizabeth Rapelje, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

St. Thomas, 8th August, 1824—Robert, Walter and Mary Ann, children of Benjamin Wilson, and Sarah, his wife, were baptised by me, this day, by public baptism. Daniel Rapelje, George Lawrence, Mary Lawrence, Sponsors.

Burial.

St. Thomas, 20th August, 1824—Alexander Mackintosh, of Malla-hide, aged —, was interred by me, this day.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 4th September, 1824—James McNairs and Charlotte Schram, both of Western, were married by me, this day, by banns. Witnesses—Mary Dingman, Henry Haigler, Leonard Loomis.

Baptisms.

St. Thomas, 4th September, 1824—Henry B. and Frances Eliza, children of John Bostwick, Esq., and Polly, his wife, Yarmouth, were baptised by me at Vittoria, on 29th August, by public baptism. Joseph Ryerson, Hetty Ryerson, George Ryerson, Hetty Williams, Sponsors.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 4th September, 1824—Frances Mary, infant daughter of George J. Ryerson, and Sarah, his wife, was baptised by me, at Vittoria, on 29th August, by public baptism. George C. Salmon, Mrs. Rolph, Mrs. Salmon, Sponsors.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 4th September, 1824—Henry James, infant son of John B. Askin and Elizabeth, his wife, was baptised by me, at Woodhouse, on 31st August, by public baptism. James Hamilton, John B. Muirhead, Cynthia Van Allen, Sponsors.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 22nd August, 1824—Sarah Jane, infant daughter of James Mitchell and Jane, his wife, Southwold, was baptised, this day, by me, by public baptism. John Mitchell, Ann Mitchell, Sponsors.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 5th September, 1824—Finlay Grant, of Yarmouth, and Hannah Cheyna, of Westminster, were married by me, this day, by banns. Witnesses—James Hamilton, Bela Shaw, Henry Warren.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 6th September, 1824—John Evans and Sidney Wiloughby, both of London, U.C., were married by me, this day, by banns. Witnesses—Ezekiel Evans, James Little, Michael Murphy.

Baptism.

September 8th, 1824—Sarah Ann, infant daughter of Stephen Backus, and Ann, his wife, Dunwich, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Wm. Pearce, Frances Pearce, Catherine Pearce, Sponsors.

Baptism.

8th September, 1824—Mary Ann, infant daughter of John Miles Farland, and Martha, his wife, Dunwich, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Lesslie Patterson, Lydia Patterson, Maria Dobbryn, Sponsors.

Baptism.

9th September, 1824—Philip, infant son of George Henry, and Mary, his wife, Dunwich, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Walter Story, Joseph Patterson, Mary Story, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

9th September, 1824—William, Mary Ann, Robert, David, Henry, children of Thomas Ford and Altha, his wife, Aldborough, were baptised this day, by me, by public baptism. Thomas Ford, Altha Ford, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

9th September, 1824—Archibald, Duncan, Malcolm, children of Duncan Stewart, and Mary, his wife, Aldboro', were baptised this day, by me, by public baptism. Duncan Stewart, Mary Stewart, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

10th September, 1824—John, Sarah, Sussanah, children of Matthew Stewart, and Anna, his wife, Orford, W.D., were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Lesslie Patterson, Lydia Patterson, Sarah Stewart, Sponsors.

Baptism.

10th September, 1824—Alexander, infant son of Robert Stewart, and Marjory, his wife, Orford, W.D., was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Robert Stewart, Marjory Stewart, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

10th September, 1824—John, Martha, Levi, Richard, children of Freeman Green, and Elizabeth, his wife, Howard, W.D., were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Freeman Green, Elizabeth Green, Sponsors.

Baptism.

10th September, 1824—Lovel Harrison, an adult, Howard, W.D., was this day baptised by me, by public baptism.

Baptisms.

10th September, 1824—John, Sophia, George, Jane, children of John Parker, and Sarah, his wife, Howard, W.D., were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Thomas Gardiner, Harriet Parker, Jno. Parker, Sponsors.

Baptism.

12th September, 1824—Clara, infant daughter of William Smith, and Ann, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, at Chatham, W.D. Phillis Eberts, Ann Smith, George Kerby, Sponsors.

Baptism.

12th September, 1824— ———, infant son of Peter Traxler, and Rebecca, his wife, Chatham, W.D., was this day baptised by me, by public

baptism. Peter Traxler, Jno. Pepte Courtney, Margaret Traxler, Sponsors.

Baptism.

13th September, 1824—Michael, son of John Courtney, and Christian, his wife, Chatham, W.D., was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Peter Traxler, Michael Traxler, Madeline Traxler, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

14th September, 1824—Elizabeth, Mary, Nancy, adults, daughters of Joshua Cornwall, Camden, W.D., the first two by Mary, his first wife, and the third by Catherine, his present wife, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 20th September, 1824—Walter Chase and Ann Secord, both of Yarmouth, were married by me, this day, by banns. Witnesses—Michael McCormick, Stephen Secord, Hannah Merril, David Secord.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 22nd September, 1824—Stephen Landan, of Burford, and Anna Sutton, of Westminster, were married by me, this day, by banns. Witnesses—Thomas Evans, Charity Patterson, William Sutton.

Burial.

24th September, 1824—Isaac Copeland, a native of Ireland, was this day interred by me.

Baptism.

26th September, 1824—Thomas, infant son of Charles Golden, and Ann, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Joseph Sifton, Catherine Sifton, Helen Shoebottom, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

26th September, 1824—Mary Ann and Margaret, Children of John Gray, and Mary, his wife, London, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. William Geary, Eliza Geary, Mary Geary, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

26th September, 1824—Henry and Rebecca, children of Stephen Powell, and Esther, his wife, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Stephen Powell, Leonard and John Ardiel, Rebecca and Sarah Ardiel, Sponsors.

Baptism.

26th September, 1824—William Nelson, infant son of William Haskett, and Mary, his wife, London, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Robert Harden, Mary Haskett, William Geary, Sponsors.

Baptism.

26th September, 1824—Charles, infant son of Charles Sifton, and Esther, his wife, London, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. James Golden, Eliza Talbot, C. Sifton, Sponsors.

Baptism.

26th September, 1824—John, infant son of John Ardiel, and Mary, his wife, London, was baptised by me, this day, by public baptism. William Fitzgerald, John Ardiel, Mary Ardiel, Sponsors.

Baptism.

26th September, 1824—Robert, infant son of John Turner, and Margaret, his wife, London, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Wm. Guess, John Turner, Ellen Guess, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

26th September, 1824—The following children were baptised by me, this day, by public baptism, in London, as underneath, viz:—

James, infant son of Jacob Fralick, of London, and Anne, his wife. Charles Sifton, Esther Sifton, Jacob Fralick, Sponsors.

Benjamin, infant son of Francis Lewis, of London, and Sarah, his wife. Stephen Powell, Francis Lewis, Esther Powell, Sponsors.

Thomas, infant son of Samuel Howard, and Ann, his wife, of London. Frederick Fitzgerald, S. Howard, Ann Howard, Sponsors.

Richard and William, children of John Hayes, of London, and Mary, his wife. Charles Golden, Margaret Shoebottom, Ann Golden, John Shoebottom, Sponsors.

John, infant son of Robert Rolph, of London, and Elizabeth, his wife. John Geary, R. Rolph, Sarah Geary, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

26th September, 1824—The following children were baptised by me, this day, by public baptism, in London, as underneath:—

James, infant son of James Shobottom, of London, and Ellen, his wife. James Hayes, Francis Lewis, Mary Hayes, Sponsors.

Thomas, infant son of Thomas Harrison, of London, and Catherine, his wife. John Fralick, James Golden, Caroline Fralick, Sponsors.

Rebecca, infant daughter of Joseph O'Brien, of London, and Charlotte, his wife. John Ardiel, Jos. O'Brien, Mary Ardiel, Sponsors.

Phila, daughter of Isaiah Carter, and Desire, his wife, of London. Ann Geary, Desire Carter, George Geary, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

The following by public baptism, viz.—Lucy Ann, Ira Palmer, Lancaster, Amelia, William, George Peter, children of Ira Schoffield, Esq., of London, and Ruth, his wife. Ira Schoffield, Richard Talbot, William Geary, Lydia Talbot, Martha Maria Schoffield, Sponsors.

Burial.

St. Thomas, 13th October, 1824—Mr. William Hambley, a native of England, aged 78, was interred by me, this day.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 18th October, 1824—Thomas Dickison, and Elizabeth Sells, both of Southwold, were married by me, this day, by banns. Witnesses—John Dougherty, Sarah Sells, Abraham Youngs.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 19th October, 1824—David Brooks, and Charlotte Chase, both of Mallahide, were married by me, this day, by banns. Witnesses—Daniel Brooks, Hiram Corless, Nancy Brooks.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 20th October 1824—William Robb, and Hannah Zaviz, both of Yarmouth, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Joseph Smith, Thomas Zavitz, Robert Nelson.

Baptisms.

9th November, 1824—The following children were baptised by me this day, by public baptism, in London, as underneath:—

Ezekiel Evans, infant son of James Tennant, and Elizabeth, his wife, William Hodgson, Elizabeth Tennant, Sponsors.

—————, infant child of Joseph Hughes, and Alice, his wife. Sponsors.

—————, infant child of Henry O'Niel, and Mahaly, his wife. Sponsors.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 15th November, 1824—John Rhodes and Abigail Secord, both of Yarmouth, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Stephen Secord, Peter Secord, Michael McCormick.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 16th November, 1824—John Ransom Herman, and Elsa Hull, both of Westminster, were this day married, by me, by banns. Witnesses—Josiah C. Goodhue, Catherine Goodhue, Anna Hunt, J. Pattys.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 6th December, 1824—Moses Warner and Amanda Robinson, both of Dunwich, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Oliver Warner, Lessin Robinson, Lydia Warner.

Burial.

St. Thomas, 7th December, 1824—Charles Dougherty, a native of Ireland, aged 32, was this day interred by me.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 13th December, 1824—Isaac Trerice and Effie McGil-lup, both of Port Talbot, Dunwich, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Wm. Buchannan, Jacob Hunter, Col. Talbot.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 10th January, 1825—William Russell, and Rhoda Eliza Duncombe, both of St. Thomas, Yarmouth, were this day married

by me, by banns. Witnesses—David Duncomb, Robert Nelson, Archd. Chisholm.

Marriage.

17th January, 1825—Peter Peer, and Nancy Birch, both of Southwold, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Abraham Young, Peter Horton, Samuel Horton.

Baptisms.

11th February, 1825—At Aldborough. The following children were baptised by me, this day, by public baptism, as underneath:—

Roger and Rebecca, children of James Dickson and Isabella, his wife. James Dickson, Isabella Dickson, Sponsors.

Elizabeth, infant daughter of James Scafe, and Eliza, his wife. James Scafe, Eliza Scafe, Sponsors.

Edmund and William, children of Edmund Mitton, and Mary, his wife. Edmund Mitton, Mary Mitton, Sponsors.

Marriage.

17th February, 1825—John Stafford and Margaret Nicolls, both of Southwold, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Arthur Nicolls, John Hamilton, Caleb Stafford.

Baptism.

20th February, 1825—Ann Caroline, daughter of George D. Spades, and Mary, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Mary Spades, Rhoda Eliza Russell, William Russell, Sponsors.

Marriage.

2nd March, 1825—John Hunt and Charity Patterson, both of the township of Westminster, were this day married by banns. Witnesses—T. Hunt, T. Pattys, W. Hunt.

Burial.

3rd March, 1825—Jane Scaine (wife of Thomas Scaine, of Dunwich, a native of England) died 1st March, aged 59, was this day interred by me.

Marriage.

7th March, 1825—Matthew Peer, of London, and Dorothy House, of Yarmouth, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Bostwick, Abraham House, Abraham [his X mark] House, Senr.

Marriage.

9th March, 1825—James Brown and Lydia Kipp, both of the township of Yarmouth, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Enoch Moore, Lindley Moore, Jonathan Steele, W. T. Pruyenn.

Baptism.

9th March, 1825—Hannah, wife of William Robb, of Yarmouth, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. William Robb, Robt. Nelson, Witnesses.

Baptism.

9th March, 1825—Thomas Bissland, infant son of William Robb and Hannah, his wife, of Yarmouth, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Robt. Nelson, William Robb, Hannah Robb, Sponsors.

Baptism.

27th March, 1825—Charlotte Augusta, daughter of John Bostwick and Polly, his wife, of Yarmouth, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Joseph Smith, Hannah Smith, Hetty Williams, Sponsors.

Baptism.

27th March, 1825—Sarah Ann, daughter of Thomas Zavitz, of Yarmouth, and Mary, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. William Robb, Hannah Robb, Mary Zavitz, Sponsors.

Baptism.

27th March, 1825—Henry, son of Edmund Morgan of Yarmouth, and Catherine, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Joseph Smith, Hannah Smith, Edmund Morgan, Sponsors.

Baptism.

27th March, 1825—Allan and William, sons of Ewen Cameron, of Southwold, and Ellen, his wife, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Ewen Cameron, William Chisholm, Frances Chisholm, Sponsors.

Baptism.

27th March, 1825—Mary Jane, daughter of William Parker, of Yarmouth, and Nancy, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Jarvis Thayer, Junr., Nancy Parker, Anne Parker, Sponsors.

Baptism.

27th March, 1825—Patrick and Jesse, sons of George Parker, of Yarmouth, and Hannah, his wife, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. William Parker, Nancy Parker, Jesse Page, Betsey Page, Sponsors.

Marriage.

30th March, 1825—Abraham Miller and Mary Walters, both of Westminster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Walter Walters, Edward [his X mark] Hunt, Anna Hunt, William Mandeville.

Marriage.

4th April, 1825—Michael Murphy, of Yarmouth, Blacksmith, and Mary McNeal, of Parmouth, spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Patrick Burns, Hugh McNeal, Jnd. Davis.

Marriage.

10th April, 1825—Erastus Westover, farmer, and Mary Ann Jewell, spinster, both of the Township of Mallahide, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Josiah C. Goodhue, Archibald Chisholm, George Caughell.

Baptism.

13th April, 1825—Catherine, infant daughter of William Eldridge and Amy, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by private baptism. The Mother, Amy Eldridge, Sponsors.

Marriage.

18th April, 1825—Elijah Gregory, of Southwold, Farmer, and Ann Elizabeth, Slott, spinster, of Westminster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—William T. VanAllan, William Decow, John Routledge.

Marriage.

20th April, 1825—David Cummings and Elizabeth House, both of the Township of Yarmouth, were this day married by me, by banna. Witnesses—Matthew House, Nancy [her X mark] House, Margaret [her X mark] House.

Baptism.

26th April, 1825—John Cockroft, infant son of John Kirkpatrick, of Windham, and Maria, his wife, born 17th January, 1825, was this day baptised by me by public baptism. R. L. Cockroft, Alexander Kirkpatrick, per proxy, J. K., Cynthia Street, per proxy, R. E. C. Sponsors.

Marriage.

2nd May, 1825—Israel Doane and Sarah Mills, both of the Township of Yarmouth, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Harvy Bryant, James Canberes, Jane Sands.

Marriage.

4th May, 1825—Joseph Steinhoff and Elizabeth Van Velsor, the former of the Township of Yarmouth, and the latter of Southwold, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—William Vanvelsor, William Decow, Sally McIntyre.

Marriage.

9th May, 1825—Orrin Ladd and Lucinda Young, both of the Township of Dunwich, were this day married by me, by banna. Witnesses—James Young, Jefferson Blake, Miriam Wiley.

Baptism.

15th May, 1825—Lydia, infant daughter of Lesslie Paterson, Esq., of Dunwich, and Lydia, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Sarah Stewart, Catherine Pearce, Lesslie Pearce, Sponsors.

Baptism.

15th May, 1825—Henry, infant son of Richard Dobbins, of Dunwich, and Maria, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Thomas Moorhouse, Richard Dobbins, Maria Dobbins, Sponsors.

Baptism.

15th May, 1825—Elizabeth Ann, infant daughter of Gregory Bobier, of Dunwich, and Sarah, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Margaret Bobier, Sarah Bobier, Gregory Bobier, Sponsors.

Baptism.

15th May, 1825—Alexander George, infant son of George Crane, of Dunwich, and Isabella, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. William Crane, George Crane, Isabella Crane, Sponsors.

Marriage.

22nd May, 1825—Samuel Harper, of Mallahide, farmer, and Mira Hay, of Mallahide, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Caleb Burdich, Jacob Hoffman, Cornelius Bowen.

Baptism.

24th May, 1825—Alexander, infant son of Duncan McKenzie, of London, and Margaret, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Duncan McKenzie, Thomas Laurieson, Margaret McKenzie, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

24th May, 1825—Robert and Elizabeth, children of George Rutledge, of London, and Jane, his wife, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Thomas Rutledge, William Armstrong, Elizabeth Sommers, Mary Sommers, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

24th May, 1825—William and Deborah, children of John Turner, and Margaret, his wife, of London, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. John Turner, Margaret Turner, William Gerry, Elizabeth Gerry, Sponsors.

Baptism.

24th May, 1825—Mary Jane, infant daughter of James Shoebottom, and Helen, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Jas. Shoebottom, Helen Shoebottom, Rebecca Sifton, Sponsors.

Baptism.

24th May, 1825—Margaret Ann, infant daughter of Leonard Ardiel and Rebecca, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Jas. Fitzgerald, Leonard Ardiel, Rebecca Ardiel, Sponsors.

Baptism.

24th May 1825—William Lewis, infant son of John Macleod, of London, and Elizabeth, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. John Gray, John McLeod, Eliza McLeod, Sponsors.

Baptism.

24th May, 1825—Jane, infant daughter of Felix McLaughlin and Jane, his wife, of London, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London, John Gerry, Sarah Gerry, Jane McLaughlin, Sponsors.

Baptism.

24th May, 1825—Mary, infant daughter of George Carter, of London, and Desire, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. George Carter, Ann Gerry, Elizabeth Gerry, Sponsors.

Baptism.

18th June, 1825—Benjamin Wilson, of Yarmouth, adult, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. George Crane, Sarah Wilson, Witnesses.

Marriage.

23rd June, 1825—Samuel Guernsey, of Southwold, widower, and Rhoda Duncombe, of St. Thomas, widow, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—E. E. Duncombe, Archibald Chisholm, Samuel Garnsey.

Marriage.

23rd June, 1825—Timothy Burwell, of Southwold, yeoman, and Margaret Wallace, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Wallace, Alexa Moore, John Burwell, Anna [her X mark] Burwell.

On Sunday, the 19th of June, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered in the Church of St. Thomas (for the first time) by the Honorable and Reverend Dr. Stewart, assisted by the Reverend A. M.

Number of communicants 12.

On Tuesday, the 21st of June, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered in the House of Leslie Patterson, Esq., of Dunwich, by the Honorable and Reverend Dr. Stewart, assisted by the Reverend A. M. Number of communicants 39.

Baptism.

21st June, 1825—Stephen, infant son of Stephen Backus, of Dunwich and Anne, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in Dunwich. Walter Story, Leslie Pearce, Sarah Stewart, Sponsors.

Marriage.

3rd July, 1825—John Delorier, of Mallahide, Carpenter, and Lucinda Loucks, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Graves, Jacob Hoffman, N. B. Millard.

Marriage.

4th July, 1825—Ambrose Tyrrel, of the Township of Mallahide, yeoman, and Catherine Clarke, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Benjamin Clark, Enos Call, John Nickel.

Marriage.

10th July, 1825—Joshua Chapel and Maria Vanalstine, both of Yarmouth, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Archibald Chisholme, Joseph Lyons, John Ellwood, Mercy Lyons.

Baptism.

10th July, 1825—James, infant son of John Scatcherd, of Missouri, and Ann, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in Southwold. John Scatcherd, Ann Scatcherd, Sponsors.

Baptism.

17th July, 1825—George, infant son of Josiah C. Goodhue, of St. Thomas, and Catherine, his wife, born 2nd April last, was this day

baptised by me by public baptism. George I. Goodhue, Lucius Bigelow, Elizabeth Mitchell, per proxy, Mrs. Shaw, Sponsors.

Marriage.

20th August, 1825—Benajah Brown, of the Township of Walsingham, merchant, and Elizabeth Partlo, of Mallahide, spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Stephen Randal, A. H. Burwell, Ely Brown.

Marriage.

12th September, 1825—Jefferson Blake, of the Township of Dunwich, yeoman, and Miriam Willey, of the same place, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Lemuel Ladd, Orrin Ladd, Gt. Young.

Marriage.

13th October, 1825—Alvaro Ladd, of the Township of Westminster, merchant, and Nancy Shotwell, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me by banns. Witnesses—Jefferson Blake, Henry Scheneck, L. Ladd, Michael McLaughlan.

Marriage.

17th October, 1825—Thomas Williams, of the Township of Southwold, yeoman, and Martha White, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—William White, Samuel Garnsey, George Harvey.

Marriage.

17th October, 1825—James Peppin, of the Township of Yarmouth, shoemaker, and Hannah Strawn, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Abner Strawn, Elijah Osborn, Daniel W. Stockton.

Marriage.

6th November, 1825—Peter Graves, of the Township of Southwold, shoemaker, and Mary Mann, of Yarmouth, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—J. Nevills, John Marlatt, Lymon Mann.

Burial.

9th November, 1825—Matthew Stewart, of Orford, aged 30, was this day buried by me, in Dunwich.

Marriage.

10th November, 1825—Joseph Atwood, of Mallahide, farmer, and Mary Smith, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banna. Witnesses—Ira Whitecomb, John [his X mark] Rokes, Ira [his X mark] Atwood.

Burial.

28th October, 1825—Abigail, wife of John Rhodes, of Yarmouth, was this day interred in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Baptism.

13th November, 1825—Henry Lesslie, infant son of John Miles Farland, of Dunwich, and Martha, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Lesslie Paterson, Wm Buchanan, Lydia Paterson, Sponsors.

Baptism.

13th November, 1825—Annabella, infant daughter of William Buchanan, of Dunwich, and Annabella, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. John M. Farland, Catherine Pearce, Annabella Buchanan, Sponsors.

Marriage.

28th November, 1825—John Elliott, of Carradoc, yeoman, and Dorothy Bateman, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Stephen Randal, William Bateman, Jane Elliott.

Marriage.

7th December, 1825—William Decow, of Southwold, Yeoman, and Sarah McIntyre, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Henry Hamilton, Samuel Garnsey, William Tanelson.

Marriage.

15th December, 1825—Isaac Culver and Jane Little, both of Yarmouth, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—William J. Collver, James Stokes, John Learn.

Burial.

12th December, 1825—Eleanor Drake, daughter of William Drake, of Yarmouth, aged 13 years, died on 11th inst., and was buried by me, this day in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Burial.

13th December, 1825—Richard Ellison, of Southwold, farmer, aged 24 years, died on 11th inst., and was this day buried by me, in Southwold.

Marriage.

15th December, 1825—Philip Kilmore, of Mallahide, farmer, and Hannah Kilmore, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Philip Kilmore, Martha [her X mark] Kilmore, John Rokes.

Burial.

18th December, 1825—Sarah, wife of Adam Burwell, of Southwold, aged 69 years, died on 16th inst., and was this day interred by me, in the Churchyard of St. Thomas. She was mother to Colonel Burwell of Port Talbot.

Marriage.

21st December, 1825—Harvey Kipp, of Yarmouth, farmer, and Susan Macklem, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—T. Itell, Jane Doan, Hiram Kipp.

Marriage.

21st December, 1825—Hiram Kipp, of Yarmouth, farmer, and Sarah Harvey, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—T. Itell, Jane Doan, Harvey Kipp.

Baptism.

20th December, 1825—Ann Melissa (aged 2 years and 3 1-2 months), daughter of Richard D. Drake, of Southwold, and Elizabeth, his wife,

was this day baptised by me, by private baptism. Margaret Drake, Elizabeth Drake, Richard D. Drake, Sponsors.

Marriage.

25th December, 1825—Jarvis Thayer, of Yarmouth, farmer, and Nancy Parker, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—William Parker, Nahum P. Thayer, Charles McGaw.

Marriage.

28th December, 1825—Abraham Backhouse, of Mallahide, yeoman, and Amelia Alway, of Yarmouth, spinster, were this day married by me by banns. Witnesses—William Alway, John Backhouse, Robt. Alway.

Marriage.

24th January, 1826—John Campbell, of Eckfrid, farmer, and Jane Elliott, of Carradoc, spinster, were this day married by me by license. Witnesses—Malcolm Campbell, Joseph Elliott, George Elliott.

Marriage.

26th January, 1826—George Mitchell, of Southwold, yeoman, and Margaret Mitchell, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—John Mitchell, John Elliot, Samuel Glass, Thomas Ryal, Barbara Mackintosh.

Baptisms.

26th January, 1826—Catherine Amelia, infant daughter of James Hamilton, Esq., of Southwold, and Catherine Jane, his wife, born 15th August, 1825, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Mary Waddel as proxy for Amelia Jackson, Eliza Warren as proxy for Jane Grant, Edmund Edward Warren, Sponsors.

Baptism.

Henry, infant son of James Hamilton, Esq., of Southwold, and Catherine Jane, his wife, born 15th August, 1825, was this day baptised by me by public baptism. John Warren, John Waddel as proxy for James B. Ewart, Catherine Goodhue as proxy for Maria L. Hamilton, Sponsors.

Baptism.

26th January, 1826—Amelia Maria, infant daughter of John Wad-
del, of Southwold, and Mary, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by
public baptism. Catherine Jane Hamilton, Eliza Warren, as proxy for
Henry B. Warren, Sponsors.

Marriage.

31st January, 1826—Montgomery Smith, of Dunwich, yeoman, and
Elizabeth Watson, of Southwold, spinster, were this day married by me,
by banns. Witnesses—Allen Watson, Thomas Williams, John Gibson,
John Barber.

Marriage.

31st January, 1826—Henry Hamilton, of Southwold, yeoman, and
Ruth Lumley, of Dunwich, spinster, were this day married by me, by
banns. Witnesses—Thomas Lumley, John Gibson, Thomas Williams,
John Rokes, Lewis Freeman.

Marriage.

14th February, 1826—Patten Atwood, of Dunwich, yeoman, and
Anna Brookes, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by
me, by banns. Witnesses—A. H. Burwell, O. Warner, M. E. Smith.

Marriage.

15th February, 1826—John W. Beemer, of Mallahide, yeoman, and
Mary McKenney, of the same township, spinster, were this day married
by me, by license. Witnesses—Matthew McKenney, Abram Beemer,
R. W. Paddleford, Daniel Davis.

Marriage.

16th February, 1826—Samuel Glass, of Westminster, yeoman, and
Eliza Owray, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by
me by banns. Witnesses—James Little, Samuel Smith, James Williams,
William Orr.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 19th February, 1826—John Dean, of Dearham, yeo-
man, and Mary Ann Jones, of Bayham, spinster, were this day married
by me, by banns. Witnesses—Stephen Randal, Lambert Jones, David
Cascadden.

Marriage.

23rd February, 1826—John Spitler, of Southwold, yeoman, and Sarah Ann Steinhoff, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—James McAfee, Thomas Petit, John Ebenly.

Marriage.

2nd March, 1826—Daniel Bowlby, of Southwold, yeoman, and Sarah Herrot, of Mallahide, spinster, were this day married by me, by liense. Witnesses—John Boughner, Samuel Smith, Charles Hannan.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 7th March, 1826—Isaac Bowlby, of Southwold, yeoman, and Hannah Boughner, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—A. H. Burwell, Garret Smith, Charles Hannan.

Marriage.

8th March, 1826—Oliver Warner and Irene Attwood, both of the Township of Dunwich, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Jefferson Blake, Duncan McGregor, Patten Attwood, Trueman Waters.

Burial.

24th March, 1826—William Hutchinson, Esq., aged 86, a half pay Revolutionary Captain, died 20th inst., and was this day interred by me in Walsingham.

Baptism.

26th March, 1826—John, infant son of Thomas Ryall, of Yarmouth, and Rachel, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. James Mitchell, Thomas Ryall, Jane Mitchell, Sponsors.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 26th March, 1826—John, infant son of James Mitchell, and Jane, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. James Mitchell, Thomas Ryall, Rachel Ryall, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

26th March, 1826—Eliza Ann and Maria, children of James Fitzsimmons and Margaret, his wife (Roman Catholics), were this day bap-

tised by me, by public baptism. William Ryall, Ann Mitchell, Margaret Fitzsimmons, Sponsors.

Baptism.

11th April, 1826—Isaac Newton, infant son of Thomas Dickison, of Southwold, Cooper, and Elizabeth, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Thomas Dickison, Elizabeth Dickison, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

11th April, 1826—John Fletcher, and Mary Ann, children of Joseph Little, of Southwold, yeoman, and Jane, his wife, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. John Fletcher, Joseph Little, Jane Little, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

St. Thomas, 11th April, 1826—William Augustus and Mary Ellen, children of the late William Hambly Glover, of Dundas Street, and Mary, his wife (now wife of John Fletcher, of Southwold), were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. John Fletcher, Mary Fletcher, Sponsors.

Marriage.

11th April, 1826—John Fletcher, of Southwold, yeoman, and Mary Glover, of the same place, widow, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Dougherty, Charles Fuller, Thomas Dickison.

Baptism.

16th April, 1826—Mary, infant daughter of James Ferguson, of Southwold, yeoman, and Sarah, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Joseph Smith, Anna Smith, Hannah Robb, Sponsors.

Marriage.

18th April, 1826—Samuel Crawford, of Howard, W.D., yeoman, and Sophronia Smith, of Dunwich, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Orrin Ladd, Montgomery Smith, Willis Smith.

Burial.

22nd April, 1826—Wm. Sturges (father-in-law to Wm. Lee, of Southwold), aged 69 years, 11 months, 2 days, died on 19th inst., and was this day buried by me, in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Burial.

28th April, 1826—Christian Zavitz, of Yarmouth, aged about 80, died on 27th inst., was this day burried by me, in Yarmouth, near the School House at Page's.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—Thomas, infant son of James Parkinson, and Sarah, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Thos. Parkinson, Jas. Parkinson, Sarah Parkinson, Sponsors.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—Mary Jane, infant daughter of James Golden and Jane, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. James Baillie, Elizabeth Baillie, Jane Golden, Sponsors.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—Rebecca Elizabeth, infant daughter of Joseph Sifton and Catherine, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Mary Shoebottom, Catherine Sifton, Joseph Sifton, Sponsors.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—Thomas, infant son of Anthony Hughes and Jane, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. James Orrum, Anthony Hughes, Alice Orrum, Sponsors.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—Mary Ann, infant daughter of Joseph Hughes and Alice, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. James Hughes, Alice Hughes, Anthony Hughes, Sponsors.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—Maria, infant daughter of Thomas Shoebottom and Eliza, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Margaret Shoebottom, Eliza Shoebottom, Thos. Shoebottom, Sponsors.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—Mary Ann, infant daughter of Robert Ralph and Elizabeth, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Esther Sifton, Elizabeth Ralph, Charles Sifton, Sponsors.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—Mary Talbot, infant daughter of Philip Hardings and Esther, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Mary Hardy, Ann Geary, Joseph Hardy, Sponsors.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—Henry, infant son of Richard Ferguson and Margaret, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Harry Ferguson, John Ferguson, Elizabeth Ferguson, Sponsors.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—Rebecca, infant daughter of Charles Sifton and Esther, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Eliza Talbot, Esther Talbot, John Talbot, Sponsors.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—George, infant son of William Guest and Ellen, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Casar McLeod, George Guest, Lucy Ann Schofield, Sponsors.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—Maria, infant daughter of John Hayes and Mary, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Ann Shoebottom, Mary Hayes, Thos. Shoebottom, Sponsors.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—Barnard, infant son of James Stanley and Margaret, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Thos. Shoebottom, James Stanley, Mary Shoebottom, Sponsors.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—Benjamin, infant son of Jacob Frelick and Nancy, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. William Geary, Jacob Frelick, Elizabeth Geary, Sponsors.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—Frances, infant daughter of John Turner and Margaret, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. William English, Mary Gray, Margaret Turner, Sponsors.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—James, infant son of John Evans and Sidney, his wife, born 5th December, 1825, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. William Geary, George Shoebottom, Sarah Geary, Sponsors.

Baptism.

2nd May, 1826—Thomas, infant son of John Gray and Mary, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. William Powell, John Gray, Barbara Powell, Sponsors.

Baptism.

4th May, 1826—Margaret, infant daughter of Duncan MacKenzie and Margaret, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism, in London. Duncan MacKenzie, Margaret MacKenzie, Sponsors.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 7th May, 1826—Eleanor, infant daughter of George D. Spades and Mary, his wife, born 4th March, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Richard D. Drake, Mary Spades, Margaret Drake, Sponsors.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 7th May, 1826—Elizabeth, daughter of the late Leonard Hutson, of the Township of Woodhouse, and Sarah, his wife, born 16th August, 1807, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Mary Spades, Ann Drake, Adam H. Burwell, Sponsors.

Burial.

8th May, 1826—Catherine, wife of Joseph Marlatt, of Yarmouth, died 7th inst., aged 24 years, and was this day buried by me, in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Marriage.

10th May, 1826—Reuben Covill, of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Philenia Turrill, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Alonso Turrill, Elizabeth [her X mark] Tuttle, Simon Nicolls.

Marriage.

18th May, 1826—William Mandeville, of Southwold, yeoman, and Ann Ellison, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Luke Ellison, John Ellison, Henry Mandaville.

Marriage.

24th May, 1826—Lieut. William Windham Phelan, h.p., 89th Foot, now residing in Yarmouth, and Eliza Moore, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Edward T. Phelan, Lindley Moore, Martha Phelan.

Marriage.

25th May, 1826—Joseph Lawrason, of London, yeoman, and Lemantha Curtis, of Westminster, spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Silas E. Curtis, Lawrence Lawrason, Thomas Lawrason.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 29th May, 1826—Crowell Wilson, of Dunwich, yeoman, and Jane Mitten, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Benjamin Willson, William Crane, Peter Parker.

Marriage.

29th May, 1826—Hiram Coress and Ann Brookes, both of the Township of Mallahide, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John VanPatter, David [his X mark] Coress, Sally [her X mark] Tuttle.

Burial.

17th June, 1826—Daniel Springer, Esq., aged 63 1-2, Lt.-Col. 4th Regt., Middlesex Militia, died on 15th inst., and was this day interred by me, with Masonic honors, in Delaware.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 20th June—Cynthia Winnifred, infant daughter of John B. Askin, Esq., of Woodhouse, and Elizabeth, his wife, born 2nd February, 1826, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Eliza-

beth Askin, as proxy for Catherine Jane Hamilton, Eliza Warren, as proxy for Cynthia VanAllan, Edmund Edward Warren, Sponsors.

Baptism.

22nd June, 1826—Henry, son of John Davis, of Yarmouth, and Margaret, his wife, born 26th May, 1821, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Archibald McNeale, John Davis, Margaret Davis, Sponsors.

Baptism.

22nd June, 1826—John, son of John Davis, of Yarmouth, and Margaret, his wife, born 28th February, 1824, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. John McNeale, Archibald McNeale, Margaret Davis, Sponsors.

Baptism.

22nd June, 1826—William Augustus, infant son of John Davis, of Yarmouth, and Margaret, his wife, born 8th January, 1826, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Archibald McNeale, John Davis, Abigail McNeale, Sponsors.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 22nd June, 1826—Phebe, daughter of Hugh McNeale, of Yarmouth, and Abigail, his wife, born 10th December, 1821, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Archibald McNeale, Hugh McNeale, Abigail McNeale, Sponsors.

Baptism.

22nd June, 1826—Archibald, son of Hugh McNeale, of Yarmouth, and Abigail, his wife, born 29th March, 1823, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Archibald McNeale, John McNeale, Abigail McNeale, Sponsors.

Baptism.

22nd June, 1826—Matilda Ann, daughter of Hugh McNeale, and Abigail, his wife, born 3rd December, 1825, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Hugh McNeale, Archibald McNeale, Abigail McNeale, Sponsors.

Baptism.

22nd June, 1826—Abigail, wife of Hugh McNeale, of Yarmouth, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Archibald McNeale, John Davis, Margaret Davis, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

St. Thomas, 27th June, 1826—Joseph William, born 19th November, 1822, Benjamin, born 8th March, 1824, David, born 26th December, 1825, children of William Watterworth, of Southwold, yeoman, and Ann, his wife, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. William Watterworth, Ann Watterworth, Sponsors.

Marriage.

27th June, 1826—George Teeple, of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Frances Drake, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Abram Eveland, John Littell, Edward Teeple.

Marriage.

28th June, 1826—David Kelley, of Southwold, yeoman, and Irene Young, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Willson, Thomas Lumley, Jonas Clark.

Marriage.

11th July, 1826—Isaac Hunt, of Westminster, yeoman, and Rachel Howie, of the same township, widow, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Edward Hunt, Jesse Bennet, Wm. Hunt.

Baptisms.

10th July, 1826—Mary, daughter of Alexander Macpherson, of Dunwich, and Isabel, his wife, born 8th March, 1824, and Alexander, son of Alexander Macpherson, of Dunwich, born 13th April, 1825, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Alexander Macpherson, Isabel Mackay, parents, Sponsors.

Marriage.

13th July, 1826—Israel Waters, of the Township of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Elizabeth Wedge, spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Lemuel Ladd, Ira Whitcomb, Pherney Jones.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 19th July, 1826—John C. Macpherson, of Westminster, yeoman, and Harriet Cheyna, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—D. Mcpharson, Garner Ellwood, Thomas McPherson.

Baptism.

22nd July, 1826—Eliza Ann, daughter of Enos Call and Ann, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by private baptism. Enos Call, Ann Call, parents, Emma Eldridge, Sponsors.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 19th August, 1826—James Carsout, of the Township of London, yeoman, and Melissa Farrow, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Abraham King, Christopher Carsout, Mary King.

Baptisms.

19th August, 1826—Charles, born 12th April, 1824, and David, born 20th August, 1825, children of Abraham King, of Southwold, and Mary, his wife, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Abraham King, Christopher Corsaut, Mary Ward, Sponsors.

Marriage.

23rd August, 1826—Duncan MacGregor, Esq., merchant, Chatham, Western District, and Cynthia VanAllen, of Woodhouse, London District, spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—William VanAllen, Robert Nelson, Peter Rapelje.

Baptism.

2nd October, 1826—Lucius Lyman, son of Ira Whitcomb, of St. Thomas, and Jemima, his wife, born 3rd September, 1825, was this day baptised by me, by private baptism. Ira Whitcomb, Jemima Whitcomb, parents, Sponsors.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 26th September, 1826—Erasmus Aeneas, infant son of James Mitchell, Esq., of Charlotteville (Co. Norfolk), and Elizabeth T., his wife, born 3rd June, 1826, was this day baptised by me, by public

baptism. James Mitchell, Marcus E. Ryerson, Margaret Mitchell, Sponsors.

Marriage.

4th October, 1826—Charles Fuller, of the Township of Southwold, yeoman, and Matilda Bodoin, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John [his X mark] Doherty, Hugh Howell, Ludwick Sells.

Burial.

3rd October, 1826—Elijah Witt, of Southwold, aged — years, died on 2nd inst., and was this day interred in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Burial.

5th October, 1826—John Burwell, of Southwold, yeoman, aged 35 years and 10 months, died on 3rd inst., and was this day interred in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Burial.

5th October, 1826—Lucius Lyman Whitcombe, infant son of Ira Whitcomb, of St. Thomas, died 4th inst., aged 3 months, and was this day interred by me, in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Burial.

5th October, 1826—Walter Murphy, infant son of Michael Murphy, of St. Thomas, died 4th inst., aged 8½ months, and was this day interred in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Burial.

6th October, 1826—John Elliot, of St. Thomas, Cooper, a native of Scotland, died 5th inst., aged 26 years, 5 months, and was this day interred by me, in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 14th October, 1826—William, son of William Williams, of Yarmouth, and Sarah, his wife, born ———, 1824, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. John Matthews, Rachel Hughes, Sarah Williams, Sponsors.

On Sunday the 15th October, 1826, the Sarament of the Lord's Supper was administered by me to eight persons.

Marriage.

17th October, 1826—Jeston Robinson, of Dunwich, yeoman, and Lydia Warner, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banna. Witnesses—Hiram [his X mark] Warner, Moses [his X mark] Warner, Philip [his X mark] Brookes.

On Thursday, 19th October, I administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to Benjamin Bowbeer, who lay very sick.

Marriage.

19th October, 1826—Jesse Bennet, of Westminster, yeoman, and Margaret Lockwood, of Carradoc, spinster, were this day married by me, by banna. Witnesses—Daniel Lockwood, Edna Hunt, Wm. McDavid.

Marriage.

19th October, 1826—John Graves and Elizabeth Eveland, yeoman, and spinster, of the Township of Yarmouth, were this day married by me, by banna. Witnesses—O'Neal Claes, Hiland Ward, Abram Eveland.

Marriage.

19th October, 1826—Jeronimus Rapelje, of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Jennetta Best, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Daniel Rapelje, Charles Conrade, John Rapelje.

Burial.

St. Thomas, 30th October, 1826—Ezekiel Evans, of Westminster, yeoman, died on 29th inst., aged 41 years, and was this day interred by me, in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Marriage.

31st October, 1826—Abraham Huff, of the Township of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Rachel Heaton, of the same township, spinster, were this

day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Huff, Jane Willson, Benjamin C. Doan.

Baptisms.

6th November, 1826—Ann Eliza, born 24th September, 1810, William Henry, born 3rd January, 1813, Jane Maria, born 3rd October, 1818, Mary Lee, born 27th July, 1823, children of John W. Clark and Anne, his wife, now residing in Southwold, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Wm. H. Lee, Phebe Lee, Wm. B. Lee, Mary Lee, Sponsors.

Burial.

St. Thomas, 13th November, 1826—Ann Clark, wife of John W. Clark, of Southwold, died 11th inst., in the 32nd year of her age, and was this day interred by me, in the Churhyard of St. Thomas.

Marriage.

14th November 1826—Isaac Hunt, of Mallahide, yeoman, and Amy Baker, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—David Hunt, John Laur, Lydia Baker.

Marriage.

29th November, 1826—Garret Smith, of Southwold, yeoman, and Sarah Sells, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Charles Hannan, Joseph Smith, Thomas Dickeson.

Baptisms.

3rd December, 1826—George John, born 26th October, 1823, Grace, born 15th July, 1825, children of the late John Elliot, of St. Thomas, cooper, and Ann, his wife, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. John Mackintosh, Barbara Mackintosh, Margaret Campbell, Sponsors.

Marriage.

5th December, 1826—James Hamilton of Southwold, yeoman, and Anne Daer, of Mallahide, widow, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Mary Davis, William Davis, Asahel Barnes.

Baptisms.

6th December, 1826—John, born 17th October, 1824, Robert, born 10th October, 1826, children of James Hepburne, of Southwold, and Margaret, his wife, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. James Hepburn, John Mitchell, Lucy Williams, for John James Hepburn, Robt. Mitchell, Sarah Williams, for Robert, Sponsors.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 11th December, 1826—Elijah Osborne, of Yarmouth, and Anne Scott, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—H. Scott, D. W. Stockton, Applonia [her X mark] Osborne.

Burial.

13th December, 1826—Robert, infant son of James Hepburne, of Southwold, died 12th inst., aged 2 months, and was this day interred by me, in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Marriage.

25th December, 1826—John Jones, of Westminster, yeoman, and Maria Ayres, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Garner Ellwood, John Bostwick, Daniel Corson.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 25th December, 1826—John Smith, of Westminster, yeoman, and Sarah Jones, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Bostwick, Garner Ellwood, Daniel Corson.

Sacrament.

On Sunday, 31st December, I administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the Church of St. Thomas,—number of communicants, twenty-three.

88 marriages recorded this year.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 4th January, 1827—Joseph Pettys, adopted son of Daniel Pettys, of Westminster, and Lucy Williams, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—James Little, John Corsen, David Morden Garner Ellwood.

Marriage.

4th January, 1827—Amasa Wood, of Southwold, widower, and Mary Kelley, of the same township, widow, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Wm. Howard, Robert Burwell, John Lipscomb, Wm. Burwell.

Baptism.

7th January, 1827—Elizabeth Ann, infant daughter of Wm. Parker, of Yarmouth, and Ann, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Jesse Page, Elizabeth Page, Ann Parker, Sponsors.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 7th January, 1827—Nahum Pond, infant son of Jarvis Thayer, of Yarmouth, and Ann, his wife, born ———, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. William Parker, Jarvis Thayer, Ann Parker, Sponsors.

Baptism.

7th January, 1827—Margaret, infant daughter of William Robb, of London, and Hannah, his wife, born ———, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Thomas Hardison, Anna Smith, Elizabeth Hardison, Sponsors.

Marriage.

8th January, 1827—James Beattie, of Westminster, yeoman, and Sarah Schram, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Peter C. Schram, James Uptigrove, William Schram.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 8th January, 1827—Robert Guy, of Southwold, widower, and Ann Lodge, of the same township, widow, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Lee, Abraham King, Silas Toles.

Baptisms.

8th January, 1827—Margaret, Elizabeth Ann, and Thomas, children of the late Thomas Lodge, of Southwold, and Ann, his wife, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Margaret was born 14th February, 1816; Elizabeth Ann, 8th July, 1819, and Thomas, 28th February, 1826. Robert Guy, Jane Hogle, Margaret Toles, Sponsors.

Marriage.

30th January, 1827—John Louckes, of Malahide, farmer, and Susan Thomson, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Bostwick, Melinda Louckes, Jacob Louckes.

Marriage.

29th January, 1827—Jacob Johnstone and Irene Bissel, both of Southwold, were this day married by me, by banns, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. Witnesses—William Burwell, Sarah Bissel, Lydia Bissell.

Marriage.

10th February, 1827—John Stiles, of London, yeoman, and Elizabeth Kent, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. Witnesses—John Kent, Mary Kent, John Kent, Jr., Stephen Stiles.

Baptism.

10th February, 1827—Sarah Ann, daughter of John Kent, of London, and Mary, his wife, born 30th January, 1826, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Mary Kent, Elizabeth Stiles, John Stiles, Sponsors.

Sacrament.

St. Thomas.—On Sunday, 11th February, 1827—I administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in London. The number of communicants was twenty-eight.

Baptism.

11th February, 1827—Elizabeth, daughter of George Nealan, of London, and Margaret, his wife, born 27th November, 1826, was this day

baptised by me by public baptism. Bridget Orme, Margaret Nealan, Thomas Orme, Sponsors.

Baptism.

11th February, 1827—Ely Talbot, son of William Fitzgerald, of London, and Sarah, his wife, born 2nd July, 1826, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Joseph Sifton, William Fitzgerald, Catherine Sifton, Sponsors.

Baptism.

11th February, 1827—Frances, daughter of William Haskett, of London, and Mary, his wife, born 20th July, 1826, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Alicia Gray, Mary Haskett, James Shoebottom, Sponsors.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 18th February, 1827—William Campbell, infant son of Henry Buskirk, of Yarmouth, and Ruth, his wife, born 7th, May, 1826, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Henry Buskirk, Jesse Page, Ruth Buskirk, Sponsors.

Marriage.

21st February, 1827—Stephen Raymond, of Southwold, Farmer and Francis Smith, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—William Vanwick, Abraham Griffin, John Holmes, John Steinhoff.

Marriage.

1st March, 1827—Anson Simons, of Westminster, cloth manufacturer, and Lavinia McMillen, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Archibald McMillen, Caleb Reynolds, Solomon Monroe, John Fitch.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, March 7th, 1827—George Harvey, of Southwold, yeoman, and Mary White, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—William White, George R. Williams, Sarah West.

Marriage.

8th March, 1827—William Burwell, of Southwold, yeoman, and Sarah Bissel, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Jacob Johnstone, Timothy Culver, Adam Burwell.

Marriage.

15th March, 1827—Robert Johnson, of Malahide, yeoman, and Frances Evans, alias Robinson, of Southwold, widow, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—James Little, James Hepburne, Edward Johnson.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 18th March, 1827—Colin, son of George Henry, of Dunwich, and Mary, his wife, born 18th March, 1826, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Margaret McIntyre, George Henry, Walter Patterson, Sponsors.

Marriage.

25th March, 1827—William Searles, of the Township of Townsend, yeoman, and Lorenzo Ross, of the Township of Southwold, spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Wm. W. Ross, Francis A. Ross, William Ross, Jun.

Baptisms.

26th March, 1827—William, born 5th June, 1821, John, born 8th June, 1823, Jane, born 7th January, 1826, children of William Partridge, of Southwold, and Anne, his wife, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. John Partridge, Anne Partridge, Hannah Burwell, Samuel Burwell, Sponsors.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 29th March, 1827—John Routledge, of the Township of Westminster, yeoman, and Nancy Morden, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—David Morden, James Parkinson, George Routledge, James Beattie, Thomas Parkinson.

Marriage.

2nd April, 1827—Amos McNames, of Oxford, yeoman, and Sarah Ann Thomson, of Westminster, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Peter Schram, Enoch Bundick, Abram McNames.

Marriage.

9th April, 1827—Asa B. Lewis, of Malahide, yeoman, and Alma Hopkins, of Southwold, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—William B. Lee, Archibald Chisholm, Samuel Ellison, John Lee.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 16th April, 1827—John, infant son of Benjamin Willson, of Yarmouth, and Sarah, his wife born 5th March, 1827, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. William Pearce, Lesslie Pearce, Catherine Pearce, Sponsors.

Marriage.

19th April, 1827—John B. Graves, of Ekfrid, yeoman, and Catherine Hardy, of Mosa, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Elijah Mann, Peter Graves, Mary Graves.

On Sunday, 15th April, 1827, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered by me, in the Church of St. Thomas, to twenty-two persons (Easter Sunday).

Burial.

27th April, 1827—Ann, daughter of widow Ann Mitchell, of Southwold, died on 25th inst., aged 9 years and 5 months, and was this day interred by me, in St. Thomas.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 30th April, 1827—Charles Whitsell, of Malahide, yeoman, and Sarah Bentley, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Gilbert Mitten, Daniel Dreadwell, Elisha R. Smith.

Marriage.

1st May, 1827—John Kilmer, of Malahide, farmer, and Deborah Baras, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Stephen Holland, Peter Laur, Asa Learn.

Baptism.

19th May, 1827—William, infant son of Lovell Harrison, of Howard, Margaret, his wife, born 22nd October, 1826, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. William Riddle, Lovell Harrison, Margaret Harrison, Sponsors.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 2nd May, 1827—George R. Williams, of Southwold, Farmer, and Ann Nicholls, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Holmes, John Nicolls, Thomas Williams.

Marriage.

19th May, 1827—David Palmer, of Howard, Westminster District, widower, and Sarah Watson, of Southwold, widow, were this day married by me by banns. Witnesses—Allen Watson, James Watson, George Ironside, James Richardson.

Marriage.

21st May, 1827—Lawrence Lawrason, of London, merchant, and Abigail Lee, of Southwold, spinster, were this day married by me by license. Witnesses—Archibald Chisholm, Wm. B. Lee, John Lee.

Marriage.

22nd May, 1827—John Mackintosh, of Southwold, yeoman, and Margaret Campbell, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Campbell, Dugald Campbell, Alexander Campbell.

Baptisms.

8th June, 1827—David, born April, 1823, and Rachel, born 17th October, 1825, children of David Morgan, of London, and Sarah, his wife, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. John Matthews,

David Morgan, Rachel Hughes, Sarah Morgan, Catherine Hughes, Sponsors.

On Sunday, 10th June, being Trinity Sunday, I administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to twenty-four persons, in London.

Baptism.

10th June, 1827—Mary, daughter of William English, of London, and Ann, his wife, born 15th January, 1826, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Samuel Dickson, Mary Wilson, Ann English, Sponsors.

Baptism.

10th June, 1827—Rebecca, daughter of Francis Lewis, of London, and Sarah, his wife, born 19th June, 1826, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Francis Lewis, Catherine Ardiel, Sarah Lewis, Sponsors.

Baptism.

10th June, 1827—Elizabeth, infant daughter of Charles Sifton, of London, and Esther, his wife, born 27th March, 1827, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. John Talbot, Elizabeth Talbot, Esther Sifton, Sponsors.

Baptism.

10th June, 1827—Sarah, infant daughter of John Hayes, of London, and Mary, his wife, born 26th March, 1827, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Thomas Shoebottom, Mary Shoebottom, Mary Hayes, Sponsors.

Baptism.

10th June, 1827—Mary, infant daughter of John Harding, of London, and Jane, his wife, born 1st February, 1827, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Robt. Harding, Elizabeth Hardy, Ann Talbot, Sponsors.

Baptism.

10th June, 1827—Maria, daughter of Thomas W. Howard, of London, and Mary, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Thomas W. Howard, Mary Howard, Mary Howard, Sponsors.

Marriage.

27th June, 1827—Henry McAllister, of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Elizabeth Schaffe, of the same township, widow, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—John Van Sickle, David Burgess, Josiah Moorehouse.

Baptism.

28th June, 1827—Isabella Pherney Jones, daughter of Giles Jones, of Stanstead, L.C., and Jemima, his wife, born 27th May, 1807, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Catherine Goodhue, Stephen Randal, Witnesses.

Baptism.

30th June, 1827—David Freeman, son of Prince Freeman and Elizabeth, his wife, of Detroit, Mich., United States, born 12th April, 1809, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Stephen Radal, James Nevills, Gilbert Dumont, Anne Elliott, Witnesses.

Marriage.

18th July, 1827—John Carey, of Munsey Town, Methodist, school-master, and Lydia Woodhull, of Lobo, spinster, were this day married by me by banns. Witnesses—William Hough, John Matthews, Josiah Woodhull.

Baptism.

19th July, 1827—Richard Talbot, born 19th September, 1826, son of Philip Harding, of London, and Esther, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. John Harding, Joseph Hardy, Eliza Geary, Sponsors.

Baptism.

19th July, 1827—William Henry, born 11th August, 1826, son of Jacob Fraelick, of London, and Anne, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Joseph Sifton, Catherine Sifton, Anne Fraelick, Sponsors.

Baptism.

19th July, 1827—Mary Ann, born 28th May, 1827, infant daughter of Felix McLaughlin, of London, and Jane, his wife, was this day bap-

tised by me, by public baptism. Thomas T. Howard, Caroline Fraelick, Jane McLaughlin, Sponsors.

Baptism.

19th July, 1827—Esther, born 19th September, 1807, daughter of Richard Talbot, of London, and Lydia, his wife, (and wife of Philip Harding) was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Margaret Talbot, Jane Harding, Philip Harding, William Geary, Sponsors.

Marriage.

25th July, 1827—Nelson Perkins, of London, yeoman, and Melinda Lord, alias Caryl, of the same township, widow, were this day married by me by license, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. Witnesses—James Givins, Silas E. Cunks, Maria Curtis.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 29th July, 1827—Alpheus Burch, of Mallahide, yeoman, and Elizabeth White, of Bayham, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. Witnesses—Jacob Huffman, Isaac White, J. Nevills, James Givins, Stephen Randal.

Marriage.

30th July, 1827—Robert McKenney, of the Township of Mallahide, yeoman, and Catharine Nickerson, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Matthew McKenney, James McKenney, Levi Nickerson, Thomas Hodgkinson.

On Thursday, 2nd August, 1827, the Lord Bishop of Quebec, held a confirmation in London, when the following thirty persons were confirmed: John Harding, Jane Harding, Philip Harding, Esther Harding, Sarah Geary, Anne Geary, Lucy Ann Schofield, William Gray, Margaret Talbot, Maria Sifton, Jane Wilkins, Elizabeth Orme, Catharine Sifton, Alicia Gray, Stephen Powell, Ambrose Powell, Margaret Shoebottom, Thomas Shoebottom, Jeremiah Robson, Isabella Robson, John Kent, Jr., Elizabeth Stiles, William Robert Talbot, Eliza Talbot, Esther Sifton, William Baillie, Mary Gray, Margaret Robson, Jane Robson, John Stiles.

N.B.—The following marriage and baptisms are from the list of the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Stewart, while visiting missionary in the years 1820-1822—Marked thus X.

Marriage.

X. William Ostrander, of Majorage, bachelor, and Sarah Ryckman, minor, spinster, both of the Township of Yarmouth, were this day married by the Honorable and Reverend C. Stewart, D.D., by banns. at Port Talbot, in the presence of the Honorable Thomas Talbot, Messrs. Lesslie Patterson and John Conrad.

Baptisms.

At Port Talbot, by Dr. Stewart, 16th April, 1820.

X. Olivia, daughter of Lesslie Patterson and Lydia, his wife, born 3rd January, 1818. Stephen Backus, Elizabeth Stewart, Sarah Stewart, Sponsors.

X. John, son of John Pearce and Frances, his wife, born 14th November, 1818. Lesslie Patterson, Stephen Backus, Susan Stewart, Sponsors.

X. Thomas, born September 28th, 1816, and Mary, born June 28th, 1818, children of Stephen Backus and Anne, his wife. Lesslie Patterson, John Pearce, Elizabeth and Sarah Stewart, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

By the Honorable and Reverend Dr. Stewart, visiting missionary, at Port Talbot, 16th April, 1820.

X. John, son of Andrew Weldon and Jane, his wife, deceased, born 19th November, 1816. John Pearce, Lesslie and Lydia Patterson, Sponsors.

John, son of Richard and Maria Dobbyn, born 8th November, 1819. Henry Dobbyn and Martha Bobier, Sponsors.

At Port Talbot, 17th April, 1820.

X. Samuel Burwell (adult), born in February, 1793. Thomas Talbot (Honorable), Mahlon Burwell, Hannah Burwell, Sponsors.

X. Charlotte, born 4th April, 1819, daughter of Samuel Burwell and Hannah, his wife. Thomas Talbot (Honorable), and Maria Dobbyn, Sponsors.

At De Fields House (Otter Creek), in the Township of Bayham, 19th April, 1827.

X. John Martin, son of Anson Treadwell and Nancy, his wife (deceased), born 7th June, 1815. Joseph De Fields, Elizabeth De Fields, Henry Metcalf, Sponsors.

Baptisms.

St. Thomas, 19th April, 1820.

By the Honorable and Reverend Dr. Stewart, visiting missionary, continued, at Otter Creek, in Bayham, 19th April, 1820.

X. Mary Jane, born 5th October, 1816, daughter of James Howe (deceased), and Catharine, his wife. Elijah McKenney and Mary Bristol, Sponsors.

X. Harriet Augusta, born 28th November, 1816, daughter of Richard and Mary Bristol. Elijah McKenney and Catharine Howe, Sponsors.

In Dunwich, 26th June, 1822.

X. Catherine, born 23rd August, 1820, Hugh, born 4th December, 1821, children of James and Margaret Trainer. Lesslie and Lydia Patterson, Thomas and Barbara Matthews, Sponsors.

X. Elizabeth, born 1st May, 1821, daughter of Richard and Maria Dobbyn. John and Martha Farland and Mary Story, Sponsors.

X. Lesslie, born May 11th, 1820, Frances, born June 7th, 1822, children of Lesslie and Lydia Patterson. Stephen Backus, John M. Farland, Elizabeth and Sarah Stewart, Sponsors.

X. William, born 2nd October, 1819, Elizabeth, born 14th June, 1822, children of Benoni and Susannah Hill. George Henry and Catharine McCallum, Sponsors.

X. Anne, born April 19th, 1822, daughter of Henry and Anne Coyne. Parents and Mary Coyne, Sponsors.

X. Olivia, daughter of Stephen and Anne Backus, born May 22nd, 1821. Walter Story, Mary Story and Elizabeth Stewart, Sponsors.

X. William, born 20th December, 1807, Hannah, 10th May, 1818, Susan, born 25th February, 1820, Jane, born 4th January, 1822, children of George and Isabella Crane. Parents, John M. Farland and Lydia Patterson, Sponsors.

X. Caroline, born 20th September, 1819, Jane, born 9th October, 1820, James, 1st May, 1822, children of Henry and Eliza Dobbryn. Alexander Weldon, John M. Farland and Martha Bowbeer, Sponsors.

X. Sally, born 9th January, 1820, daughter of Alexander and Catharine McCallum. Archibald McIntyre, Susannah Hill, Sponsors.

X. Anne Backus, born 17th April, 1817, daughter of John and Euphemia Parker. Stephen and Anne Backus, Sponsors.

X. Isaac, son of Henry and Anne Coyne, born 27th June, 1818. Walter Story, George Gibb and Mary Story, Sponsors.

X. Mary, daughter of Duncan and Flora McLellan, born 19th November, 1820. George and Mary Gibb, Margaret Gray, Sponsors.

In Southwold, 23rd June, 1822.

Adam Hood, adult son of Adam and Sarah Burwell, born 4th June, 1790. James Hamilton and John Warren, Sponsors.

X. Sally, born 9th January, 1820, daughter of Alexander and Catharine McCallum. Archibald McIntyre, Susannah Hill, Sponsors.

X. Anne Backus, born 17th April, 1817, daughter of John and Euphemia Parker. Stephen and Anne Backus, Sponsors.

X. Isaac, son of Henry and Anne Coyne, born 27th June, 1818. Walter Story, George Gibb and Mary Story, Sponsors.

X. Mary, daughter of Duncan and Flora McLellan, born 19th November, 1820. George and Mary Gibb and Margaret Gray, Sponsors.

In Southwold, 23rd June, 1822.

Adam Hood, adult son of Adam and Sarah Burwell, born 4th June, 1790. James Hamilton and John Warren, Sponsors.

24th June, 1822—Alma, adult daughter of William Hopkins, deceased, and Sarah Freeman, born 11th March, 1806. Francis Siddal and Mercy N. Martin, Sponsors.

X. Amelia, daughter of James and Margaret Hepburne, born 27th May, 1820. James Mitchell, Rachel Mitchell, Sarah Siddal, Sponsors.

X. John, born 17th January, 1818, Rhoda Emma, born 30th March, 1819, Anne, born 23rd November, 1821, children of Francis and Sarah Siddal. James Hamilton, James Mitchell, Diana Mandeville and Margaret Hepburne, Sponsors.

In London, 28th July, 1822.

X. Catherine, daughter of Thomas and Mary Howard, born 3rd July, 1822. Parents and Catharine Harrison, Sponsors.

X. Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas and Catharine Harrison, born 22nd January, 1821. Thomas and Mary Howard, Sponsors.

X. Mary, born 31st August, 1819, Esther, born 19th September, 1821, children of Charles and Anne Goulding. William and Elizabeth Geary, Anne Geary and James Goulding, Sponsors.

X. John, son of Joseph and Catharine Sifton, born 16th January, 1821. Charles Sifton, Elizabeth Woomack, Sponsors.

X. John Wright, son of Charles and Esther Sifton, born 20th April, 1822. John Talbot, James Goulding, Catharine Sifton, Elizabeth Geary, Sponsors.

X. William, son of Thomas and Anne Bailey, born 10th October, 1821. John Scatcherd, James Farley, Anne Farley, Sponsors.

X. James, son of James and Sarah McFadden, born 25th April, 1821. Thomas and Anne Bailey and John Scatcherd, Sponsors.

X. Hiram, born 11th March, 1798, Martha Maria, born 23rd May, 1803, adults, children of Ira and Ruth Schofield. Simeon Bullen and Margaret Talbot, Sponsors.

X. Thomas, son of Thomas T. and Esther Howard, born 10th May, 1820. Parents and Thomas Shoebottom, Sponsors.

X. Charles, son of John and Elizabeth Freligh, born 22nd June, 1822. Charles and Anne Goulding, Sponsors.

X. John George, son of Duncan and Margaret Mackenzie, born 29th April, 1822. Thomas Routledge, John Donaldson, Elizabeth Keys, Sponsors.

X. Edward, son of Samuel and Anne Howard, born 19th October, 1821. George Fitzgerald, Mary Howard, Sponsors.

X. Anne Jane, born 4th June, 1820, Thomas Valentine, born April 6th, 1822, children of Thomas and Elizabeth Guest. Leonard and Rebecca Ardiel, Sponsors.

X. Samuel, son of John and Anne Neill, born 5th July, 1819. Thomas Harrison, Catharine Harrison, Felix McLaughlin, Sponsors.

X. John, son of Jacob and Nancy Freligh, born 15th July, 1821. John and Elizabeth Freligh and Jeremiah Schram, Sponsors.

X. James, son of Robert and Elizabeth Ralph, born 29th December, 1821. John Ardiel and Mary Green, Sponsors.

X. John, son of Felix and Jane McLaughlin, born 1st January, 1821. Parents and Thomas Shoebottom, Sponsors.

X. Michael, born 12th July, 1818, John, born 25th April, 1820, children of William and Bridget Colbart. Thomas and Elizabeth Guest. Duncan Mackenzie, Sponsors.

X. Nancy, wife of Jacob Freligh, parents deceased, born 28th November, 1798. Felix McLaughlin, Mary Getty, Catharine Harrison, Sponsors.

Here end the baptisms by the Honorable and Reverend Dr. Stewart.

Burial.

St. Thomas, 20th August, 1827—Timothy Burwell, of Southwold, yeoman, aged 26 years, died on 19th inst., and was this day interred by me, in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Baptism.

21st August, 1827—William Sewell, born January, 1827, infant son of Josiah C. Goodhue and Catharine, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Isabella P. Jones, Josiah C. Goodhue, per A. M., Alexander Mackintosh, Sponsors.

Baptism.

21st August, 1827—Alma, born December, 1812, daughter of James Nevills of Yarmouth, and Elizabeth, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. James Nevills, Margaret Rapelje, Elizabeth Rapelje, Sponsors.

Baptism.

23rd August, 1827—Gilman Willson, of Dunwich, an adult, born 17th ———, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. John Bostwick, Benjamin Willson, Hannah Willson, Sponsors.

Confirmation by the Lord Bishop of Quebec, on Tuesday, the 21st of August, the following persons were confirmed in Dunwich:—William Pearce, Richard Pearce, Lesslie Pearce, Catherine Pearce, Mary Anne Pearce, Stephen Backus, Anne Backus, Andrew Backus, Anne Morehouse, Lydia Patterson, Walter Patterson, Mary Patterson, Hannah Patterson, Joseph Patterson, Charles Crane, Benjamin Siddall, Martha Farland—17 in number.

At St. Thomas, on Thursday, the 23rd of August, the following persons were confirmed:—Jeronymus Rapelje, Senr., Jeronymus Rapelje, Jr., Daniel P. Rapelje, Elizabeth Rapelje, Elizabeth Ann Rapelje, Ben-

jamin Willson, Sarah Willson, Mary Hughes, David, Hughes, Richard Hughes, Isabella P. Jones, Sarah Smith, Eliza Smith, Hetty Bostwick, Joseph Bostwick, Maria Williams, George Williams, Alma Nevills, David Freeman, Hercules Burwell, Isaac Brock Burwell, Sarah Burwell, Hannah H. Haun, Lucinda Spades, George D. Spades, Catharine Hamilton, Anne Chisholme, Margaret Hepburne, Anne Srake, Margaret Srake, Christina Baillie, James Mitchell, Robert Mitchell, Gilman Willson, Hannah Willson, John Bostwick, William Parker, Anne Parker, George Parker, Jesse Page, Benjamin Page, Elizabeth Page, ————Mandeville—44 in number.

Marriage.

27th August, 1827—Harden Ellsworth, of Mallahide, widower, and Margaret Hickey, of Bayham, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Isaac Hunt, John Van Patter, Elisha R. Smith.

Marriage.

27th August, 1827—Elisha R. Smith, of Mallahide, yeoman, and Christina Hutcheson, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Elias B. Smith, Isaac Hunt, John Van Patter, Harden Ellsworth.

Baptism.

21st August, 1827—Robert, son of Stephen Backus and Anne, his wife, born 15th June, 1827, was this day baptised by the Reverend Crosbie Morgell, Chaplain to the Bishop of Quebec. ————, Sponsors.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 28th August, 1827—William H. Savis, of Mallahide, yeoman, and Hannah Crane, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Jehiel Mann, Jacob M. Crane, Rhoda Mann, Eliza Davis.

30th August, 1827—Ira Whitcomb, an adult, born 28th September, 1793, Jemima Whitcomb, an adult, his wife, born 16th October, 1796, were this day baptised by me by public baptism. James Givins, Catharine Goodhue, Isabella P. Jones, Witnesses.

Baptisms.

30th August, 1827—Catharine Malvina, born 30th October, 1815, Nathan Wesson, born 25th January, 1821, Jason Wright, born 12th June, 1823, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. James Givins, Ira Whitcomb, Isabella P. Jones, Catharine Goodhue, Sponsors.

Burial.

St. Thomas, 1st September, 1827—Margaret, daughter of John Book, of Southwold, died 31st August, aged 5½ years, and was this day buried by me, in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Marriage.

2nd September, 1827—Magnus Crawford, of Howard, W.D., yeoman, and Margaret Kelley, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Samuel Craford, Thomas Craford, Cynthia Crawford.

Marriage.

4th September, 1827—Jehiel Mann, of Yarmouth, widower, and Hannah Decow, of Souhwold, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Abraham Griffin, Moses Willey, Alfred Hamilton.

Marriage.

4th September, 1827—Joseph Marlatt, of Yarmouth, widower, and Elizabeth Coughel, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—David S. Coughel, John Marlatt, John Coughel, Jas. Givens.

Marriage.

4th September, 1827—James Reynolds, of Westminster, yeoman, and Almira Wells, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Timothy Kilbourn, Riley Wells, Horace Kilbourn, Jas. Givins.

Burial.

— September, 1827—Michael McCormack, of St. Thomas, wheel-Wright, a native of Ireland, died on the — inst., and was this day interred in the Churhyard of St. Thomas.

Burial.

St. Thomas, 8th October, 1827—John, son of John Eslick and his wife, died 6th inst., aged 4 years and 11 months, was this day interred in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Marriage.

10th October, 1827—Peter Schram, of Westminster, yeoman, and Margaret Beattie, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. Witnesses—James Beattie, Sarah Beattie, Simon Nicholls.

Burial.

21st October, 1827—Sarah Ann, daughter of Samuel N. York, of Yarmouth, and Lucy, his wife, died, 19th inst., aged 11 months, and was this day interred in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

On Sunday, the 28th of October, I performed Divine Service in Dunwich, to continue regularly every 6th Sunday till their church is finished, then the first Sunday of each month.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 30th October, 1827—Matthias B. Millard, of the Township of Malahide, yeoman, and Dorothy Schoffe, of the same township, spinster, were his day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Cornelius Bowen, Philo Burch, John Dougharty.

Marriage.

30th October, 1827—Cornelius Bowen, of the Township of Malahide, yeoman, and Belinda Brooks, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—M. B. Millard, John Dougharty, Philo Burtch.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 1st November, 1827—Peter Caughell, of the Township of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Mary Culver, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Caughell, Joseph Marlatt, David Caughell.

Marriage.

6th November, 1827—Lyman Mann, of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Betsy Ann Vroman, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Rhoda Mann, Daniel Mann, Elizabeth Mann.

Marriage.

12th November, 1827—John O'Reilly, of the Township of Yarmouth, farmer, and Diana With, of the same township, widow, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—R. C. Drake, Abel Bigsley, Benjamin C. Doan.

St. Thomas, 15th November, 1827—John Fitch, of the Township of Westminster, Tanner, and Getty Carrol, of the Township of London, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Silas E. Curtis, Eli Trowbridge, Abraham Carrol, John Ewart.

Marriage.

22nd November, 1827—Archibald McNeal, of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Anne Rowland, alias Beman, of the Township of Southwold, widow, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Lemuel Ladd, Garret Smith, William Broderick.

Marriage.

28th November, 1827—Thomas Pettit, of the Township of Southwold, yeoman, and Huldah Gilbert, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Alfred Hamilton, Z. Gillies, I. Stafford.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 21st December, 1827—Gilbert Demont, of the Township of Yarmouth, cooper, and Amelia Murray, of the same place, spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—John Robert Murray, Anne Elliott, Margaret Mackintosh.

Marriage.

24th December, 1827—Clarke Gardiner, of the Township of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Anne House, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Matthew House, Joseph Allway, Abram House.

Sacrament.

On Tuesday, 25th December, 1827, being Christmas day, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered by me, in the Church of St. Thomas to 21 communicants.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 26th December, 1827—William Pace, of the Township of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Paulina Chapel, of the same township, spinster, were his day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Noah Brookfield, John Van Sickle, Josiah Morehouse, John Pace.

Marriage.

27th December, 1827—Joseph Hodgson, of the Township of London, widower, and Charity Patterson, of the Township of Westminster, widow, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Sutton, John Hunt, Thomas P. Cheyna.

Sacrament.

On Sunday, 30th December, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered by me, in Dunwich, to 24 communicants.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 1st January, 1828—Robert Nelson, of the Township of Howard, Western District, merchant, and Frances Dragon, of the Township of Raleigh, W.D., spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—E. E. Warren, William McCrae, Duncan McGregor, Thomas Williams.

Marriage.

8th January, 1828—David Cascadden, of the Township of Malahide, yeoman, and Ann Gustin, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Francis Moore, William Cascadden, Alexander Moore.

Burial.

9th January, 1828—Christian Long, of the Township of Southwold, yeoman, died 7th January inst., aged 69 years, and was this day interred in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 9th January, 1828—Samuel Stephenson, of Malahide, yeoman, and Sarah Ann Sibley, of Bayham, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—William Davis, David Sibley, Frances McGaffee.

Marriage.

24th January, 1828—John Welter, of Southwold, yeoman, and Christina Bastedo, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—David Welter, Levi Fowler, Thomas Fowler.

Burial.

24th January, 1828—John, son of John Davis, of Yarmouth, and Margaret, his wife, died 23rd January, aged 3 years, 11 months, and was this day interred by me, in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 24th January, 1828—Daniel Brookes, of the Township of Dorchester, yeoman, and Mary Chase, of the Township of Malahide, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—William McIntosh, James Henderson, Archibald McLachlin.

Marriage.

27th January, 1828—John Hess, of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Permit Maria Batchelor, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. Witnesses—Richard Nicolls, William Drake, Abraham Smith, Hosia Baker.

Burial.

28th February, 1828—This day a child of John Welter, of Southwold, who died unbaptised, aged about 2 weeks, was interred in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 28th January, 1828—Walter Ward, of the Township of Malahide, yeoman, and Sarah Leek, of the same township, widow,

were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Daniel McKenney, Hyland Ward, Chancey Burgess, Warren Davis.

Marriage.

28th January, 1828—Harvey Bryant, of the Township of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Jane Doane, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Chancey Burgess, Jonathan Steel, Maria Kipp.

Burial.

29th February, 1828—This day a male child, aged twelve days, son of John Mackintosh, of Southwold, who died unbaptised, was this day interred in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 28th January, 1828—Abraham House, of the Township of Yarmouth, widower, and Anne Gardiner, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Henry House, Garret Oakes, David Cummings.

Marriage.

28th January, 1828—Harvey Bryant, of the Township of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Amy Simons, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Daniel W. Stockton, Elijah Osborn, Eliza [her X mark] Leper.

Marriage.

21st February, 1828—Christopher Minor, of the Township of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Elizabeth Van Sickle, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Asa Fordyce, Silas Gavitz, James Van Sickle.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 5th March, 1828—Benjamin Davis, of the Township of Westminster, yeoman, and Eliza Wilson, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—D. MacPherson, Amos Davis, Thomas Macpherson.

On Thursday, the 6th March, I performed Divine Service in London, and baptised the following children:—

6th March, 1828—Jane, daughter of James and Sarah Parkinson, of London, born 4th October, 1827, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Parents and Mary Brown, Sponsors.

Mary Jane, daughter of Richard and Margaret Ferguson, of London, born 5th September, 1827, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Richard Ferguson, Elizabeth Ferguson, Margaret Ferguson, Sponsors.

Baptisms in London, 6th March, continued.

Hannah Rosanna, daughter of John Talbot, of London, and Elizabeth, his wife, born 22nd December, 1817. Joseph Sifton, Esther Sifton, Anne Geary, Sponsors.

John, son of Thomas and Eliza Shoebottom, of London, born 18th October, 1827. John Shoebottom, James Shoebottom, Mary Shoebottom, Sponsors.

Helen, born 4th November, 1827, daughter of Thomas and Mary Hodgeons, of London. Anne Shoebottom, George Shoebottom, Mary Hodgeons, Sponsors.

George, born 29th August, 1827, son of James and Helen Shoebottom, of London. Thomas Shoebottom, Foliot Gray, Eliza Shoebottom, Sponsors.

Francis Henry, born 1st August, 1827, son of John and Elizabeth Ferguson, of London. John Ferguson, Elizabeth Ferguson, parents, Francis Walden.

Mary, daughter of Stephen and Mary Powell, of London, born 15th June, 1826. Stephen Powell (father), Mary Hardinge, Sarah Geary, Sponsors.

Jane, daughter of John and Mary Gray, of London, born 20th October, 1827. John Gray, Mary Gray, parents, Eliza Talbot, Sponsors.

Robert, son of Robert and Elizabeth Ralph, of London, born 15th June, 1827. John Talbot, Elizabeth Talbot, Elizabeth Ralph (mother), Sponsors.

St. Thomas, 1828.

Baptisms in London on 6th March, continued.

Eleanor, born 29th November, 1827, daughter of William and Eleanor Guest, of London. George Guest, Mary Jones, Judith Ardiel, Sponsors.

Marriage.

17th March, 1828—Nicholas Westbrooke, of Westminster, yeoman, and Hannah Patrick, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Timothy Kilbourn, D. H. Cutten, Stephen Malatt.

Marriage.

Gilbert Miller, of the Township of Mallahide, yeoman, and Wilmot Van Patten, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—M. B. Millard, Dorothy Millard, Mary Spades.

Burial.

St. Thomas, 14th March, 1828———, child of Thomas Hardison, of Yarmouth, and ——, his wife, died on the 12th inst., aged 13 months, and was this day interred by me, in Yarmouth.

Baptism.

23rd March, 1828—John Henry, infant son of Samuel Mason, of Yarmouth, and Alice, his wife, born 23rd January, 1828, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Joseph Smith, John Mason and Anna Smith, Sponsors.

Baptism.

24th March, 1828—Charles Augustus, infant son of Ira Whitcomb, of Yarmouth, and Jemima, his wife, born 1st January, 1828, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. James Givins, Ira Whitcombe, Isabella P. Jones, proxy of the mother, Sponsors.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 27th March, 1828—Levi Harris, of Bayham, yeoman, and Margaret Willis, of Malahide, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Henry Willis, Samuel H. Anderson, Septimus Davis.

Marriage.

30th March, 1828—Abel Bigsby, of St. Thomas, carpenter, and Harriet Sampson, of the Township of Yarmouth, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Barzillai Sampson, Enos Call, John Farnham.

Marriage.

1st April, 1828—Richard Hayes, of the Township of London, yeoman, and Rebecca Wallace, of the same township, widow, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Joseph Sifton, Maria Sifton, William Fassett.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 2nd April, 1828—Jonathan Steel, of the Township of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Maria Kipp, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—James Brown, Harvey Kipp, Benjamin Doan, Jr.

Sacrament.

6th April, 1828—Easter Sunday—On this day the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered by me, to eighteen persons.

Sacrament.

13th April, 1828—On this day the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered by me, in Dunwich, to 22 persons.

Baptism.

13th April, 1828—Margaret, daughter of John Miles Farland, of Dunwich, and Martha, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Walter Patterson, Mary Patterson, Margaret Bobier, Sponsors.

Baptism..

14th April, 1828—Donald, son of William Macpherson of Dunwich, and ———, his wife, born ———, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. The Parents, Sponsors.

Baptism..

14th April, 1828—James, son of Alexander Macpherson, of Dunwich, and Isabel, his wife, born ———, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. The Parents, Sponsors.

Marriage.

17th April, 1828—Thomas Drake, of the Township of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Vashti Wood, of the Township of Southwold, spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Phineas Drake, James McQueen, Amos M. Barnes, George D. Spades.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 13th May, 1828—Daniel Stockton, of the Township of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Eliza Leper, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Huff, Jacob F. Scott, Mahlon Stockton.

Baptism.

14th October, 1828—Charles Henry, son of Dr. Charles Duncomb, of St. Thomas, and Nancy, his wife, born 21st May, 1822, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. George D. Spades and Parents, Sponsors.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 21st October, 1828—Anne, born 18th August, 1802, wife of Mr. Hiram D. Lee, of Westminster, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. George J. Goodhue, Catherine Goodhue, Abigail Lawreson, Witnesses.

Baptisms.

Westminster, 21st October, 1828—Elvira, born 12th February, 1820, William Edward, born 3rd November, 1822, John Rolph, born 10th October, 1824, and Hiram Chisholm, born 14th September, 1826, children of Mr. Hiram D. Lee, of the Township of Westminster, and Anne, his

wife, were this day baptised by me, by public baptism. The Parents, Lawrence Lawrason, Abigail Lawrason, Sponsors.

N.B.—The Visiting Missionary (Mr. Archibald), visited this place on the 29th October. I accompanied him to London, where he preached twice on Sunday, the 2nd November.

Burial.

St. Thomas, 21st October, 1828—Maria, wife of George J. Goodhue, of London, merchant, died 20th inst., aged 28 years and six months, and was this day interred by me, in the burying ground in the Town of London.

Baptism.

21st October, 1828—Maria Fullerton Norton, infant child of George J. Goodhue, of London, and Maria, his wife, born 4th July, 1828, was this day baptised by me by public baptism. Catherine Goodhue, Hiram D. Lee, as proxy for Wm. Henry, Anne Lee, as proxy for Catherine Fullerton, Sponsors.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 3rd November, 1828—Thomas Pennington, of the Township of Malahide, yeoman, and Laura Dewey, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Caray, William Drake, Morris Sovereign, George D. Spades.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 11th November, 1828—Hammond Oakes, of the Township of Charlotteville, yeoman, and Isabella Phillips, of the Township of Southwold, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—C. Youmans, Lad. Sells, A. W. Steres.

Marriage.

23rd November, 1828—Edmund Smith, of Southwold, yeoman, and Almiro Thayer, of the Township of Yarmouth, spinster, were his day married by me, by banns. William Parker, Jarvis Thayer, William Smith, John Thayer, Witnesses.

Marriage.

24th November, 1828—Daniel Lockwood, of the Township of Carra-doe, yeoman, and Hester Bateman, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Jesse Bennett, Andrew Nevills, Andrew Fortner.

Marriage.

24th November, 1828—William Bryant, of the Township of West-minster, widower, and Lavinia Macaulay, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Andrew Beattie, Richard Tunks, Calvin Burtch, William Walters.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 24th November, 1828—Jane Thomson, born 23rd April, 1828, infant daughter of Peter Schram, of Westminster, and Margaret, his wife, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. The Parents, Margaret Schram, the older, Sponsors.

Baptism.

24th November, 1828—Susan Gilbert, born 16th June, 1823, daughter of James McNames, of Westminster, and Charlotte, his wife, was baptised by me, this day, by public baptism. Andrew Beattie, Charlotte McNames, Margaret Schram, the older, Sponsors.

Burial.

3rd December, 1828—Adam Burwell, of Southwold, yeoman, (the father of Col. Burwell), died on the 1st inst., aged — years, and was this day interred by me, in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 22nd January, 1828—Thomas Culver, of the Township of Southwold, yeoman, and Hannah Pettit, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Joseph Spitzer, Adam Burwell, Clark Collven.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 15th February, 1829—Timothy Kilburn, of the Town-ship of Delaware, yeoman, and Delight Wells, of the Township of West-

minster, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Riley Wells, Gilbert Strong, Cyrus McMillen, Peter Schram.

Burial.

16th February, 1829—John Robert Dumont, child of Gilbert Dumont, and Amelia, his wife, born 21st September, 1828, died 15th inst., ——— was this day buried by me, in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Marriage.

17th February, 1829—John Burgess, of the Township of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Hannah Ryckman, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Alexander Bryce, J. B. Hawkin, Wm. Ostrander, Minor Barnes.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 18th February, 1829—William Hartwell, Esq., of Pittsford, Monroe Co., N.Y., United States, and Martha Maria Schofield, daughter of Ira Schofield, Esq., of London, U.C., were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—M. Burwell, James Givins, Geo. J. Goodhue, Edward E. Warren.

Marriage.

25th February, 1829—Abraham Griffin, of Southwold, yeoman, and Eliza Young, of Dunwich, spinster, were his day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Elliott Young, Russel Young, Ezekiel McIntire.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 1st March, 1829—John Sutton, of the Township of Southwold, yeoman, and Cynthia Phillips, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Amariah Sutton, Jackson Stafford, Isaac Phillips.

2nd March, 1829—Daniel Treadwell, of the Township of Malahide, yeoman, and Sarah Willis, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Edward Griffin, J. Davis, S. Davis.

Marriage.

12th March, 1829—John Bobier, of the Township of Dunwich, yeoman, and Jane Wellwood, of the Township of Southwold, spinster, were

this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Daniel Wellwood, Joshua Bobier, Richard Milligan, William Crane.

Baptism.

St. Thomas, 1st March, 1829———, infant child of James Ferguson, of Southwold, and Sarah, his wife, born ———, 1828, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. ——— Meek and the Parents, Sponsors.

Burial.

5th March, 1829—Eliza, daughter of Calvin Witt, of Southwold, and ———, his wife, died on the 3rd inst., aged — years, and was this day interred by me, in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Marriage.

12th March, 1829—William Crane, of the Township of Dunwich, yeoman, and Margaret Bobier, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—John Bobier, Joshua Bobier, Daniel Wellwood, Richard Milligan.

Burial.

22nd March, 1829—Eleanor Spades, daughter of Geo. D. Spades and Mary, his wife, died 21st inst., aged 3 years, was this day interred in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 17th March, 1829—Amos Barnes, of the Township of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Elizabeth Spittler, of the Township of Southwold, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Joseph Spittler, Jonas Barnes, Levi Fowler, David Conrad.

Marriage.

24th March, 1829—John Dougherty, of the Township of Southwold, yeoman, and Susannah Ellis, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—James Jackson, Hugh Sharon, Jacob Bodoin, James Little, ——— Clark.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 24th March, 1829—Alexander Ironside, Esq., of St. Thomas, medical practitioner, and Margaret Rapelje, of the Township

of Yarmouth, spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—James Givins, James Nevills, Jeronimus Rapelje, Jr.

Marriage.

26th March, 1829—Jacob Pfeffer, Jun., of the Township of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Agnes Best, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Jacob Pfeffer, Sen., James Brown, James Givins, Robert Nelson.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 31st March, 1829—Nathaniel Bryant, of the Township of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Jane Wilson, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Benjamin Doans, Thomas Sprague, Matilda Willson.

Burial.

1st April, 1829—William Lee, Sen., of Southwold, died 30th March, ult., aged 69 years, and was this day interred by me in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 27th April, 1829—Joseph Smith, of the Township of Southwold, bachelor, and Sarah Williams, of the Township of Westminster, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Ganer Ellwood, Samuel Smith, Garet Smith.

Marriage.

4th May, 1829—John Coughel, of the Township of Yarmouth, bachelor, and Abigail Hughes, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Charles Conrad, Joseph Marlatt, David Caughel.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 4th May, 1829—Henry Welter, of the Township of Southwold, Bachelor, and Christina Bawtinham, of the same township, spinster, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Thomas Fowler, Christopher Long, David Welter.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 17th August, 1829—Jacob Hull, of the Township of Westminster, in the London District, and Province of Upper Canada, was married after publication of banns, to Euphemia Lochler, of the same place, on this day, by me. Witnesses—John R. Harman, Jonathan [his X mark] Smith. Given away by Isaac Hunt.

Marriage.

17th August, 1829—Frederick Lown, of the Township of Westminster, in the London District, and Province of Upper Canada, was married after publication of banns, to Polly Dingman, of the same place, on this day, by me. Witnesses—Thomas Pool, and Benjamin Schram. Given away by Thomas Pool.

Burial.

28th August, 1829—Silas Zavitz, commonly called Savage, youngest son of Christie Zavitz and ———, his wife, was buried on this day by me.

Baptism.

20th August, 1829—Andrew, son of Frederick Lown and Polly, his first wife, of the Township of Westminster, born 17th July, 1827, was this day baptised, by public baptism, by me. John Dingman, Thos. Pool, Catherine Pool, Sponsors.

Marriage.

4th September, 1829—Thomas Thomas, of the Township of Southwold, in the district of London, in the Province of Upper Canada, was married by license to Elizabeth Maccormick, of the same place, widow, on this day, by me. Witness—Ann Thomas. Given away by John Holden.

Burial.

September 7th, 1829—James Wilson, from Banbridge, County of Down, in Ireland, died on Sunday, the 6th ult., at Port Stanley, and was buried on Mr. Jos. Smith's farm on this day, by me.

Burial.

September 7th, 1829—Jemima Whitcomb, wife of ——— Whitcomb, age 31 years, 10 mos., and 21 days, died yesterday, Sunday, the 6th, and was buried at St. Thomas, on this day, by me.

Baptism.

October 4th, 1829—Maria, daughter of John Miles Farland, of Dunwich, and Martha, his wife, born on the 20th July, 1829, was publicly baptised on this day, by me. Jane Bobier, Lydia Patterson, John Bobier, Sponsors.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, Oct. 5th, 1829—William Millard, of the Township of Malahide, was married, by banns, to Pamela Martin, of the same place, spinster, on this day, by me. Given away by James Summers. Witnesses—James Burdick, George Gillet.

Marriage.

October, 26th, 1829—Thomas Williams, of the Township of Southwold, widower, was married, by banns, to Mary Nash, of the Township of Dunwich, on this day, by me. Given away by Sylvester [his X mark] Nash. Witnesses—John Robert Murray, Henry S. Lawson, Robert Clark.

Marriage.

October 26th, 1829—Nathan Brown, of the Township of Yarmouth, was married, by banns, to Catherine Gawse, on this day, by me. They are both colored persons. Witnesses—Archibald [his X mark] Lewis, Richard [his X mark] Woods.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, November 8th, 1829—Samuel McDowell, of the Township of Yarmouth, was married, by license, to Aner McCall, of the same place, widow, on this day, by me. Given away by John [his X mark] Storms. Witnesses—Daniel [his X mark] Hendershot, Henry [his X mark] Storms.

Marriage.

November 8th, 1829—James Vansickle, of the Township of Yarmouth, was married, by license, to Susan Minor, of the same place,

on this day, by me. Given away by Christian Minor. Witnesses—Joseph M. Moore, Isaac Minor.

Marriage.

November 30th, 1829—Matthias Sutton, of Niagara, was married by license, to Hannah Patterson, of the Township of Westminster, on this day, by me. Given away by Andrew Fortner. Witnesses—Garner Ellwood, Joseph Hodgson.

St. Thomas, December 8th, 1829—William Kelley, of the Township of Southwold, was married, by banns, to Margaret Burwell, of the same place, widow, on this day, by me. Given away by David Kelly. Witnesses—John D. Lawson, Elliot Young.

Marriage.

December 15th, 1829—William C. Mcpherson, of the Township of Westminster, was married, by banns, to Abigail Bruce, of the same place, spinster, on this day, by l.e. Given away by D. Mcpherson. Witnesses—Garner Ellwood, John Corson.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, December 22nd, 1829—Duncan McLarty, yeoman, and Sarah McIntire, spinster, both of the Township of Southwold, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Leitch, Colin Leitch, John Munro.

Marriage.

December 24th, 1829—Phineas Drake, yeoman, and Catharine Hughes, spinster, both of the Township of Southwold, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Wm. Drake, Margaret Drake.

Marriage.

December 29th, 1829—Jacob Pace, cooper, and Margaret McLean, spinster, both of the Township of Yarmouth, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Pace, Wm. Parker, Henry Petty.

Burial.

St. Thomas, December, 31st, 1829—James Hepburne, of Southwold, died, 29th December, aged — years, and was this day interred by me in the Churchyard of St. Thomas.

Marriage.

31st December, 1829—Joseph King, of the Township of Yarmouth, and Dorothy Ferguson, of the Township of Malahide, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Thomas Matthews, Peter Matthews, John Ferguson.

Marriage.

January 12th, 1830—Thomas Meek, of the Township of Southwold, yeoman, and Mary S. Owrey, of the Township of Westminster, were married by me, this day, by license. Witnesses—Richard Nicolls, Archibald Owrey, Wm. Owrey.

Baptism.

18th January, 1829—John, son of Francis and Sarah Johnston, born January, 1830, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. Wm. Pearce, Joseph Patterson, Catharine Pearce, Mary Patterson, Sponsors.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, January 19th, 1830—Stephen Wilcox, yeoman, and Margaret Wismer, spinster, both of the Township of Yarmouth, were married by me, this day, by banns. Witnesses—David Caughill, Jacob Wismer, John Wismer.

Marriage.

19th January, 1830—George Brown, of the Township of Yarmouth, yeoman, and Sade Thurstin, of the Township of Malahide, were married by me, this day, by banns. Witnesses—Joel Davis, Robert McKency, Alexander Bryce.

Marriage.

19th January, 1830—Wm. Smith, of the Township of Walsingham, yeoman, and Mary Bowen, of the Township of Bertie, spinster, were married by me, this day, by license. Witnesses—Samuel Smith, Daniel Davis, Jacob Davis.

Marriage.

St. Thomas, 19th January, 1830—Reuben Lamb, yeoman, and Ann Huffman, spinster, both of the Township of Malahide, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—Winslow Hayward, Jacob Huffman, Charles McArthy.

Marriage.

20th January, 1830—John Hunt, yeoman, and Hannah Marr, spinster, both of the Township of Southwold, were this day married by me, by license. Witnesses—Charles Hannan, Thomas Marr, Daniel Smith.

Baptism.

21st January, 1830—Mary, infant daughter of David J. and Jane Bowman, born November 23rd, 1829, was this day baptised by me. Margaret Warren, Archange Warren, Robert Warren, Sponsors.

Marriage.

January 25th, 1830—James Doying, yeoman, and Maria Sampson, spinster, both of the Township of Yarmouth, were married by me, this day, by banns. Witnesses—James Nevills, Henry W. Woods, Peter Secords.

Marriage.

January 28th, 1830—Francis Crane, carpenter, and Esther Philpots, widow, both of the Township of Southwold, were married by me, this day, by banns. Witnesses—Elliot Young, Alfred Hamilton, Rufus Lumley.

Marriage.

February, 22nd, 1830—Wm. Stuart, yeoman, and Sophia Long, spinster, both of the Township of Southwold, were married by me, this day, by banns. Witnesses—_____.

Marriage.

February 22nd, 1830—Thomas Lumley, yeoman, and Christiana Willey, spinster, both of the Township of Dunwich, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—_____.

Marriage.

February 25th, 1830—Aaron Van Pater, yeoman, and Elizabeth Harvey, spinster, both of the Township of Malahide, were this day married by me, by banns. Witnesses—John Harvey, Andrew McCausland, Simon Van Pater.

Baptisms.

1st March, 1830—This day were baptised by me, by public baptism, Wm. King, born January 2nd, 1816, Gilman Wilson King, born July 26th, 1818, John King, born April 28th, 1821, Elias Edwy. King, born September 9th, 1829. Alexander Hamilton, Hooper King, Elizabeth Hamilton, Sponsors.

Eliza King, born October 26th, 1823, and Rosanna King, April 28th, 1826. Elizabeth Hamilton, Elizabeth King, Alexander Hamilton, Sponsors.

The above named are the children of Hooper King and Elizabeth, his wife.

Baptism.

7th March, 1830—Egerton LeRoy Mason, infant son of Samuel Mason, and Alice, his wife, born 24th November, 1829, was this day baptised by me, by public baptism. George R. Williams, Joseph R. Bostwick, Maria L. Williams.

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CONTENTS.

CHAP.	PAGE
I. Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B. J. A. Macdonell, K.C. -	5
II. Romantic Elements in the History of the Mississippi Valley. Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D. - - - - -	33
III. Collections of Historical Material Relating to the War of 1812. Frank H. Severance, L.H.D. - - - - -	43
IV. Despatch from Colonel Lethbridge to Major-General Isaac Brock. Lieut.-Col. Cole - - - - -	57
V. Military Movements in Eastern Ontario during the War of 1812. Lieut.-Col. W. S. Buell - - - - -	60
VI. Defence of Essex during the War of 1812. Francis Cleary. -	72
VII. The Economic Effect of the War of 1812 on Upper Canada. Adam Shortt, C.M.G., M.A., F.R.S.C. - - - - -	79

NOTE.

The Editorial Committee assumes no responsibility for the accuracy of statements made, or for opinions expressed in the Papers contained in this volume.

ALEXANDER FRASER, *Secretary.*

I.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ISAAC BROCK, K.B.*

(Born 6th October, 1769; died 18th October, 1812.)

By J. A. MACDONELL, K.C., GLENGARRY.

"We are engaged in an awful and eventful contest. By unanimity and despatch in our councils and by vigour in our operations, we will teach the enemy this lesson: that a country defended by free men, enthusiastically devoted to the cause of their King and constitution, can never be conquered."

It was with these glorious and inspiring words that Major-General Brock, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, concluded the speech with which on the 27th July, 1812, he opened the extra session of the Legislature of the Province, which he had summoned immediately following the declaration of war by the United States on the 18th of June.

He had been appointed Administrator, or President, as the office was then styled, on the 30th of September, 1811, assuming his government on the 9th of October, in the absence of Lieutenant-Governor Gore, who had left York (now Toronto) on the day previous. It was his fate nobly to fall at Queenston Heights on the 13th of the same month in the following year; he therefore held office for but a few days over a year. But that short time was sufficient to obtain for his name immortality, so long as the English language can narrate what in that brief period he accomplished, and to hold forth for succeeding generations of British subjects in Canada and throughout the Empire, the bright example of his genius and his gallantry, his indomitable spirit and extraordinary fertility of resource.

Isaac Brock was the eighth son of John Brock, Esquire, a gentleman of Guernsey, of good family and independent means, who, in his youth, had been a midshipman in the

*Read at the meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Napanee, Ont. 1912.

Born Oct.
6th, 1768.

Enters the
army at
fifteen years
of age.

1797.
Lieut.-Col.
49th Regt.
at twenty-
eight years
of age.

Royal Navy, by Elizabeth De Lisle, his wife. He was born at St. Peter's Port, Guernsey, on the 6th of October, 1768, the same memorable year which gave birth to Wellington and Napoleon; and was thus but forty-three years of age at the time of his death. Singularly, and sadly enough, of all the eight brothers who reached maturity, no male descendant is now in existence to bear that honoured name. Brock is described as being always tall and robust for his age; with strength and determination, the best boxer and swimmer of his set, yet at the same time always of the most gentle and kindly nature. In more mature years he was a man of towering frame and commanding aspect. From a primary school at Southampton he was sent to complete his education and perfect his knowledge of the language, to a French pastor at Rotterdam. He entered the 8th Regiment as an ensign, when but little over fifteen; raising an independent company, he was gazetted captain, but shortly afterwards was placed on half-pay. In 1791, by purchase, he exchanged into the 49th Regiment, with which he was destined to be so long and honourably associated, and which took part in the Battle of Queenston Heights, when he died. He served with that regiment in Barbadoes and Jamaica, becoming major in 1795, and lieutenant-colonel in 1797, while yet but twenty-eight years of age. The regiment had fallen into bad habits and worse discipline, but under his command it soon regained its good character; the Duke of York, then Commander-in-Chief, declaring that Lieut.-Colonel Brock, from one of the worst, had made the 49th one of the best regiments in the service. While he exercised his command with vigour and strictness, his discipline was tempered by reason and justice. He possessed that happy quality which the French call "*camaraderie*," which has always been found in really great soldiers and than which nothing more endears a commanding officer to the men who are fortunate enough to serve under him—indeed, the secret of Brock's influence and success was that he really cared for his men, and that they recognized that such was his guiding principle. Under his command, the 49th served under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and subsequently Sir John Moore, in North Holland, in 1799, where Colonel Brock greatly distinguished himself. The regiment suffered severely at Egmont-op-Zee, where Brock himself was wounded.

In 1801, he was second in command of the land forces in the celebrated attack on Copenhagen by Lord Nelson.

In 1802, he came with his regiment to Canada, and Can-^{1802.}ada was happily destined to benefit by his untiring services ^{His advent to Canada.} for the following ten years, while here it was his lot to achieve imperishable renown. The first three years he spent on regimental duty, being quartered at different times with the 49th at Montreal, York, Fort George (Niagara-on-the-Lake), and Quebec. In 1805 he became a full colonel and returned ^{1805.}to England on leave of absence. While there he laid before ^{Full Colonel.}the Commander-in-Chief the outline of a plan for the forma- ^{Recom-}tion of a veteran battalion to serve in Canada. ^{mends for-} ^{mation of} ^{veteran} ^{battalion.}

The Royal Canadian Volunteer Regiment of Foot, of two battalions, which had been raised and placed in 1796 on the regular establishment of the army, and the first battalion of which under Lieut.-Colonel the Baron de Longueuil had garrisoned the posts of Lower Canada, and the second battalion under Lieut.-Colonel Macdonell those of the Upper Province, had, together with all Fencible corps in the army, been disbanded in 1802, during the short-lived Peace of Amiens. Both Provinces were therefore practically without regular local forces. But Britain at this time had her hands full with Napoleon; every available man was required in the Peninsula, and the British Government, seeing no reason or occasion for war with the United States, did not believe that war would take place, and Colonel Brock did not therefore succeed in convincing the Home authorities of the necessity of establishing such a corps at the time. He received, though, the thanks of H.R.H. the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief, for his communication and his very sensible and valuable observations respecting the distribution of troops in Canada, and the promise that his recommendations would be taken into consideration at a seasonable opportunity. In the light of events which transpired in the near future, the wisdom of Colonel Brock's proposal is apparent. His suggestion was that detachments of the proposed corps should be stationed at St. John's and Chambly in Lower Canada, (now the Province of Quebec), Kingston, York (now Toronto), Fort George (Niagara), Amherstburg, and St. Joseph's Island, in the Upper Province.

While on a visit to his family and friends in Guernsey, ^{1806.}Colonel Brock deemed the intelligence from the United ^{Last visit home.}

States to be of so warlike a character that he resolved upon returning to Canada before his leave had expired; and such was his anxiety to be at his post that he overtook, at Cork, the *Lady Saumarez*, a German vessel, well manned and armed as a letter of marque, bound for Quebec, and left London on the 26th of June, 1806, never to return or to see home and kindred again.

Very soon after his arrival in Canada Colonel Brock succeeded to the command of the troops in both Provinces, with the pay and allowances of a brigadier. He resided in Quebec until the arrival in October, 1807, of that renowned soldier, Sir James Craig, as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, who appointed him a brigadier, which appointment was subsequently confirmed by the King.

1806.
Warns Brit-
ish Govt.
of hostility
of U. S.

In September, 1806, ever zealous, alert and watchful, he had deemed it his duty, immediately upon his return to Canada and on ascertaining the precarious and critical position of affairs, to address an urgent letter to the Imperial authorities in which he stated that it was impossible to view the late hostile measures of the American Government towards Britain, without considering a rupture between the two countries as probable to occur, if not indeed inevitable and imminent, and that he was in consequence most anxious that such precautionary measures should be taken as the exigencies seemed not only to justify, but to demand.

He warned the Government that even then the Americans were busily engaged in establishing and drilling their militia, and openly declared their intention of entering Canada, while the defenseless state of our frontiers constituted the strongest possible inducement to them so to do. He stated that the means at his disposal were too limited to enable him to oppose them with effect, and that unless he received assistance he would be obliged to confine himself to the defence of the Citadel of Quebec.

1807.
Recommends
formation of
Glengarry
Fencible
Regt. on
proposal of
Col. Mac-
donell.

Again in 1807 he returned to the subject, when forwarding to the War Office the proposal of Colonel Macdonell, formerly commanding the 2nd Battalion R. C. V. (which had been disbanded as we have seen in 1802), for the formation of a corps of Glengarry Fencibles. He strongly urged the establishment of such a regiment, to be raised among the Highland people in Glengarry. His wise suggestion was not at the time carried into effect, but when a few years

afterwards our relations with the United States had arrived at a crisis, the British Government hastened to adopt his plan, and the "Glengarry Light Infantry Regiment" was raised and placed upon the establishment of the army, that ubiquitous regiment which was to take part in almost every battle for the defence of the country in the War of 1812-14, and to amply justify Brock's selection of the Glengarry Highlanders as the men to face the emergency and rally to the defence of the country—and largely to save it.

But his efforts extended in all directions. The naval force and craft in Canada were then in an incipient and exceedingly unsatisfactory condition. General Brock was firmly impressed with the absolute necessity of our holding the control of the River St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes in the event of war, and shortly after taking over the command of the forces he turned his attention to that urgent and important subject and directed that the following number of boats, independent of those required for the Commissariat, should be kept in constant repair at the several posts for military service, viz: Quebec 6, Three Rivers 2, William Henry (Sorel) 1, Montreal 7, St. John 2, Kingston 4, Fort George 12, York 3, and Amherstburg 4, a total of 41.

In 1808 General Brock appears to have been stationed at Montreal, where, as elsewhere in Canada, he was a great social favourite. People instinctively recognized his worth, his work, his zeal and ability, and appreciated to the fullest extent the wholehearted manner in which he threw himself into the discharge of his every duty. Then, too, whatever the views and misconceptions of English statesmen, as to what was coming in the comparatively near future, there was no doubt whatever upon the part of the leading, observant and influential men in Canada. For years before war was actually declared by the United States, they were able to read the signs of the times and were convinced that Brock was the man for the occasion when we had to face the inevitable. These gentlemen, therefore, were naturally desirous of showing their appreciation of the services he was rendering in advance to face this great emergency and to forestall a dire catastrophe. These were the palmy days of the celebrated North-West Company, which for years "held a lordly

Prepares
naval craft
on river and
lakes.

1808.
Montreal.
Intimacy
with the
partners of
the North-
West Com-
pany.
Important
services of
the latter
during war.

The great
North-West
Company.

sway" over the wintry lakes and the boundless forests of the Canadas, almost equal to that of the East India Company over the voluptuous climes and magnificent realms of the Orient. The principal partners, Scotsmen, and mostly Highland gentlemen at that, resided at Montreal, where they formed a commercial aristocracy, and lived in a generous and most hospitable manner. Few distinguished travellers visited Canada, or leading military men stationed here, at this period, in the days of the MacGillivrays, the MacTavishes, the Mackenzies, the Frobishers and the other magnates of the North-West, when the company was in the zenith of its influence and activity, but must have often recalled in after years, the round of feasting and revelry kept up by those hyperborean nabobs. Then, too, they were at the head of what was practically an army of six hundred voyageurs, hardy, serviceable, intrepid, inured to danger, amenable to discipline and obedient to instructions. With these merchant princes, General Brock lived on terms of intimacy, and that intimacy was afterwards to be productive of the most important results. Not only did the North-West Company, when war occurred, immediately constitute themselves into one of the most useful, active and efficient regiments, the *Corps de Voyageurs Canadien*, in which, with scarcely an exception, the officers were Highland Scotsmen, partners and officers of the company, and every voyageur a French-Canadian, but also that Sir George Prevost, then Governor-General (and unfortunately Commander-in-Chief in Canada), was able to write a despatch informing Lord Liverpool that hostilities had commenced, was due to the zeal and patriotism of the principal partners of the North-West Company, who, foreseeing the inevitable, had taken extraordinary precautions and means to obtain early information of the declaration of war by the American Government.

War
declared by
U. S. 18th
June.
Prevost so
advised by
British
chargé
d'affaires on
26th July.

War was declared on the 18th of June. It seems almost incomprehensible that Prevost, then at Montreal, did not receive official intelligence of this momentous fact from Mr. Foster, who, up to that date, was British chargé d'affaires at Washington, until the 26th of July, fourteen days after General Hull's army had actually invaded Upper Canada,

and equally incredible that Mr. Foster did not see fit to find some means of conveying, also, official intelligence to General Brock, in command in that Province, and so hard beset there, leaving him to learn the news by the roundabout way of Montreal, when, with the greatest despatch, a fortnight further must in those days have elapsed for the intelligence by this channel to reach Fort George, the military headquarters, or York, then the seat of Civil Government. Thanks, however, to Brock's personal friends of the North-West Company, six days after the declaration of war at Washington (on the 18th of June), on the 24th day of that month, it was made known, both to Sir George Prevost at Montreal, and to General Brock at Fort George, when Prevost wrote a despatch to Lord Liverpool, and Brock took time by the forelock, with the result that in a very short space of time Hull's invading force of 2,500 men was being marched to Montreal, ragged and dejected prisoners of war, and Brock was in possession of Detroit and the whole State of Michigan, and had captured sufficient arms to arm the militia of Upper Canada. This prompt and invaluable service was rendered possible by the wise precautions and statesmanlike prescience of the North-West Company, who had despatched their own trusted emissaries to Washington with instructions to watch events, and had made all necessary arrangements so that the very moment war was declared, intelligence of that pregnant fact should immediately be rushed through to Canada by their voyageurs and Indian runners. It was due to them and thanks to them alone, that the first knowledge of actual hostilities was not conveyed at the cannon's mouth. Brock made no mistake in the selection of his friends! It was by vigour in our operations that the country was to be saved and not by the mere writing of despatches, and seldom indeed was more vigour shown or greater and more conspicuous service rendered than on this momentous and memorable occasion.

24th June
both Prevost
and Brock
advised by
North-
West
Company.

In 1810 Brigadier-General Brock was stationed as Com-1810.
mandant at Quebec, where he enjoyed the whole confidence Assumes
of Sir James Craig, who, like himself, was every inch a command in
soldier, though embarrassed with the difficult and unwelcome Upper
functions of Civil Government; but so thoroughly did Sir Canada.
James trust and rely upon him, that, strongly impressed with

the absolute necessity of having a military man of the first character and reputation take charge of affairs in the Upper Province, he despatched General Brock to Fort George with that object, and with the exception of a few months in 1811, during which he visited Lower Canada on duty, Brock continued in command of the troops in Upper Canada until his death, Lieutenant-Governor Gore at first administering the Government of the Province.

Applies for
active ser-
vice in the
Peninsula.

But during all this time great events were transpiring elsewhere. The Peninsula was the theatre of the greatest war in which Great Britain had ever been involved, and against the greatest leader the world had ever produced; honour and glory and professional reputation were there to be obtained; military advancement to a man of Brock's capacity was a certainty. Little wonder, therefore, that with the accounts of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos and Salamanca ringing in his ears, he found Fort George, its inactivity, its sombre life and dull environment, irksome in the extreme.

He had long wished for and sought active employment in the field, and looking with envy upon those gaining laurels for themselves and shedding lustre upon British arms in Portugal and Spain, had frequently applied to Sir James Craig for leave of absence. He had absolute assurance too from those who spoke with knowledge and authority, that his name had been mentioned at the Horse Guards in such a way as to indicate that no officer of his rank in the service stood higher in the estimation of the Commander-in-Chief and his military entourage.

Sir James Craig, however, wrote to him from Quebec, on the 4th of March, 1811, to say that though far from being indifferent to forwarding his interests and his wishes for active employment, he felt that, from the necessity of retiring from Canada himself, owing to the precarious condition of his health (which shortly after resulted in his death), it was indispensably necessary to leave this country in the best state of security he could, and that under existing circumstances he was obliged to decline Brock's request for leave; that he regretted extremely the disappointment General Brock would thus experience, but requested him to do him the honour to

Sir James
Craig pre-
sents him
with his
charger.
"Alfred."

accept, as a legacy and as a mark of his sincere esteem and regard, his favorite charger, "Alfred," satisfied that not elsewhere in America could he procure so safe and excellent a horse, and this war-horse met the fitting fate of a war-horse shortly after the death of his illustrious owner, as we will afterwards see.

At the close of the year His Royal Highness the Duke of York expressed his readiness to gratify General Brock's wishes for more active employment in Europe should he be still of the same mind, and Sir George Prevost was authorized to replace him by another officer. But when the permission reached Canada early in 1812, war with the United States was evidently near at hand, and Brock, with such a prospect, even a certainty, and with all the instincts of a soldier, was retained by honour, duty, and inclination, in this country.

On the 11th June, 1811, he had been promoted by the Prince Regent, to serve from that day as a Major-General on the staff of North America. Sir James Craig had left on the 19th of the same month, and after an interregnum of nearly three months, Sir George Prevost arrived at Quebec in September, to assume the Government and the chief command of the forces in British North America. I fear it is as a writer of despatches, disingenuous at that, that Sir George Prevost is best known to us.

As previously stated, Major-General Brock was appointed Administrator of Upper Canada, taking over the office on the 9th October. In addition to his pay as Officer Commanding in Upper Canada he had a salary of £1,000 a year as Administrator, but to add to the other embarrassments with which he now had to contend, at the very time he was appointed, he became involved in most serious monetary difficulties through the failure of a firm of London bankers and merchants of which his elder brother, Mr. William Brock, was senior partner. Mr. William Brock had advanced his brother Isaac at different times £3,000 for the purchase of his commissions in the 49th Regiment; but being then in affluent circumstances and having no children of his own, he had intended the money as a gift

Now declines offer of service in Peninsula.

Appointed Major-General 11th June, 1811, and Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, 30th Sept., 1811.

Becomes financially involved by failure of his brother's firm in London. His honourable conduct.

to a favorite and most promising brother. It had, however, been charged in the books of the firm, and Major-General Brock was now called upon by the creditors to repay the amount. He was a man of generous disposition, dispensing somewhat extensive hospitality, especially of recent years, since his appointment to his important military command in Canada, and had saved nothing. It came as a great blow. The high position to which he had just been elevated necessitated considerable outlay to keep up its proper dignity. But Brock was, above all things, a man of the most scrupulous honour, and immediately and instinctively determined upon the proper course, forwarding a power of attorney to London to enable his whole official salary as Lieutenant-Governor to be appropriated towards the liquidation of the debt, though he was aware that it would, to some extent, necessitate a loss of popularity, and, that people unacquainted with the circumstances would attribute the consequent and unavoidable frugality of his establishment to motives of parsimony and not to rectitude of principle and the dictates of the nicest and most chivalrous sense of honour.

Approach of
war.
Unprepared-
ness of
British
Government.

But events were hurrying on and all tending in the direction of war with our neighbors, who were evidently bent upon it. It is unnecessary now to discuss the pretext upon which they eventually declared it. It is sufficient to state that with Great Britain the war was purely defensive. She fought not for new conquests or to establish new claims, but for the protection of her colonies and the maintenance of rights which had received the solemn confirmation of time, while the Canadians fought for the protection of their hearths and homes and for the retention of those institutions which were inexpressibly dear to them; and those objects were completely secured; the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent by America was a tacit abandonment of every assumption against which the Government of Britain had contended; while Canada lost not one foot of soil and Canadians rejoiced in their self-respect and their connection with the Mother Land, with all which that implied.

The difficulties which now confronted General Brock and with which he had to contend and overcome as best he could,

were sufficient to appal a heart even as stout and to tax to the utmost a mind as versatile and resourceful as his. When we calmly consider them all it seems nothing short of marvellous, that any man should have been equal to circumstances so adverse, labour so incessant and arduous, anxieties so great and constant, perplexities and complications so manifold, and able to meet and overcome them all.

Pressed by European embroilments, fighting on the Continent with her back to the wall, pouring out her blood and treasure in her gigantic struggle with Napoleon, his marshals and his legions, Britain was naturally desirous of avoiding war with the United States, nor could its Government, failing to recognize any sufficient cause or justification for it, be brought to recognize and understand that war was inevitable, that the American President and Government were determined upon it, and only waited until Britain's embarrassments seemed such that the time was opportune to strike the blow.

In May, a month before the declaration of war, Prevost was informed that the Government apprehended no immediate hostilities, while even in July, Lord Liverpool wrote, acknowledging an address of the Legislature of Lower Canada, expressing the willingness of the people of that Province to defend their country, that he hoped there would be no necessity for the sacrifices which so willingly would be made, directed that all extraordinary precautions for defence should be suspended, and that the arrangements for the raising of the Glengarry Regiment should be abandoned; while further to show how great was their miscalculation of events, the Duke of York, as Commander-in-Chief, recommended that the 41st and 49th Regiments, then stationed in Canada, the latter Brock's own corps, brought by him to the highest state of efficiency, having had ten years' continuous service in Canada, and therefore thoroughly acquainted and acclimatized, should return to England and be replaced by one of the foreign regiments (then in the pay and service of the British Government), and one of the line.

War had even then been declared and an American army had actually landed and taken post in Canada—temporarily,

In July, 1812, Home Govt. orders stoppage of all his preparations.

however, for they had not reckoned upon Major-General Brock.

Sir George
Prevost
a blight
upon him.

Then, too, Sir George Prevost was a positive blight upon him. He was upon the ground and knew, or should have known, the circumstances, the position of affairs, the temper of the American people, and the intentions of their Government, unless wilfully blind to all the signs of the times, or utterly lacking in all those statesmanlike and military qualities and attributes so essential to the dual position he occupied as Governor-General of Canada and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces.

On the 2nd of December, 1811, General Brock wrote him : "I cannot conceal from your Excellency that unless a strong regular force be sent to this Province, to animate the loyal and overawe the disaffected, nothing effectual can be expected." Prevost answered, in February, that he could send him no reinforcement to Upper Canada, adding somewhat inconsequently, "Though anxious to afford you every efficient support in my power."

In the same month of December Brock communicated to him his plan of campaign, urged that on the commencement of war active operations should immediately be taken against Detroit, pointed out that Michillimackinac should also be attacked and taken, and had the sagacity to foresee and foretell that an overwhelming force would enter Canada, or attempt to do so, by crossing the Niagara River, and that the next invasion of the Province would take place from Ogdensburg, with a view to the descent of the St. Lawrence, and the attack and probable capture of Montreal; Prevost replied recommending precaution, acknowledged the advantage of striking rather than awaiting and receiving the first blow, but gave neither encouragement nor assistance to Brock's wise and timely suggestions. He derived consolation from the opinion conveyed to him by Mr. Foster, British chargé d'affaires at Washington, that war after all might possibly be avoided, and declared to Brock that it warranted him in recommending the most rigid economy in carrying on the King's service and in avoiding all expense that was not absolutely necessary.

Even when war had actually been declared, writing to Brock on the 10th of July, 1812, he held that offensive measures should not be speedily adopted and ventured upon the prediction that the attempt of the Americans on the Province would be but feeble, while two days afterwards Hull began the invasion of Canada (time and again to be renewed with unceasing vigour and larger force), at the head of 2,500 men and, as President Madison somewhat inaptly expressed it, "With the prospect of easy and victorious progress." Here again the President failed to take Major-General Brock into his calculations, or was unaware of the vigour with which that enterprising officer carried on his operations.

But it was not only the fact that the British Government was unprepared for war with the United States and had taken no precautions against it, and the supineness of Sir George Prevost, who disapproved of all energetic measures, that caused General Brock so much embarrassment, anxiety, care and trouble, in the grave emergency which he was now called upon to face. ^{Traitors within the gates.}

He had also to contend with traitors within his gates; internal disaffection, disloyalty, treason and treachery were rampant in many parts of the Province of Upper Canada.

A large proportion of its population even then were long known as "Proclamation men," Yankee settlers, who had taken advantage of Governor Simcoe's liberal system of land grants, and had come to Canada from purely mercenary motives, bringing with them their republican sentiments and anti-British proclivities, amounting in many instances to hatred.

This disloyal element was much more extensive than is now generally known or supposed, and came nigh to the undoing of the country. Brock's letters and despatches are replete with reference to the anxiety which their machinations and ill-concealed hostility caused him. After war had broken out he was obliged to issue a proclamation ordering all persons suspected of traitorous intercourse with the enemy to be apprehended and treated according to law; those who had not taken the oath of allegiance were ordered to do so or leave the Province. Many were sent out of the country, large numbers left of their own accord; those who refused the oath

or to take up arms to defend the country and remained in the Province after a given date, were declared to be enemies and spies, and treated accordingly; a large number of this disloyal element were arrested and imprisoned early in the war, as on the day of the battle of Queenston, October 13th, 1812, the jail and courthouse at Niagara as well as the block-house at Fort George were filled with political prisoners, over 300 aliens and traitors being in custody, some of whom were tried and sentenced to death during the war, and others sent to Quebec for imprisonment; indeed, even the militia were in some parts tampered with and disaffected. On the 3rd of August, Brock was compelled to declare to his Executive Council that "the enemy had invaded and taken post in the Western district, the militia in a perfect state of insubordination had withdrawn from the ranks on active service, had insulted their officers and some, not immediately embodied, had manifested, in many instances, a treasonable spirit of mutiny and disaffection, that in the Western and London districts several persons had negotiated with the enemy's commander, hailing his arrival and pledging their support, while the Indians on the Grand River had been tampered with, had withdrawn from their voluntary service and declared for a neutrality."

Disloyalty
in the
Legislature.

This disloyal element, too, was not without representation even in the Legislature of the Province, and there they endeavored to thwart all those prompt and effective measures which in the crisis were essential to the preservation of the country and were submitted to and urged upon it by Brock as Administrator. "The many doubtful characters in the militia," he stated in one of his despatches, "made me anxious to introduce the oath of abjuration into the bill. It was lost by the casting vote of the chairman. The great influence which the numerous settlers from the United States possess over the decisions of the Lower House is truly alarming and ought immediately by every practicable means to be diminished." The bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was also defeated in the session which opened on the 4th of February, 1812. The leaders of this disloyal faction in the Legislature were three men whose names should go down to posterity with infamy: Joseph Willcocks, the

leader of the Opposition; Benjamin Mallory and Abraham Markle. At the next session Willcocks and Markle, who were still members, were expelled from the House "for their disloyal and infamous conduct." Mallory had not been re-elected in 1812. Willcocks was killed at Fort Erie in 1814, in command of a regiment in the American army; Mallory served throughout the war as major in the same regiment.

After Hull had invaded the Province, Brock summoned the Legislature and on the 27th of July opened an extra session. In his speech he stated "a few traitors have already joined the enemy; have been suffered to come into the country with impunity and have been harboured and concealed in the interior. To protect and defend the loyal inhabitants from their machinations is an object worthy of your most serious deliberation."

But notwithstanding that the state of the country required urgent and decisive measures, many members of the House of Assembly, under the baneful influence of the disloyal element, were seized with apprehension and endeavored to avoid incurring the indignation of the enemy. They again refused to repeal or suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and in consequence of these difficulties, Brock, knowing that General Hull's emissaries throughout the country were both numerous and active, called together his Executive Council. So serious and grave were the circumstances in which he felt himself placed, and feeling that but little could be expected from a prolonged session, he asked his constitutional advisers whether it would not be expedient to prorogue the Legislature and proclaim martial law. The Council adjourned until the next day, the 4th of August, for deliberation, and then unanimously adopted the legal opinion of Attorney-General Macdonell, and gave it as their advice that under the circumstances of the Province, the House of Assembly should be prorogued and that the General should proclaim and exercise martial law under authority of his commission from the King. Accordingly on the 5th, Brock prorogued the House and martial law prevailed.

This brought the traitors to time; large numbers immediately decamped to the States, among them Willcocks, Mallory

and Markle; the atmosphere was cleared and Brock became master of the situation. But what a situation!

Overwhelm-
ing odds
against him.
Militia
without
arms or
clothes.

Now let us consider for a moment Brock's position. For the defence of this Province his entire forces consisted, all told, regulars and militia, of 1,500 men.

In Lower Canada Sir George Prevost had about 3,000 regular troops. The total number of men capable of bearing arms in Upper Canada was about 11,000, the proportion available for constant, active service was 4,000.

Against this, at the beginning of 1812, the United States had a regular army of 5,500 men. On the 11th of January, 1812, five months before the declaration of war, an act of Congress was passed for raising 25,000 men for five years. In the next month an act was passed to organize 50,000 volunteers, and in April, 100,000 militia were called into active service. During the whole war the United States' regular army amounted to about 30,000. The whole militia force raised during the war was 471,622, making a grand total of over half a million men engaged in the effort to conquer Provinces containing a total population of 300,000.

Another great difficulty was the lack of military stores and supplies; Brock was obliged to ask the militia to clothe themselves; many of them were actually drilling in their naked feet. He was without a military chest, without money to buy provisions, blankets, or shoes. He had to borrow the money to fit out the expedition to Detroit. The militia were practically without arms until the capture of Detroit placed at his disposal 2,500 muskets of General Hull's army, and there he also captured a number of pieces of artillery which were of service in subsequent operations.

Proclama-
tion of
martial
law the
turning-
point.

The proclamation of martial law was the turning-point; indeed it may be said to have been the salvation of the Province. It would seem probable that Brock's intention to proclaim it had become known to the Legislature, for on the very day of prorogation the loyal party in the House succeeded in carrying a most spirited and patriotic address in which they called upon the people of Upper Canada to deem no sacrifice too costly which secured to them their happy constitution.

The change in the prospects within a few days was almost miraculous. The stirring address of the House of Assembly went forth to the people of the Province on the 5th of August, and on the 6th Brock left for Amherstburg accompanied by Attorney-General Macdonell, who now became his Military Secretary and Provincial aide-de-camp. They had with them some 40 regular soldiers and 260 militia.

Sets off on
his cam-
paign.
Capture of
Detroit and
State of
Michigan.

Hostilities had actually commenced on the 12th of July, when General Hull crossed the Detroit River to Sandwich, invading the Province with an army of 2,500 men and a blood-curdling proclamation. This fulmination was promptly answered by General Brock. The two productions might well be placed in parallel columns so that the vulgarity and fanfarronade of the one and the dignified and resolute tone of the other might be fully understood and appreciated.

General Hull had the insolence to announce to the Canadian people that "he was in possession of their country," to inform them that an ocean and wilderness isolated them from Great Britain, "whose tyranny he knew they felt," that his army was ready and anxious to release them from oppression, that they must choose between liberty and security as offered by the United States, and war and annihilation, the penalty of refusal.

Brock, in his counter-manifesto, properly characterized Hull's invitation to Canadians to seek protection from Britain under the flag of the United States as an insult. He cited the advantages of British connection and warned our people that secession meant the restitution of Canada to France, which was the price to be paid by America to that country for the aid given to the revolting colonies during the Revolutionary War. He reminded them of the constancy of their fathers, and urged upon them to repel the invaders and thus give their children no cause to reproach them with sacrificing the richest inheritance upon earth, participation in the name, character and freedom of Britons.

Upon his arrival at Amherstburg, Brock, for the first time, met Tecumseh, who was to prove such an invaluable ally, and soon so nobly to die! At the conclusion of their interview, the great Indian showed his estimate and apprecia-

tion of him when he turned to his warriors and declared to them, "This is a man!"

Nor was General Brock long in determining on his course. The Americans had evacuated Amherstburg and retired to their own side of the river, to Detroit, which was strongly fortified. His entire force now consisted of 330 regulars, 400 militia, and 600 Indians—Sioux, Wyandots and Dacotahs. "My force," he wrote to General Hull, "warrants my demanding the immediate surrender of Fort Detroit," and knowing Hull's dread of the Indians he warned him that they might possibly get beyond his control. Colonel Macdonell and Captain Glegg carried this summons across the river under a flag of truce, and shortly returned with the assurance from General Hull that "he was prepared to meet any force brought against him and accept any consequences." Brock thereupon issued orders to cross the river at dawn, while the Indians crossed under cover of the night. Upon landing, Brock mustered his men, deploying the Indians in the shelter of the woods, skirmishing to effect a flank movement, and advanced to the attack, while the battery of Sandwich threw a few shells into the American fort.

It seems almost incredible, particularly when we think of the proclamation! With the odds about ten to one in his favour, Hull's heart now failed him when he saw the advance of the British, and their field pieces trained upon the fort; the gunners awaited but the final command, when an officer bearing a white flag emerged from the fort, while a boat with another flag of truce was seen crossing the river to the Sandwich battery. Macdonell and Glegg galloped out to meet the messenger and returned with a despatch from Hull to General Brock, as follows: "The object of the flag which crossed the river was to propose a cessation of hostilities for an hour, for the purpose of entering into negotiations for the surrender of Detroit."

Again Macdonell and Glegg rode out and returned with the terms of capitulation signed by General Hull.

One general officer and 3,500 men of all ranks, who were to have conquered Canada, surrendered as prisoners of war, while with them were handed over 2,500 stand of arms, 33 pieces of cannon, the *Adams* brig of war, stores, and muni-

tions of war to the value of £40,000, and Detroit and 59,700 square miles of American territory—the whole State of Michigan—passed into the possession of General Brock.

Brock believed that it was by vigour in our operations that the war was to be won.

In nineteen days he had met and prorogued the Legislature, transported his small force 300 miles, 200 of which was by open boat, captured an army three times his strength, strongly entrenched in a well-protected fort, and 60,000 square miles of that enemy's territory.

By a strange coincidence his despatches with the colours he had taken reached London on the morning of the 5th of October, the anniversary of his birth. The despatches were immediately published in a "Gazette Extraordinary" and the clangour of bells and the booming of guns announced his victory. The Prince Regent expressed his appreciation of Brock's "able, judicious and decisive conduct" and bestowed upon him an extra Knighthood of the Order of the Bath in consideration "of all the difficulties with which he was surrounded during the invasion of the Province and the singular judgment, firmness, skill and courage with which he surmounted them so effectually."

But he never saw the insignia of his rank or learnt of the Sovereign's approbation. Ere that reached Canada, he had fought his last fight. The Battle of Queenston Heights was won, and all that was mortal of Sir Isaac Brock lay under a cavalier bastion in Fort George.

Having brought affairs to so satisfactory a conclusion in this quarter, and completed all necessary arrangements, Brock lost not a moment in returning to York to carry on that plan of campaign upon which he had determined. Quite apart, however, from the high considerations of public duty by which he was always animated, there may have been another reason why he and his Attorney-General, now associated with him in his capacity as military secretary and aide-de-camp, may have been desirous of reporting themselves at York. Both were young, Brock in the prime of manhood, being in his forty-fourth year, and the other but twenty-seven years of age; both were shortly to be married to young ladies then resident at York, General Brock to Miss Sophia Shaw, daughter of

Prevost's
armistice
destroys
his plans.

Major-General Aeneas Shaw, Adjutant-General of Militia, and amongst the many congratulations and felicitations which were showered upon him there were those from one especially which would necessarily and naturally be essentially dear and welcome to him. It was the fate of both these brave and ardent men, however,

“ To change love’s bridal wreath,
For laurels from the hand of death.”

His intention was to proceed forthwith to Kingston and from thence to attack and destroy the American naval arsenal at Sackett’s Harbour on Lake Ontario, and that accomplished, to sweep the whole American frontier from Sandusky at the head of Lake Erie to St. Regis on the River St. Lawrence. But when crossing Lake Erie, he was met with the astounding and most distasteful and unwelcome news that Sir George Prevost had entered into an armistice with the American General, Dearborn. His mortification at this intelligence, which paralyzed all his plans, and went far to nullify all the advantages which his energy and enterprise had already accomplished, can easily be conceived. To make matters worse, General Sheaffe, in command at Fort George while Brock was in the west, had acceded to General Dearborn’s demand that the freedom of the lakes and rivers should be extended to the United States Government during the armistice, an opportunity of which the Americans did not fail to avail themselves to bring up reinforcements, provisions and all the necessary munitions of war, together with 400 boats and batteaux from Ogdensburg and other points to Lewiston, with a view to their contemplated attack on the Niagara frontier, which shortly took place at Queenston. General Sheaffe’s extraordinary conduct on this occasion was again to be repeated on the very afternoon when they were there defeated; instead of following up the victory which Brock’s wise precautions and glorious example had made possible, he agreed to another armistice.

Had the destruction of Sackett’s Harbour, as Brock had determined upon, been then accomplished, the Americans could not have built and equipped the fleet which subsequently gave them the ascendancy on Lake Ontario, and enabled them

twice in 1813 to capture the capital of Upper Canada. The project, however, had to be relinquished by express orders from the Commander-in-Chief. Prevost, indeed, in the following year, endeavored himself to accomplish what he had forbidden to Brock, and his ignoble fiasco at Sackett's Harbour was only to be equalled, even outdone, by his disgraceful failure at Plattsburg, where brave men broke their swords in the anguish of defeat, and for which he was called upon eventually to face court-martial, which he only escaped by the fortunate intervention of death occurring on the very eve of the assembly of the court which was to meet to try the charges Sir James Yeo had preferred against him. When we contrast the methods and the character and the fate of Sir Isaac Brock and Sir George Prevost we are perforce driven to a realization of the fact that men "are cast in different moulds, if not made of different clay."

But we are nearing the end of Brock's career—one more fight and we have done.

Battle of
Queenston
Heights.
Death of
Brock.

By the middle of October, the Americans had assembled on the Niagara frontier an army of 6,300 men, of which force 3,170 were at Lewiston under the command of General Van Rensselaer—with them he modestly announced to his government his intention "to cross the river in the rear of Fort George, take it by storm, carry the heights of Queenston, destroy the British ships at the mouth of the Niagara River, leave Brock no rallying point, appal the minds of the Canadians, and wipe away the past disgrace."

To oppose this somewhat extensive programme General Brock had part of the 41st and 49th Regiments, a few companies of militia and about 300 Indians, in all about 1,500 men, dispersed, however, at various points between Fort Erie and Fort George, so that only a small number was quickly available at any one point.

He knew that the attack was imminent, and with unwearied diligence he watched the movements of the enemy. During the night of the 12th October their troops were concentrated and embarked from Lewiston under cover of a battery which completely commanded the opposite shore. Suspecting the invasion, though not, of course, knowing the exact point at which it would take place, General Brock had that evening

called together his staff officers and given to each the necessary and final instructions. Before the break of day on the fatal 18th, hearing the cannonade which announced their landing on Canadian soil, he hastily dressed himself, and calling for his charger "Alfred," he galloped off, followed closely by Colonel Macdonell and Captain Glegg, his aides-de-camp.

His first impression is said to have been that the attack indicated by the firing was only a feint to draw the garrison from Fort George, and that an American force lay concealed in boats around the point on which Fort Niagara stands, ready to cross over as soon as they had succeeded. He, therefore, determined to ascertain personally the nature and extent of the attack ere he withdrew the garrison, and with this in view he galloped eagerly to the scene of action, stopping for a moment only, and without dismounting, at the residence of Captain John Powell, to take a cup of coffee, which was brought to him by Miss Sophia Shaw, his fiancée, who never again was to see the gallant man who loved her. Hastily pushing on, he was met by Lieut. S. P. Jarvis, of the York Militia, who was riding so furiously that he could not check his horse, but shouted as he flew by, "The Americans are crossing the river in force, sir." Jarvis wheeled and overtook the General, who, without reining up, slackened his speed sufficiently to tell the rider to hurry on to Fort George and order General Sheaffe to bring up his entire reserve, including Brant's Indians, leaving Brigade-Major Evans with sufficient artillery to batter Fort Niagara. He passed with his two aides up the hill at full speed in front of the light company, under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry from the American shore. On reaching the 18-pounder battery at the top of the hill they dismounted and took a view of passing events, but in a few minutes firing was heard which proceeded from a strong detachment of American regulars under Captain Wool, who had succeeded in gaining the crest of the heights in rear of the battery, by a fisherman's path up the precipitous rocks, which having been reported as impassible, was not guarded. These men charged down upon them, and Brock, with his aides, and the twelve men stationed in the battery, after spiking the gun, were obliged hastily to retire. On

regaining the bottom of the slope he sent Captain Derenzy, of the 41st, with an urgent message to General Sheaffe to hasten the advance of the battalion companies of the 41st and the flank companies of the militia and to join him without delay. Mounting his horse he galloped to the far end of the village where he held a hurried conversation with the few officers present, and despatched Macdonell to Vrooman's to bring up Heward's company of the York Militia, sending Captain Glegg to order Captain Dennis with the light company of the 49th, and Chisholm's company of the York Militia, and Captain Williams with his detachment to join him. When they arrived he took command with a view to the re-taking of the redan, satisfied that to wait for the arrival of the reinforcements under Sheaffe would but make the task more difficult, as it would enable the enemy to establish themselves in force, drill out the spiked gun and turn it upon his men. Under a heavy fire of musketry which did considerable execution they breasted the heights, Brock dismounting, and handing his horse to an orderly, placed himself at the head of his men, who, with the support which Macdonell brought up, numbered less than 190, with which he had to dislodge an enemy strongly entrenched and numbering upwards of 500, of whom 300 were regulars. As they advanced in this charge up the hill, Brock, conspicuous from his dress, his towering height, his position at the head of his men and the enthusiasm with which he animated his little band, was soon singled out by the American riflemen; a deflected bullet struck the wrist of his sword-arm, but he paid no attention to it, still urging on his men. They were now within fifty yards of the redan above them. He was calling to those nearest him to hold their fire for a moment, to prepare to rush the enemy and use their bayonets, when from a thorn thicket, an Ohio scout, Wilklow by name, singled him out, and taking deliberate aim, fired at him. The bullet entered his right breast, tore through his body, leaving a gaping wound. As he sank to the ground he begged that his fall might not be noticed, as it would disorganize his men, and thus he nobly died, with his face to the foe.

Death of
General
Brock.

Perhaps it is better that I should now give Mr. Walter Nursey's account of what immediately followed, rather than my own:

Col. Macdonell leads
forlorn hope.

"After he fell the handful of men who were with him, overcome by his tragic end, overwhelmed by superior numbers and a hurricane of bullets and buckshot, wavered and then fell back and retreated to Queenston Village. Here, about two hours after, Colonel Macdonell collected and reformed the scattered units, and made another bold dash to re-scale the heights and take the redan. With the cry of 'Revenge the General!' from the men of his old regiment, the 49th, Macdonell on Brock's charger, 'Alfred,' led the forlorn attack, supported by Dennis. At the same moment, Williams, with his detachment, emerged from the thicket; the two detachments then combined, and Macdonell ordering a general advance, they once more breasted the ascent. The enemy, over 400 strong, but without proper formation, fired an independent volley at the British as they approached to within thirty yards of the redoubt. This was responded to with vigour, and grenadiers and volunteers in response to Macdonell's repeated calls, charged fiercely on Wool's men, now huddled in disorder around the 18-pounder. Some of them started to run toward the river bank. One American officer, Ogilvie by name, of the 13th Regiment, thinking the situation hopeless, raised his handkerchief on his sword-point in token of surrender, when Wool, a brave soldier, tore it down, and a company of United States infantry coming up at that moment to his assistance he rallied his men.

Death of Col.
Macdonell.

"The momentary advantage gained by Macdonell's small band of heroes was lost, and in the exchange of shots that followed, Macdonell's horse, Brock's charger, 'Alfred,' was killed under him, while he—his uniform torn with bullets—was thrown from the saddle as the animal plunged in its death struggle, receiving several ghastly bullet wounds from which he died the following day, after enduring much agony. Williams, a moment later, fell, desperately wounded. Dennis, suffering from a severe wound in the head, at first refused to quit the field, but Cameron, having removed the sorely-stricken Macdonell, and Williams having recovered consciousness, the dispirited men fell back and, retreating down the mountain, retired upon Vrooman's battery. Here they waited unmolested, until two in the afternoon, for reinforcements from Fort George. The fight, though short, had been furious

and deadly; Americans and British alike were glad to take breath.

“ Meanwhile, unobserved, young Brant, with 120 Mohawk Indians, had scaled the mountain east of St. Davids, outflank-^{Indians scale the mountain east of St. Davids.} ing the Americans, and hemmed them in until Captain Der-enzy, of the 41st, and Holcroft, of the artillery, arrived with the car brigade from Fort George, and trained two field-pieces and a Howitzer, upon the landing. Merritt, with a troop of mounted infantry at the same time reached the village by the Queenston road. This movement, which was a ruse, deceived the enemy, who at once disposed his troops in readiness for an attack from this quarter.

“ The American commander was ignorant of the fact that^{Arrival of General Sheaffe as instructed by Brock.} General Sheaffe, with four companies of the 41st, 300 strong, the same number of militia and a company of negro troops from Niagara, refugee slaves from the United States, was at that moment approaching in rear of the Indians. The British advanced in crescent shaped formation, hidden by mountain and bush, and were shortly joined by a few more regulars and by two flank companies of the 2nd Regiment of militia from Chippewa—indeed many persons of all ranks of life, even veterans exempt by age, seized their muskets and joined the column to repel the invaders. The British of all ranks numbered less than 1,000 men.

“ The United States troops, which had been heavily reinforced, consisted of about 1,000 fighting men, on and about the mountain. Their number was supplemented from time to time, by fresh arrivals from Lewiston, encouraged when they saw the American flag planted on the redan; nearly all the new arrivals were regulars. Colonel Winfield Scott, of Mexican fame, a tried soldier, six foot four in his stockings, was now in command, supported by a second field officer, and many sharpshooters. Van Rensselaer, narrowly escaping capture, had retreated by boat to Lewiston, nominally to bring over more troops. Finding the conditions unfavourable, he did not do so, but sent over General Wadsworth, as a vicarious sacrifice, to take command. The gun in the redan had been unspiked and the summit strongly entrenched, but as Scott's men betrayed strange lukewarmness, orders were given ‘ to shoot any man leaving his post.’

"Sheaffe's men, having rested after the forced tramp, a few spherical case shot by Holcroft drove out the American riflemen. His gunners had at last silenced the Lewiston batteries, and finding the range, sunk almost every boat that attempted to cross. The Indians were now ordered to drive in the enemy's pickets slowly. Scouting the woods, they routed the outposts.

Flight of the
Americans.

"About 4 p.m., Captain Bullock, with two flank companies of militia and 150 men of the 41st, advanced, charging the enemy's right, which broke in great confusion. A general advance was ordered, and with wild warwhoops from the Indians and cheers by the soldiers, the heights were rushed. Wadsworth's veterans were stampeded, the redan retaken at the point of the bayonet, and Scott's command forced to the scarp of the hill overhanging the river. The Americans now 'fled like sheep,' to quote their own historians, and scattered off in all directions. Some raced headlong down the main road, seeking shelter under the muzzles of Holcroft's guns; some sought refuge in the houses, others raced to the landing, only to find their boats no longer there—not a few, hot pressed by Brant's avenging Mohawks, threw themselves over the precipice, preferring death in that shape to the fate which otherwise awaited them, while others plunged into the Niagara, essaying to swim its irresistible eddies, only to be blown out of the green water by Holcroft's grape-shot, or sucked down by the river's silent whirlpools. One boat, with 50 struggling refugees, sank with its entire crew. Two others similarly laden were beached below the village, with only twelve out of one hundred souls still living. The river presented a shocking scene. On the surface of the water, many, maimed and wounded, fought and struggled for survival. This pitiable spectacle was actually taking place under the eyes of several thousand American soldiers on the Lewiston bank, who, almost impossible to believe, and to their lasting disgrace, refused even to attempt to succour their comrades.

Losses sus-
tained by
both sides.

"In all 958 American soldiers were taken prisoners by the British, 'captured by a force,' as Colonel Van Rensselaer stated in an official despatch after the battle, 'amounting to only about one-third of the number of American troops.'

Captain Gist, of the United States army, placed their killed at 400.

"General Van Rensselaer's defeat was complete and overwhelming. His chagrin at his failure 'to appal the minds of the Canadians' was so great that ten days later he resigned his command.

"The account as between Canada and the United States at sundown on that day stood as follows:

Total American force engaged	1,600
Killed, wounded and prisoners	1,425
The total British force engaged (of whom 800 men were regulars and militia, and 200 Indians) was	1,000
Killed, including Major-General Brock and Colonel Macdonell	14
Wounded and missing	96
Total American loss	1,425
Total British loss	110

"The next day, General Sheaffe, Isaac Brock's successor, ^{Sheaffe signs another armistice!} signed another armistice. The second armistice within a period of nine weeks!"

Brock's lifeless corpse lay for a time where he had fallen, about one hundred yards west of the road that leads through Queenston, and after the battle was borne by a few of his old Regiment to a house in the village occupied by Laura Secord; later in the day Captain Glegg, Brock's brave aide—Macdonell, the other aide-de-camp, lay dying of his wounds—hastened to the spot, and had it conveyed to Niagara. On the 18th of October, the bodies of ^{Funeral of Gen. Brock and Col. Macdonell.} Major-General Sir Isaac Brock and Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell were interred at Fort George. It is a tribute to the magnanimity of the Americans that during the funeral procession, minute guns were fired at every post on their side of the river, as their general orders stated, "as a mark of respect to a brave enemy."

Thus we have seen the last of Sir Isaac Brock, a fitting culmination to his career and a life devoted to the service of his King and country.

* * *

Amidst the lamentations of his comrades in arms, the respectful salute of his opponents, the tears and blessings of the Canadian people, with the posthumous honours of his Sovereign awaiting him and the gratitude of future generations of Canadians for all time attending him, in his soldier's grave, first at Fort George, and now under the monument on Queenston Heights erected to commemorate his fame, there let us leave him.

“Sound, sound the clarion, fill the fife,
To all the sensual world proclaim
One crowded hour of glorious life
Is worth an age without a name.”

II

ROMANTIC ELEMENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.*

BY REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL.D.,

Superintendent of Wisconsin State Historical Society.

Perhaps to some of my auditors it may at first seem a far cry from the field of Ontario history to that of the Mississippi Valley—from a consideration of Sir Isaac Brock, a master of modern warfare in this highly-developed centre of civilization, to those rude pioneers who, but improving the methods of savagery, rudely opened to civilization the vast wilderness of the trans-Alleghany. But the association of the annals of Ontario with those of our own Middle West is surely intimate enough to warrant this shifting of the scene.

With you, the roots of our history are deeply planted in the soil of New France. In this respect, at least, your history is warp and woof with our own—whether it be Minnesota, which once knew Du l'Hut and Hennepin; Wisconsin, claiming Jean Nicolet as her discoverer; Michigan, proud of her Cadillac; Indiana, having within her bounds the portage paths of La Salle; Ohio, with her memories of Céleron; Pennsylvania, where Washington met the French advance southward; New York, wherein Champlain slaughtered the raging Iroquois, and Jogues met retributive martyrdom; New England, with her century and a half of border turmoil by land and sea, long remembered with bitterness, but at this distance viewed with philosophic calm; or Louisiana, founded by Iberville and Bienville. Wherever French habitant leisurely toiled in sweet contentment, French explorer feverishly extended the bound of empire, French fur-trader wandered, cassocked priest said mass, white-frocked soldier kept watch and ward over the interest of the great Louis, ambitious miner found veins of copper and coloured earths, or English and French and Indian met in mortal combat on the frontiers of civilization, the history of New France (of which Ontario was once so important a part) is taught as the local tradition of every northern state of the Union, east of the River Missouri.

*Read at the meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Napanee, Ont., 1912.

I feel, therefore, that you will think it not incongruous if at this gathering, whose programme * is at least grimly suggestive of an international conference, I very briefly recite a few of the romantic elements (French and British, as well as American) in the historical drama, nearly three centuries in the acting, which has found its stage in the Valley of the Mississippi. From these elements of romance are to be fashioned those novels and poems of the future that shall give to this period and to this region that charm of literary association without which no annals can long endure in the heart and imagination of the people.

The advent of the Spanish explorers in our valley was meteoric in brilliancy and in suddenness of departure. But he who seeks rich color, will doubtless find the French régime the more entertaining. Entrenched with apparent security on the rock of Quebec, New France early despatched her explorers westward through the majestic trough of the St. Lawrence. With rare enterprise and bravery they gradually pushed their way up toilsome rivers, along westerling portage paths, and far over into the vast-stretching wilderness of the continental interior lying to the west and south of Canada.

Where are there finer examples of dramatic adventure than the great journey of Nicolet, sent by Champlain into Darkest America to discover a short route to China? Donning his diplomatic garb of figured damask, to meet supposititious mandarins, he encountered only naked Winnebago savages on the inland waters of Wisconsin. What more stirring incident in history than the famous expedition of Joliet and Marquette to discover the far-away Mississippi, which in stately curves glides unceasingly and with awesome power past eroded bluffs and through sombre forests southward toward tropic seas? Or, the far-distant roving of those masterful fur-trade adventurers, Radisson, La Salle, Tonty, Perrot, Du l'Hut, and a host of kindred spirits? Is there anywhere a nobler instance of self-sacrifice than the splendid martyrdom of the Jesuit missionaries, who, imbued with the proselyting zeal of mediæval saints, in their quest for souls often suffered the horrors of the damned?

Annual trading fleets of Indian canoes and batteaux from the far-distant regions of the Mississippi and the Upper Lakes, laboriously journeyed over a thousand miles to Montreal and to Quebec, to barter rich furs for colored beads and glittering trinkets fashioned in the

*The majority of the papers presented had reference to the War of 1812.

shops of Brittany and Paris. Piled high with bales of peltries, and propelled by gaily-appareled savages and voyageurs, the flotillas swept eastward down the broad rivers in rude procession, paddles flashing in the sun, the air rent with barbaric yells and the roaring quaver of merry boating songs.

We can hear and see the boisterous welcome from the garrisons of Lower Canada; the succeeding weeks of trade and mad carousal on the strand of Quebec or Montreal; and then the return of the copper-skinned visitors to the "Upper Country," tricked out in gaudy finery, bearing into the wilderness fresh stores of gew-gaws, and accompanied by another contingent of traders and explorers—often, also, by Jesuit missionaries bent on showing them, even against their will, the path to the White man's Manitou.

Away off in the then mysterious land of the Far West, were insignificant military outposts, bulwarks of the authority of New France—Detroit, Mackinac, Green Bay, Chequamegon Bay, Vincennes; and, ranged along the Mississippi, lay Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Chartres, and many another rude bankside fort or stockade, all the way from Lake Pepin to Natchez.

Around each of these little forest strongholds—of logs or of stone, as materials came best to hand—was clustered a tiny hamlet of habitants: boatmen, tillers of the soil, mechanics, according to bent or to necessity. At the head of society in this rude settlement was the military commandant. Next in social precedence was the Jesuit Father, whose scanty chapel lay just within the gate; perhaps of noble birth and training, inevitably a scholar, but bound by unalterable vows to a life of toilsome self-sacrifice for the winning of savage souls in these inhospitable wilds. Ever was the black-robe coming and going upon long and wearisome journeys among the tribesmen, his life often embittered by the jealousy of the commandant.

Frequent visitors at the frontier fort were wandering traders, each at the head of a band of rollicking voyageurs, jauntily clad in fringed buckskins and showy caps and scarfs, with a semi-savage display of bracelets, dangling earrings, and necklaces of beads. The *coursur de bois*, or unlicensed trader, accompanied by a sprightly party of devil-may-care retainers, occasionally called, upon unheralded expeditions here and there through the dark woodlands and along sparkling waters. He was in his day the most daring spirit and the widest traveller in North America.

Freely mingling with this varied and variegated company were bands of half-naked, long-haired savages and halfbreeds, glistening with oils, and tricked out with paint and feathers. For the most part the boon companions of the French, now and then would they smite their white allies with cruel treachery, suddenly converting into a charnel-house many a self-confident outpost of the far-stretching realm of the great Louis.

Upon this inviting amphitheatre of New France, we find a heterogeneous semi-feudal society, with many feudal manners and customs, and a never-ending variety of connections with the Old World. Social, political, and mercantile complications were multiplied by the adventurous and diversified aims and pursuits of the colonists, scattered as they were through thousands of miles of savage wilderness.

At last, one fateful summer, the men of the hamlets and wilderness stations, seigneurs and tenants, traders and voyageurs, commandants and soldiery, were summoned by Indian runners to hasten to the Lower St. Lawrence, to free New France from the English invaders, whose very existence was to not a few of these forest exiles virtually unknown. On the Plains of Abraham many a brave fellow from the Upper Lakes and the Mississippi Valley gave up his life for the *fleur de lis*. But all in vain, for the time had come to ring down the curtain on this gallant drama. New France was no more.

The English, however, won only that portion of the great valley lying eastward of the river; upon Spain, France by secret treaty bestowed New Orleans and the trans-Mississippi. But for a full century, English explorers, fur-traders, and settlers from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas had been trespassing on French preserves to the west of the Appalachians, and tampering with the Indian allies of the Bourbons. The temerity of these fearless over-mountain adventurers had directly incited the French and Indian War, which resulted in the downfall of New France.

Contemporaneously with the uprising of the American colonies against the Mother Land, there began a great transmontane irruption into our valley—buckskin-clad borderers (largely Scotch-Irishmen) laboriously crossing from the Atlantic uplands into Kentucky, whither Finley, Boone, the Long Hunters, and their several predecessors had led the way. This Arcadia of forests and glades and winding streams and incomparable game was won from savagery only after long years of sturdy warfare. The story of that winning is filled to the brim with

picturesque and tragic incidents. Cherokee, Catawba, and Shawnee, moved to vengeance by persistent pressure upon their hunting grounds, fought, after their own wild standards, and fought well, for what they held most dear; they would have been cravens not to have made a stand. The white man, pouring his ceaseless caravans through Cumberland Gap and down the broad current of the Ohio, brooked no opposition from an inferior race, for white man's might makes right, and struck back with a fury often augmented by fear. Such is the bloodstained story of our method of conquering the American wilderness.

To save backwoods Kentucky from devastating forays by the Indian allies of the British forces in Canada, George Rogers Clark, at the head of that now famous band of Virginia frontiersmen, many of whom were garbed in an airy costume combining that of the Highlander with that of the savage, undertook his hazardous but successful expedition against Kaskaskia and Vincennes; an event abounding in dramatic scenes that will doubtless live long in the history of the United States.

Kentucky, having at last quieted the aborigine by crushing him, now entered on a period of relative prosperity. Down the swift-rolling Ohio, through several decades descended a curious medley of oar and sail-driven craft, fashioned in the boatyards of the Allegheny, Youghio-gheny, and Monongahela—rafts, arks, broad-horns, flat and keel-boats, barges, piroques, and schooners of every design conceivable to fertile brain. These singular river fleets bore emigrants eager to found new commonwealths in the bounding West. Hailing from a thousand neighborhoods in the Eastern States and from many countries of Europe, they came with their children, their tools, their cattle, their household gods—lusty, pushing, square-jawed, unconquerable folk, suffering on the way and in the early years of their settlement privations seldom if ever surpassed among the tales of the border.

And now Kentucky's crops had become larger than her population could consume. She needed to convey them to the markets of the world, to barter them for the goods and products of other communities. But Spain held firm control of the mouth of the Mississippi, and of the rich lands beyond the broad river, and upon these lands our Westerners were beginning to look with hungry eyes. The federal authorities of that day were slow to realize that the free navigation of the Mississippi was a vital factor in the development of the West. Consequently there was active discontent among the leaders of Kentucky. Political uneasiness was fomented first by Spanish intrigues, and next by French—

for France was at last beginning to display some jealousy of the young republic whom she had assisted into life, and apparently she would fain have unofficially rejoiced both in Western secession and in the utilization of trans-Allegheny Americans in filibustering expeditions against Spanish Louisiana. Thus was the West, through twenty years of its formative period, in a state of secret ferment. The full story of this plotting is even yet unrevealed; but gradually the facts are being brought to light, and furnish fit material for historical romance.

Spain, fearing that an assault might be made on her trans-Mississippi possessions from British Canada, made flattering offers of land grants west of the river to American pioneers who should colonize her territory in that region and cast their fortunes with her people. Many discontented Kentuckians accepted these terms and moved on to Missouri, among them the wandering Boones, who, now that they might see from the nearest hill-top the fire-place smoke from neighboring cabins, were already sighing for "more elbow room"; glad enough were they to be rid of the crowds now coming to Kentucky, to get new and cheap lands in the farther West, to avoid taxes, to hunt big game, and once more to live an Arcadian life. I love to picture the great Daniel, transplanted in his old age to these fresh wilds westward of the great Mississippi, seated at the door of his little log cabin on Femme Osage Creek, dispensing justice at a Spanish syndic, by methods as primitive and arbitrary as those of an Oriental pasha. Caring little for rules of evidence as laid down in the books, saying he but wished to know the truth, the once mighty hunter oftentimes compelled both parties to a suit to divide the costs between them and begone.

By now, an incipient American empire had become established in the trans-Allegheny. Settlement had advanced slowly down the great eastern affluents of the Mississippi, as along the fingers of the hand—the broad and rich valley bottoms being occupied by a crude but hard-headed border folk, while the intervening highlands were as yet left untouched, save as farmer-hunters here roved for game to stock their larders.

The great Napoleon had meanwhile risen to power. Reflecting on the tragic story of the ousting of France from North America, he deemed it possible to rehabilitate New France to the west of the Mississippi, and at the same time to check the United States in its westward growth. He therefore coerced Spain into retroceding the far-stretching Province of Louisiana to its original European owner.

Now came another fateful move upon the political chess-board. Three years later, Napoleon was facing a probable war with Great Britain. He feared that his arch enemy might, in the course of the struggle, seize this far-away possession, he needed money with which to replenish his treasury, and at the same time he thought to checkmate England by allowing her growing American rival at last to expand her bounds. He therefore sold Louisiana to the United States—an event lacking but a year of two centuries after the first successful settlement of the French in Canada. Nine years ago, with joyous acclaim, we of the United States celebrated the hundredth anniversary of this epoch-making purchase that has helped to make the Union one of the mightiest nations of the earth. The history of the transaction is to-day, in our land, as household words.

But even had not the Louisiana Purchase been made just when it was, American acquisition of the trans-Mississippi was sure to have come. A river is no adequate boundary between nations, if on one bank be a people like the Kentuckians, feverish to cross, and on the other a lethargic folk, like the Spanish-French of Louisiana Province. The Valley itself is a geographical unit. Tens of thousands of Americans had by this time descended the eastern slope of the basin, and many had not even waited by the eastern riverside for a change in the political ownership of the western. Before the Purchase, Kentuckians had, uninvited as well as invited, settled on Spanish lands along the lower reaches of the Missouri River. The chief increase in the population of Upper Louisiana had, during the last two decades of the 18th century, been American borderers. They had settled on French lands near New Orleans; and there was a dense American centre at Natchez. The great Purchase only hastened and facilitated the national progress of the Americans.

The ever-fascinating and thrilling tale of Lewis and Clark, as under President Jefferson's masterly direction they broke the path for civilization all the long rugged way from the mouth of the Missouri to the estuary of the Columbia, is still ringing afresh in American ears, because of recent centennial observances.

While still the great expedition was upon its route, other official explorers were searching the valleys of the Red, the Arkansas, and the Republican, reaching out to Spanish New Mexico, and pushing on over the rich grazing plains of Nebraska and Kansas to the snow-capped peaks of the eastern Rockies. The golden age of American exploration

through the newly-acquired Territory of Louisiana, forms a splendid chapter in the annals of the Anglo-Saxon race. The names of Pike, Long, Frémont, Carson, recall many a rare adventure in the cause of scientific research. The records of the great rival fur-trading companies operating in the trans-Mississippi, with their picturesque annual caravans over the Santa Fé and Oregon trails, and the stories of roving bands of trappers and scouts who in following the buffalo discovered mountain passes that are to-day highways of the world's commerce, furnish thrilling scenes to grace the pages of a thousand romances.

In due time, the narrow paths of fur-traders, trappers, and explorers were broadened by emigrants, who throughout the nation's history have ever crowded toward our Farthest West. The great migration to Oregon in the forties of the last century was an event of supreme significance, and in some measure it is part and parcel of Canadian history also. Bold and restless pioneers set forth from the older settlements in wagons and on foot, with their women and children, with herds of cattle and horses, and after slowly traversing the broad plains, painfully crept over the mountain barrier and spread themselves into the verdant valleys of the Willamette and the Columbia.

Soon came the news that gold was discovered in California. Then followed another mighty westward rush over the transcontinental trails—within three years a hundred thousand men and women from both hemispheres crossed the Mississippi in their mad struggle to reach the El Dorado of Pacific tidewater. Ten years later, the Colorado hills also revealed the story of their hidden wealth. Up the long valleys of the Platte, the Smoky Hill, and the Arkansas, singly and in caravans, wearily toiled tens of thousands from all the corners of the earth, many falling by the way from fatigue, starvation, and the wounds of Indian arrows. Yet their experience in no wise checked the human tide that had set in the direction of the everlasting hills.

Overland stages and "prairie schooners" were quickly withdrawn upon the advance of the Pacific railways. The buffalo and grizzly soon disappeared from our Western plains. The Indian, stoutly standing for his birthright, was subdued at last. The cowboy succeeded the explorer and the trapper. Upon our great rivers—the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Missouri—the introduction of steamboats, and later the bankside railways, wrought a like transformation. The old river life with its picturesque but rowdy boatmen, its unwieldy produce-laden

flats and keels and arks, began gradually to pass away, and water traffic to approach the prosaic stage.

Prosaic, perhaps, because nearer our present vision. But in America, at least, we are ever in a period of transition. For example, now that the great northern forests in the Mississippi Valley have nearly been obliterated, and the day of the lumber raft is for us fast fading, and the "lumberjack" in his parti-colored Mackinac blouse is about shifting his career to new fields of activity in our South and in your Northwest, we can realize that he, too, has been a striking figure on our stage—worthy of a place beside the *coureur de bois*, the *voyageur*, the *habitant*, the buckskin-clad Scotch-Irishman of the Wilderness Trail, the flat-boat man, the scout of the plains, the Rocky Mountain trapper, the Oregon pilgrim, the California "forty-niner," and the cowboy.

In our story of the American West, also, we must leave many a page for the stout flood of agricultural settlement that poured into the trans-Allegheny during the quarter of a century just previous to the War between the States. New England and New York, and almost every hamlet of western and northern Europe, sent the choicest of their people. By thousands they came to found new fortunes on lands recently acquired by purchase from the tribesmen. Our local history is rich in stirring details of their migration, and in particulars of their privations and their hardihood. The pioneers have, in the order of nature, now all but left us, in the United States; we no longer possess a Western frontier; and we are just beginning to understand that the story of these frontiersmen is a splendid epic still waiting to be sung.

What may we not say, too, of the part our great Valley played in the war for the preservation of our Union? As in the earlier days of the giant struggle between France and England for supremacy in North America, control of this vast drainage system was hotly contested. Whatever might have been the result of operations on the Atlantic Coast, the power holding the interior valley must, in the end, surely have won. From the population to the west of the Appalachians came the great bulk of both Northern and Southern armies; nowhere was the struggle more nearly brought home to the people. Song and story will always find abundant theme in our local annals of the war.

Equally important has been the Valley's share in the subsequent development of our nation—the social, economic, political, industrial, intellectual forces of the interior are to-day dominating us as a people.

Such are some of the elements that lend to the annals of the Mississippi Valley dignity and national significance. Until the close of the Revolutionary War, they are in considerable measure, also, the annals of Canada. You Canadian historians will, I am sure, rejoice with us in their picturesque vitality, in the stirring visions which they bring, and will with us, in the spirit of that reciprocity that should everywhere exist between students of local history in North America, anticipate the time when the poet and the novelist shall find in them material for their art; for after all (to return, in conclusion, to my text), those annals that may live long in the minds of the people are only such as shall be interpreted to them by the masters of romance.

III.

COLLECTIONS OF HISTORICAL MATERIAL RELATING TO THE WAR OF 1812.*

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The subject assigned to me in your programme is "Collections of Historical Material Relating to the War of 1812."

Two constructions, I think, may fairly be put on the subject. It seems to call for an account of existing collections in public or private libraries relating to the War of 1812; it also may be treated with propriety by submitting an analysis of the material which makes up the literature of this subject. The first method of treatment would be brief; the second method, properly followed, would of necessity be long and elaborate. For our present purpose it appears best, first, merely to glance at the collections on this subject as contained in notable libraries, and secondly, to survey, so far as time permits, several phases presented in the general field of literature of this war.

I need hardly remind you that outside of books much "material" is to be found which has true educative value. Our historical museums are many of them rich in relics, pictures and other reminders of this war. This is specially true in communities which during that war were the scene of special activity. In New England, New York, throughout the seaboard States, especially at Baltimore and at New Orleans, are preserved many reminders of this conflict. The regions about Lake Champlain and the Great Lakes are peculiarly rich for the student, not only in relics preserved, but in associations. Buildings and battlefields are other sorts of "material" which teach, often more effectively than the document or the printed page. But it is not with this phase of the subject that I am to deal. My especial theme is the literature of the War of 1812.

I have made some effort to learn what is contained in great libraries on this subject. The replies from experienced librarians are those which all library workers would anticipate. I am told in effect by the Librarian of Congress, by Doctor Thwaites of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, by the Librarian of Harvard University,

* Read at the meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Napanee, Ont., 1912.

and by the custodians of other notable historical collections, that it is impossible to say with definiteness how much material they have on this subject. While every library has numerous works brought together under its classification system relating to the War of 1812, that same classification system refers to other headings and departments a vast amount of material bearing on the same subject. It is enough to remind you that all the general classifications of a large library, such as biography, individual or collected; periodicals; naval history; general military history; poetry, etc., would naturally embrace much material important to the student of the War of 1812 period. Hence it might follow that a library, the catalogue of which showed by title comparatively few books or pamphlets or papers on this subject, might still contain far larger and more important collections on the general subject than another library which had in its catalogue cards a larger list under the 1812 classification.

With this general reminder, it is hardly necessary to specify further along this line. Naturally the great libraries of our country are strongest in 1812 as in other collections. Perhaps first in any list should be named the Library of Congress, which is all-embracing. After that, and possibly the New York Public Library, the student of this subject would turn to the great New England depositories: the Carter Brown Library at Providence, the Library of Harvard University, the Boston Public, and the Antiquarian Society at Worcester. Other important regional literatures have been brought together by the Maryland Historical Society at Baltimore, and I believe by the Library of Tulane University at New Orleans. So far as I am aware, the best collection of periodical literature on this period is to be found at Madison.

It is a matter of record, to be mentioned now without comment or preachment, that two of the most notable collections on the subject, supposedly housed in secure depositories, were turned to smoke and ashes by the conflagrations in the Parliament Buildings at Toronto and the State Capitol at Albany. I had some acquaintance with these collections and am of the impression that both ranked high in value relating to the 1812 period.

There is in Buffalo a little library, not at all to be mentioned with the great book collections of America, in which is to be found an exceptionally comprehensive collection on the period we are considering. The Buffalo Historical Society had already a good representative collection on this subject when, a few years ago, there was turned over to it a larger collection, the formation of which had been for a long period one of my diversions. As a result, the Buffalo Historical So-

ciety now has what I believe to be one of the best collections on this subject. A card list which I prepared some time ago enumerates some nine hundred titles, not including perhaps twice as many entries of papers and studies of special phases of our subject contained in local histories, in periodical publications, and especially in the transactions of learned societies. While this does not tally accurately with the material in our possession, it is still fairly representative. As it is this collection I am best acquainted with, it seems appropriate for me to consider it in passing to the second phase of my subject.

Our collection, then, contains, as must any collection which aims to be comprehensive in the literature of the War of 1812, books and pamphlets which fall into the following classes: Events leading up to the war, especially the Embargo and non-intercourse; general naval histories of the United States and of Great Britain; general military histories; official gazettes, journals and like publications; periodicals, not official; special histories of the period of the war; biographies; memorials, including transactions of institutions relative to the erection of monuments and the observance of anniversaries; controversial publications, both political and personal, the latter as to the service of this or that officer, etc.; claims, either for Government promotion for service rendered, pensions, or for damages and losses sustained by non-combatants; sermons, in which political doctrines were promulgated in the guise of religious instruction; poetry, drama, fiction, juvenile literature, and, omitting much, modern philosophical studies in which it is explained how things might have been otherwise.

This list could still be considerably extended and classified. There are numerous works pertaining to our subject, which consider chiefly the financial aspect of the times. There are others dealing with special phases of the causes that led up to the war, as, for instance, the violation of neutral rights and the impressment of seamen. There is a considerable literature of wanderers' narratives, including some of the curiosities of our history; and there is also a considerable literature of brag and bluster, contributed to, perhaps, in equal proportions by all the contending parties.

That what is commonly referred to by American writers as "our second war with Great Britain" has enlisted the pens of able students is seen when we glance at the title pages of many of the best known works. To this period belong writings of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Fenimore Cooper, George Bancroft, A. J. Dallas, Richard Hildreth, Alexander H. Stephens, General James Wilkinson, Governor Daniel D. Tompkins, Major-General George W. Cullum, Henry A. S. Dearborn, George Cary Eggleston, Benson J. Lossing,

J. C. Gilleland, Solomon Hale, J. T. Headley, T. W. Higginson, Robert McAfee, R. B. Mitfee, Charles J. Ingersoll, Major A. L. Latour, T. O'Connor, James Parton, Theodore Roosevelt. These among the Americans. Among the English authors, very notably, William James, John Symons, Frederick Brock Tupper, Major-General Sir Carmichael Smith, G. R. Gleig, the Marquis of Wellesley, and many others.

Of Canadian authors in this field, again omitting many of note, I may mention G. Auchinleck, Robert Christie, Ernest Cruikshank, Captain F. C. Denison, Colonel George T. Denison, William Kingsford, William Kirby, Captain W. H. Merritt, D. B. Read, Charles Roger, Thomas Rideout and Matilda Edgar, and especially Major John Richardson, whose "Narrative of the Operations of the Right Division of the Army of Upper Canada, during the American War of 1812," printed at Brockville in 1842, is one of the rarest of Canadiana.

The student of this period cannot neglect certain very able chapters in works of wide scope, such as C. D. Yonge's "History of the British Navy," Von Holst's "Constitutional and Political History of the United States," G. Bryce's "Short History of the Canadian People," and numerous other works of general character.

Let us glance briefly at some of the books which we have referred to some of these classes. The literature which may be entitled "Causes leading up to the war," is surprisingly large and important. I do not need to remind this audience that no period in history can be separated from what has gone before, or what follows, and ticketed off as complete. To embrace all of the causes of this second war thoroughly and conscientiously would mean to include much of the story of America. For library purposes, however, it is possible to draw the lines with fair satisfaction, so that they shall include such studies as Alexander Baring's "Inquiry into the causes and consequences of the orders in council, and an examination of the conduct of Great Britain towards the neutral commerce of America," published in London in 1808. For some years earlier even than that date these subjects occasioned many pamphlets and many discussions in Parliament. Of importance, too, for this period is James Stephen's "War in Disguise, or the Frauds of the Neutral Flags," a London publication of 1807. Many others of this character might be mentioned.

Then we have a surprisingly large contemporary literature that might be gathered about the single word "Embargo," ranging, to mention only American authorship, from William Cullen Bryant's

juvenile work, "The Embargo," printed in 1808, to Thomas Jefferson's voluminous writings, ending with his life in 1826.

The personal phase of this period is picturesquely brought out in numerous narratives of impressment; such, for instance, as that by Joshua Davis, "who was pressed and served on board six ships of the British," etc.; or the harrowing tale of James McLean, who at Hartford, in 1814, published his "Seventeen years' history of Sufferings as an Impressed Seaman in British Service." There are numerous narratives of this character which, taken together, make up an exceedingly lively prelude to the war itself.

The political shelf of our 1812 library must contain, not only long series of debates in Parliament and speeches in Congress, but a number of important serial or periodical publications, some of them official, such as the London Gazette, which through many years contains in bulletin form precise data invaluable to the student; The Royal Military Calendar; Dodsley's Annual Register; and, in America, The United States Army Register; Nile's Register; The Portfolio; the periodical entitled "The War," and scores of others of varying value.

Of controversial works, especially pamphlets, there is no end, many of them illustrating, better than the fuller and more deliberate histories, the temper of the time. It was a period when for one reason or another anonymity was thought to be an essential of political discussion. Some of you no doubt can tell me who was the author of the letters of "Veritas," first published in the Montreal *Herald*, afterwards brought together and printed in Montreal in 1815, in which is given a narrative of the military administration of Sir George Prevost during his command in the Canadas, "Whereby it will appear manifest that the merit of preserving them from conquest belongs not to him." In the guise of "A New England Farmer," John Lowell, of Massachusetts, bombarded President Madison with numerous pamphlets. In earlier years, "Juriscola," in a series of fifteen letters, had done his best to annihilate Great Britain; and "Don Quixote," in a most remarkable publication, "Ichneumon," laboured as a patriot to settle internecine strife.

Perhaps better known are the papers of "Touchstone," who, it appears, was DeWitt Clinton. I could go on in this field at great length. It is a piquant and a tempting one to the bibliographer in its variety and its occasional discoveries.

I doubt if any period in our history has developed more literature that may be summed up as curios. Many of them are trifling in historical value, but our library must have them. Here, for instance,

is the treatise entitled "The Beauties of Brother Bull-us, by his Loving Sister, Bull-a." Who would think of finding essays on the War of 1812 hidden under such a title as C. W. Hart chose for his work printed at Poughkeepsie in 1816, "Colloquy between two Deists, on the Immortality of the Soul"? Better known and more amusing is the work ascribed to Israel Mauduit, "Madison Agonistes, or the agonies of Mother Goose," a political burletta represented as to be acted on the American stage. Among the *dramatis personæ* are Randolph and Adamo, Members of Congress, etc. I may also mention "The Federal Looking Glass," published in 1812, which pictures General Hull's "surrender to the Devil."

Surely to this class belongs "The Adventures of Uncle Sam in Search After his Lost Honour," by Frederick Augustus Fidfaddy, Esq., who announced himself as "member of the Legion of Honour, Scratch-etary to Uncle Sam and Privy Counsellor to Himself." The title-page motto in "Merino Latin"—"*Taurem per caudem grabbo*"—sheds light on the serious character of the work.

More serious, but I think also more amusing, is the work entitled "An Affecting Narrative of Louisa Baker, a Native of Massachusetts who in Disguise Served Three Years as a Marine on board an American Frigate." This is a Boston imprint of 1815, but is not unique as a record of a woman disguised serving in this war, for we have still another work with the following title: "The Friendless Orphan. An affecting Narrative of the Trials and Afflictions of Sophia Johnson, the Early Victim of a Cruel Stepmother, whose Afflictions and Singular Adventures probably exceed those of any other American Female living, who has been doomed in early life to drink deep of the cup of sorrow," etc., etc. Sophia experienced her sorrows in part at Buffalo, Fort Erie and elsewhere on the frontier disguised as a man, and lost an arm at the Battle of Bridgewater, of which an extraordinary engraving is given. Sophia, *sans* arm, is also portrayed.

I will merely mention G. Proctor's "Lucubrations of Humphrey Ravelin, Esq., Late Major in the * * * Regiment of Infantry." This is a London publication, giving some account of military life and Indian warfare in Canada during the 1812 period. Another curious work is Gilbert J. Hunt's "Historical Reader," of which numerous editions were published. The narrative is a poor imitation of the style of Chronicles and other historical books of the Old Testament.

Perhaps rarest of these curios, at least in the original edition, is "The War of the Gulls, an Historical Romance in Three Chapters," reputed to be by Jacob Bigelow and Nathan Hale, published at the

Dramatic Repository, Shakespeare Gallery, New York, in 1812. This work has been recently reprinted, an honour which it quite deserves.

Among the curios, too, should have place sundry plays and dramas based on the war. I mention but two of them: one by Mordecai Manuel Noah, a Hebrew journalist of New York, who undertook to establish a modern Ararat and Refuge City for the Jews on Grand Island, in Niagara River, but whose contribution to this field of letters is entitled: "She Would be a Soldier, or the Plains of Chippewa; an Historical Drama in Three Acts." Major Noah's play was enacted for a time on the New York stage. Half a century later Clifton W. Tayleure produced another play of this period, "The Boy Martyrs of September 12th, 1814," which with little literary merit and seemingly less dramatic possibilities, was staged for a time in New York.

Under the heading of "Prisoners' Memoirs" there are numerous publications relating to the war, which fall into two classes. First, the narratives of men who shared in Western campaigns, usually American pioneers who were taken by British and Indians. An example is the narrative of William Atherton, entitled "Narrative of the Sufferings and Defeat of the Northwestern Army under Gen. Winchester; Massacre of the Prisoners; Sixteen Months' Imprisonment of the Writer and others with the Indians and British," etc., a prolix title, the work itself printed at Frankfort, Kentucky, in 1842. Still other chronicles of this character are to be gathered.

A wholly different field of experience was that of Americans who underwent imprisonment at Dartmoor in England. Perhaps the best known of these memoirs is the volume by Charles Andrews, "Containing a Complete and Impartial History of the Entire Captivity of the Americans in England from the Commencement of the Late War * * * until all prisoners were released by the Treaty of Ghent. Also a particular detail of all occurrences relative to that horrid massacre at Dartmoor, on the fatal evening of the 6th of April, 1815." Andrews' tale was printed in New York in 1815.

The next year, at Boston, Benjamin Waterhouse published "A Journal of a Young Man of Massachusetts, late a Surgeon on board an American privateer, who was captured at sea by the British, in May, 1813, and was confined, first at Melville Island, Halifax, then at Chat-ham, in England, and last at Dartmoor prison."

In 1841 appeared "A Green Hand's First Cruise, Roughed out from the Log Book of Memory of 25 years standing, together with a residence of five months in Dartmoor." This two-volume work, one

of the scarcest books of the War of 1812, was published at Baltimore by "A. Younker," probably a pen-name.

As late as 1878 appeared still another contribution to this class of works: "The early life and later experiences and labours of Joseph Bates," who records that in early life he was a sailor, was captured by the English in the War of 1812 and confined in Dartmoor prison. In later life he became an anti-slavery agitator.

The phrase "Wanderers' Narratives" fairly describes numerous works which the student of our subject will encounter; books, for instance, like Richard J. Cleveland's "In the Forecastle; or Twenty-five Years a Sailor." His sailing days were from 1792 to 1817, and he saw much and records much of privateering during the War of 1812.

Another "wanderer" was Patrick Gass, whose "Life and Times," first published, I believe, at Wellsburg, Va., in 1859, has in recent years been reprinted. When he wrote his Memoirs, Gass claimed to be the sole survivor of the Lewis and Clark overland expedition to the Pacific of 1804 to 1806. He was also a soldier in the war with Great Britain, 1812 to 1815, and fought at Lundy's Lane. About fifty pages of his book relate to this war, mostly to events on the Niagara.

In this class may perhaps be mentioned a well-known work, Captain David Porter's "Journal of a Cruise made in the Pacific Ocean in the United States Frigate *Essex*, in the years 1812, '13 and '14."

Much less known is P. Finan's "Journal of a Voyage to Quebec in the Year 1825, with Recollections of Canada during the late American War, in the Years 1812, 1813." In the second part of his book Mr. Finan gives his personal experiences in the war. He was with his father, an officer, at the burning of Toronto, April 27th, 1813. As an eye-witness his record of that and other events is important.

I may dismiss this special phase of our subject with the mention of but one other work, "The Travels and Adventures of David C. Bunnell." After a life suspiciously full of romantic adventure, some none too creditable, Bunnell joined the American navy under Chauncey, served on Lake Ontario, 1812-13, and left Fort Niagara July 3, 1813, in Jesse Elliot's command, going from Buffalo to Put-in Bay in open boats. According to his narrative, he was on the *Lawrence* during the Battle of Lake Erie, and afterwards was put on the schooner *Chippewa*, as second in command, and ran her between Put-in Bay and Detroit "as a packet," being finally caught in a gale, blown the whole length of Lake Erie and driven ashore upon the beach about a quarter of a mile below Buffalo Creek. He landed safely, remaining in Buffalo until Perry and Barclay arrived and were given a public

dinner, on which occasion, he says, "I managed a field piece and fired for the toasts." His account of his services and adventures on the lakes appears to be veracious, which is more than can be said of some portions of his romantic but highly entertaining chronicle. It may be noted that his book was issued in the same year and apparently from the same press as the rare first edition of the *Book of Mormon*, being printed at Palmyra, N.Y., by Grandin in 1831.

A considerable shelf, perhaps "five feet long," could be filled with stories of the War of 1812. My studies of American history have well-nigh convinced me that that war was fought, not to maintain American rights on the high seas, but to stimulate the development of American letters by supplying picturesque material for budding romancers. The only drawback to that theory is that the straightforward unadorned record of the old sea duels, like that of the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*, has more thrills in it than the romancers can invent. But for well-nigh a century the novelists have hovered about this period, like bumble-bees in a field of clover. The war on the lakes and the Niagara frontier has had a share of their attention. There are boys' books with Perry for a hero—always with the introduction of things more or less impossible to the character. The events of 1812-14 on the Niagara have been much used by Canadian story-writers. There is "Hemlock," by Robert Sellars (Montreal, 1890), which follows many of the events of the war in our district and is none the less worthy of American readers because its point of view and sympathies are so notably Canadian. A work of greater merit is "Neville Trueman, the Pioneer Preacher, a Tale of 1812," by W. H. Withrow, published in Toronto in 1886. The fictitious characters mingle with the real, at Queenston Heights, Fort George, the burning of Niagara, Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. It is a simple tale, with no affectations; and it makes a record which we are glad to have of high character and worthy impulses. There were true patriots in Canada in those days, and it is wholesome to read of them, no matter on which side of the river one may live. In this class belongs Amy E. Blanchard's tale, "A Loyal Lass; a Story of the Niagara Campaign of 1814." The list might be much extended.

If this war has inspired the production of fiction, it has also proved, at least in the earlier years, an unfailing fount of inspiration for the poets. I do not know of much poetry produced in England on this account. The affair does not appear to have presented a poetic aspect to British authors. But to many an American, especially of the type easily fired to extravagant patriotic expression, it was provocative of

wonderful results. Some worthy poets produced true poetry with this war as the theme. Some of the patriotic songs of Philip Freneau deserve the place they have held in American literature for a century. Samuel Woodworth's "Heroes of the Lake," a poem in two books, contains excellent lines. So long a production could hardly fail of being good at intervals. Many of Woodworth's poems, odes, songs, and other metrical effusions were based on incidents in this war. So was John Davis' "The American Mariners," vouched for on the title page as "A moral poem, to which are added Naval Annals," a delightful combination of the flight of Pegasus and the most uninspired of statistics. This work, first published at Salisbury, England, in 1822, has had at least two or more editions.

I can only mention such works as the "Court of Neptune and the Curse of Liberty," New York, 1817; the "Columbian Naval Songster," and other collections, containing numerous songs celebrating the exploits of Perry, McDonough and others; and "The Battle of the Thames," being an extract from the unpublished work, entitled "Tecumseh," the author veiling his identity as "A Young American."

Thomas Pierce's "The Muse of Hesperia, a Poetic Reverie," appeared in Cincinnati in 1823. A note in Thomson's Bibliography of Ohio says of this work, "For this poem the author was awarded a gold medal by the Philomathic Society of Cincinnati College, in November, 1821, but he never claimed the prize." It relates mainly to the events of the War of 1812 in the Northwest, and contains notes relating to persons and events mentioned in the text.

In Halifax, in 1815, there appeared "A Poetical Account of the American Campaigns of 1812 and '13, with some slight sketches relating to Party Politics which governed the United States during the War and at its Commencement," dedicated to the people of Canada by the publisher, said publisher being John Howe, Jr.

"The Year," a poem in three cantos, by William Leigh Pierce, was published in New York in 1818. Appended to the poem are seventy pages of historical notes, the whole production being intended as a poetical history of the times, including the War of 1812 so far as it had then progressed.

A poetical curio is "The Bladensburg Races," written shortly after the capture of Washington City, August 24, 1814. The poem ridicules the flight of President Madison and household to Bladensburg, and the erudite author adds an illuminating note: "Probably it is not generally known that the flight of Mahomet, the flight of John Gilpin and the flight of Bladensburg, all occurred on the 24th of August."

The local bibliophile or collector would wish me to mention "The Narrative of the Life, Travels and Adventures of Captain Israel Adams who Lived at Liverpool, Onondaga County, N.Y., the man who during the last War [1812] Surprised the British Lying in the Bay of Quonti; Who Took by Strategem the Brig *Toronto* and Took Her to Sackett's Harbor, and for whom the British offered a Reward of \$500."

Of peculiar local interest to those of us who live on the Niagara is David Thompson's "History of the Late War," etc., published at Niagara, Upper Canada, in 1832; one of the earliest of Upper Canada imprints and a better one, I venture to say, than old Niagara could turn out to-day. It is not a soothing book for a thin-skinned American to read. If it should fall into the hands of such a singular, not to say exceptional, individual, he could find balm, if not, indeed, a counter-irritant, in James Butler's "American Bravery Displayed in the Capture of 1,400 vessels of war and commerce since the Declaration of War by the President." This volume of 322 pages, published in 1816, did not have the unanimous endorsal of the British press.

As I survey the literature of this period I find no bolder utterance, no fiercer defiance of Great Britain's "Hordes," than in the sonorous stanzas of some of our gentle poets. Iambic defiance, unless kindled by a grand genius, is a poor sort of fireworks, even when it undertakes to combine patriotism and appreciation of natural scenery. Certainly something might be expected of a poet who sandwiches Niagara Falls in between bloody battles and gives us the magnificent in nature, the gallant in warfare and the loftiest patriotism in purpose, the three strains woven in a triple pæan of passion, ninety-four duodecimo pages in length. Such a work was offered to the world at Baltimore in 1818, with this title page: "Battle of Niagara, a Poem without Notes, and Goldan, or the Maniac Harper. Eagles and Stars and Rainbows. By Jehu O'Cataract, author of 'Keep Cool.'" I have never seen "Keep Cool," but it must be very different from the "Battle of Niagara," or it belies its name. The fiery Jehu O'Cataract was John Neal, or "Yankee Neal," as he was called.

The "Battle of Niagara," he informs the reader, was written when he was a prisoner; when he "felt the victories of his countrymen." The poem has a metrical introduction and four cantos, in which is told, none too lucidly, the story of the battle of Niagara, with such flights of eagles, scintillation of stars and breaking of rainbows, that no quotation can do it justice. In style it is now Miltonic, now reminiscent of Walter Scott. The opening canto is mainly an apostrophe to the

Bird, and a vision of glittering horsemen. Canto two is a dissertation on Lake Ontario, with word-pictures of the primitive Indian. The rest of the poem is devoted to the battle near the great cataract—and throughout all are sprinkled the eagles, stars and rainbows. Do not infer from this that the production is wholly bad; it is merely a good specimen of that early American poetry which was just bad enough to escape being good.

A still more ambitious work is "The Fredoniad, or Independence Preserved," an epic poem by Richard Emmons, a Kentuckian, afterwards a physician of Philadelphia. He worked on it for ten years, finally printed it in 1826, and in 1830 got it through a second edition, ostentatiously dedicated to Lafayette. "The Fredoniad" is a history of the War of 1812 in verse. It was published in four volumes; it has forty cantos, filling 1,404 duodecimo pages, or a total length of about 42,000 lines. The first and second cantos are devoted to Hell, the third to Heaven, and the fourth to Detroit. About one-third of the whole work is occupied with military operations on the Niagara frontier. Nothing from Fort Erie to Fort Niagara escapes this metre-machine. The Doctor's poetic feet stretch out to miles and leagues, but not a single verse do I find that prompts to quotation; though I am free to confess I have not read them all, and much doubt if anyone, save the infatuated author, and perhaps a long-suffering proof-reader, ever did read the whole of "The Fredoniad."

I have already mentioned several very rare books and pamphlets; but if asked to designate the rarest of all on the War of 1812, I should name a fifteen-page pamphlet, published without title-page at the Regimental Press, Bangalore, India, dealing with the relations between British agents and Indians in the Northwest after the Treaty of Ghent. But twenty copies were printed. It contains letters from Lieut.-Colonel McDowell to His Excellency Sir F. P. Robinson, Drummond Island, September 24th, 1815, and later dates; and an account of the proceedings of a court of inquiry held to investigate charges, preferred by the United States Government, that the Indians had been stimulated by the British agents to a continuance of hostilities since the Peace. This publication, issued three-quarters of a century or so after the event, from a regimental press in India, is an effort to show that the Indians were not so stimulated; all the stimulus they received from the British agents, it may be presumed, was of an entirely different kind.

The field of biography in its relation to our general subject is vast. Around such figures as Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison

there has developed a mass of literature which, if thoroughly listed and analyzed, would constitute a considerable bibliography in itself. There are biographies and memoirs of most of the British admirals and other naval and military commanders in active service during this period. In our list must be included the life stories of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Lewis Cass, Joshua Barney, Commodore Bainbridge, Winfield Scott, Oliver Hazard Perry, Henry Clay, Josiah Quincy, John Quincy Adams, George Cabot, and many other makers of American history.

Of the British and Canadian officers we have admirable biographies, including those of General Brock, Admiral Broke, Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, and others.

The Treaty of Ghent is the subject of numerous publications. An excellent account of the proceedings of the commissioners, and especially of the difficulties met and overcome by the American representatives, is by Thomas Wilson, in the *Magazine of American History*, November, 1888. A most interesting work on this subject is the scarce quarto, published in London in 1850, entitled "*Mémoires d'un Voyageur qui se repose.*" It is the private journal and correspondence of a diplomatist in the secret service of England. He is here designated by the pseudonym of "Miller," and appears to have been entrusted with four separate special missions to America, one of which, in 1814-15, was to exchange the ratifications of the Treaty of Ghent. The volume contains a mass of private information on diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the United States, including a journal of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent.

A noticeable, not to say notable, feature of much of this literature is its partisanship. Especially in statistical matters, such as the numerical strength of the contending forces, the number of guns or the weight of metal—matters which one would suppose would have been settled by the official reports—there has existed for a century, and still exists, utterly irreconcilable divergence. The unbiased student of this period, who seeks only to learn the facts, is still bewildered and in doubt when he compares American with Canadian or English accounts. If the bitterness and rancour of the old books has abated in these later days of courtesy and fair speech, the divergence of record, though perhaps dispassionately stated, still exists. An instance is the battle of Lundy's Lane, which at last accounts was still being fought.

It may not be a wholly whimsical proposition to suggest, as a feature of our centenary of peace, the establishment of an international commission—by this Society, say, on the one hand, and the American

Historical Association on the other—whose task should be, if possible, the production of a simply-told history of the War of 1812, which should meet with equal commendation as a truthful and unprejudiced chronicle on both sides of the border. But perhaps I suggest the impossible.

I could say much of the ever-lengthening list of modern studies of this or that phase of the war; such, for instance, as Nicholas Murray Butler's "Influence of the War of 1812 upon the Consolidation of the American Union," Captain A. T. Mahan's "Sea Power in its Relation to the War of 1812," and very many others, usually revealing a better grasp of the significance of events than the earlier works, and usually, too, written in a better temper. Not least among these modern studies is the notable group of papers which at this meeting we listen to with great satisfaction.

IV.

DESPATCH FROM COLONEL LETHBRIDGE TO MAJOR-GENERAL BROCK.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL COLE, BROCKVILLE, ONT.

Sir,—

Kingston, August 10th, 1812.

My letter to Colonel Cartwright from Prescott will have apprised you of the reason of my sudden departure from this—and most grievously mortified I was on my arrival below to find the Julia Schooner had the singular good fortune of effecting her escape. My decided purpose was, in the event of our vessels being detained at Brockville by a westerly wind till the return of Lieut. Fitzgibbons with the bateaux from Kingston, to have attempted the Capture of the Julia by an attack on Ogdensburg—with our vessels—aided by a detachment on land—but my instructions to the Captains were that in case a strong easterly wind sprang up in the interim they were then to proceed to Kingston, having, of course, in my mind your directions for the Earl Moira to proceed to Niagara. An easterly wind did spring up and the vessels proceeded for this place.

The enclosed report of the deposition of a deserter from the enemy will in some degree illustrate their situation at Ogdensburg and I am much inclined to credit the material parts of it from the manner in which it was related. I proceeded down the river to Williamstown in Glengarry looking at the different corps of militia as I passed. Of the Counties of Grenville, Dundas, Stormont and Glengarry, I feel sincere satisfaction in noticing their uniform zeal to exert their best endeavours for the defence of their country though as yet almost in the infancy of discipline, with the execution of the manual and platoon exercise—owing to the general want of instructors. But their wants and privations are many, but notwithstanding that, at Prescott they were not only without blankets but even straw was not to be procured. The alacrity of both officers and men to assist in erecting a stockaded fort with three embrasures at each of two angles was highly meritorious, and as no allowance had been made for their trouble in any shape and under the privations it was represented to me they were

experiencing, I ventured to order an issue of rum of a pint per man. This issue I trust will meet with approbation under this singular case of His Excellency the Commander of the Forces and yourself. The Dundas and Stormont Militia are very desirous of having a troop of cavalry established and being persuaded of its utility, both as patrols and for the purpose of carrying dispatches along the communication, I am desirous of seconding their propositions. It seems a Mr. Forrester has been at York and made application on the subject, and was referred by you to Major General Shaw, who did not happen to extend his journey so far down. But though I should recommend Mr. Forrester for being one of the officers of the troop I do not feel encouraged by the accounts I hear of him (though no impeachment on his loyalty) to suggest his having the command of the troops.

The Dundas Militia are unhappily in a state of schism at least between the two field officers, Col. McDonnell and Major Mackay. The former certainly much advanced in years, the latter very shrewd and I believe extremely able and zealous, though inflexibly stern. I beg leave to propose my way of healing the breach,—the substitution of Colonel Thomas Fraser to the command of the Dundas Militia, an arrangement I have been assured would be agreeable to Col. McLean (?) and I dare say would not be ill taken by Major Mackay. The Cornwall Militia are very well attended to by Col. *. He has been obliged to hire a store for the accommodation of his men at the moderate rate of 20 per annum, which by properly dividing by berth, is adequate to contain the whole of their present number embodied; more arms will be supplied to him when our means are more abundant. No blankets, but a supply of straw. He has been obliged to purchase some camp kettles. The flank companies of the Glengarry Militia partly assembled at McLaughlin's. Colonel McMillan has been under the indispensable necessity, from the situation being destitute of other resources, of contracting for shed to cover his men, to build ovens, and I authorized his having a supply of kettles, a surgeon to attend the sick, and I have sanctioned his having the assistance of Mr. Wilkinson, from Cornwall until your pleasure is ascertained. I do intend removing a part of the flank companies of the Glengarry to Cornwall as a point more material to be guarded than the mouth of the River Le Raisin. I have been obliged to order them some kettles. There are four points in the river more vulnerable from musketry than others from five to eight hundred yards distant from the American shore between the Rapid Plat and Cornwall. The best defence for which would appear

*No name given.

to be two or three light pieces of flying artillery, which the inhabitants would undertake to furnish the horses for. But of this and the number of militia and the number of arms received, a more detailed report shall be forwarded to you at Niagara, to which place I apprehend you are now removed and will probably reach you before this. I confess I have had a most fatiguing week and request you will refer any inaccuracies in this to that cause.

I have the honor to transmit a plan of the proposed work at Point Henry which I am the more convinced of the utility of. You are, of course, apprised of the approach of some regular troops to those quarters which I shall permit to come on here in the first instance unless I receive any instructions from you to the contrary, I have no doubt that a proportion of those troops are intended for Prescott and I especially reported the necessity of a force there. The schooner Julia was lying very quietly in the secure harbor of Ogdensburg, and afforded not the least molestation to the large brigade of Batteaux under Lieut. Fitzgibbons on his return. Colonel McLean is erecting a block house on a point about twelve miles above Cornwall for accommodation for his men as a Central rendezvous for a part of them and an accommodation with all. The cost of which will be but trifling, it being done by the militiamen as far as labor is concerned.

There are, I am sorry to say, several exceptions to universal loyalty in the County of Leeds and I wish to be honored with your instructions in respect of men who have lived as peaceable inhabitants but who being called on refuse taking the oath of allegiance. To send them across the river is perhaps accomplishing the very object that they have at heart. I fell in with General Sheaffe at the mouth of the River Le Raisin and I returned here sooner, perhaps, than I should otherwise have done.

The Royal George is returned to this place; she had been some way down the river and very near cutting off the Three Durham Gun Boats. She will sail on the look-out to-morrow.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

Your most H. Servant,

LETHBRIDGE, COLONEL.

To Major General Brock.

V.

MILITARY MOVEMENTS IN EASTERN ONTARIO DURING THE WAR OF 1812.*

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL W. S. BUELL, BROCKVILLE, ONT.

Although war was declared by the United States on 18th June, 1812, official notice was not received by Sir George Prevost, the Governor-General of Canada, until 7th July. Private messages from New York, however, arrived about 25th of June. On the 29th of June, eight schooners that were in Ogdensburg Harbor attempted to escape to Lake Ontario. Mr. Dunham Jones, who resided near Maitland, saw the movement, and fully appreciating the advantage which would result to the British interests if this fleet could be prevented from reaching Lake Ontario, gathered a company of volunteers and pursued them in rowboats, overtaking them at the foot of the islands just above Brockville, apparently about Big Island. Two of the vessels, the *Island Packet* and the *Sophia*, were captured; the crews were landed on an island and the vessels burned. The remainder of the fleet made their way back to Ogdensburg as fast as they could go.

At the opening of the war the American plan of campaign was to invade Canada with three great armies, viz., the Army of the West on the Detroit Frontier, the Army of the Centre on the Niagara Frontier, and the Army of the North from Lake Champlain.

The Army of the West under General Hull was captured at Detroit by General Brock; and the Army of the Centre, under General Van Rensselaer, was defeated at Queenston Heights. The Army of the North was the most pretentious of the three. It was composed of 10,000 troops and was commanded by General Dearborn, the Commander-in-Chief of the United States army. It mobilized at Lake Champlain with the evident intention of marching straight on Montreal. Nothing, however, was attempted further than a few unimportant and unsuccessful skirmishes and then it retired to safe winter quarters at Plattsburg.

Early in the winter of 1813 a detachment of the garrison of Ogdensburg, under Captain Forsythe, made a night attack upon Gananoque,

* Read at the annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Brockville, Ont., 1910.

which at that time consisted of a country tavern and a sawmill, with an adjoining log house. The enemy wounded a lady and carried off a few pigs and poultry. Yet the event was represented as a gallant action.

On the night of the 6th of February, 1813, Captain Forsythe, with 200 of his command and some so-called gentlemen volunteers, made an attack on Brockville, coming across from Morristown on the ice. At that time Brockville was but a struggling village. It was considered of no consequence from a military standpoint and there was posted there but one company of the Leeds Militia. I am sorry to say that the captain, officers and men of this company, excepting one sentry, were sound asleep in their beds when the attack was made. Forsythe had a six-pounder about the centre of the river on the ice. The sentry was wounded, the officers and about 20 militiamen were captured as were also about thirty residents. The detachment and gentlemen volunteers proceeded to break into and plunder the houses in the village and to throw open the jail. They carried off provisions, horses, and cattle. Among the residents captured were several veterans of the American Revolutionary War, who according to the custom of the time had been given honorary military titles by their neighbors. Forsythe consequently reported having taken as his prisoners so many Majors, Captains, etc., and so many rifles, leading his readers to infer that he had captured a large military force. As a matter of fact the bulk of the rifles he took were securely boxed up en route to the force at Prescott, to which force most of the able-bodied men of the village were attached.

The force at Prescott was about 500 strong, under the command of Colonel Pearson. He sent Major Macdonell of the Glengarry Fencibles, Light Infantry (known as "Red George"), to proceed with a flag of truce to Ogdensburg to remonstrate against such expeditions. Macdonell was received by the officers at Ogdensburg with extreme discourtesy, with taunts and boasting. Forsythe, the officer in command, was no whit behind his subordinates in insolence, and suggested that the two forces should try their strength on the ice. Macdonell replied that in two days he, himself, would be in command at Prescott and that then he would be happy to accommodate them.

Two days later Macdonell succeeded to the command at Prescott, but on that same evening Sir George Prevost arrived there on his way from Quebec to Kingston. The British Government had not even by this time relinquished the idea that the United States did not really intend to fight with their own kith and kin and had impressed their

views upon Prevost. Consequently, when Macdonell reported to him all that had taken place and asked authority to attack Ogdensburg, Prevost would not entertain his request, saying that he did not desire by any hostile acts to keep up a spirit of enmity.

Macdonell then tried another method, and a few hours later told Prevost that two men had deserted and gone over to Ogdensburg, and that in all probability Forsythe would by that time know of his, the Governor-General's, presence, in Prescott. He suggested that the Governor-General should at once start for Kingston with a small escort while he, Macdonell, would make a demonstration in force on the ice, to keep the enemy occupied. The Governor finally reluctantly consented and started at daybreak on 22nd February, 1813, for Kingston, and Major Macdonell at once commenced arrangements to meet Forsythe as promised.

Sir George Prevost evidently repented after leaving Prescott, for on arriving at Brockville he wrote a note (which he headed "Flint's Inn"), to Macdonell instructing him on no account to exceed his instructions and do anything of a hostile nature. This note he despatched by a galloper, who, fortunately, was too late. Macdonell received the note in Ogdensburg about eight o'clock a.m.

At Ogdensburg there was an old French Fort, once known as Fort Presentation. It was situated just south of where the lighthouse now stands. The village was on the east side of the Oswegatchie River, which flows into the St. Lawrence at that point, and protected by a battery of heavy field artillery stationed on an eminence near the shore. Forsythe had under his command at Ogdensburg between five hundred and one thousand men, His own report says five hundred, while Macdonell estimated them at one thousand.

Macdonell had a force of 480 officers and men. The composition of his force represented many portions of the Empire. Owing to the state of the ice, which is said to have been quite weak and dangerous for so many to cross at once, and owing also to the position of the enemy in the old Fort, the force was divided into two columns. The right, commanded by Captain Jenkins, of New Brunswick, was composed of a flank company of the Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles, and 70 Canadian Militia. Captain Jenkins' orders were to check the enemy's left and intercept his retreat, while the left column under Colonel Macdonell himself (who was now Lieutenant-Colonel, in command of the Eastern District of Upper Canada), moved towards his position in the village. This left column was composed of 120 of the King's Regiment (Liverpool), some of the 41st (Welsh), 40 of the Royal New-

foundlanders, and about 200 Canadian militia, among whom were some French-Canadians.

When approaching the south side of the river the snow was found to be very deep, and the advance of both columns was retarded and both became exposed, particularly the right, to a heavy cross-fire from the batteries of the enemy for a longer period than anticipated. But pushing on rapidly, the left column gained the right bank of the river under the direct fire of the enemy's artillery and line of musketry and their right was turned by a detachment of the King's Regiment, their artillery was captured by a bayonet charge, and their infantry driven through the town. Some escaped across the Oswegatchie into the fort, others fled to the woods or sought refuge in the houses, from whence they kept up such a volume of fire that it became necessary to dislodge them with our guns, which now came up from the banks of the river where they had stuck in the deep snow.

Macdonell had now gained the high ground on the east side of the Oswegatchie (or Black River, as it was then called), and was in a position to assault the fort, but his men were exhausted by the rapid rush across the river, through the snow and up the bank. He gained a breathing spell for them by sending in under a flag of truce a demand for unconditional surrender. To this Forsythe replied that there must first be some more fighting.

During this time Captain Jenkins had led on his column and had encountered deep snow, when he became exposed to a heavy fire from seven guns, which he at once attempted to take with the bayonet, although they were covered by 200 of the enemy's best troops.

Advancing as rapidly as he could through the deep snow he ordered a charge and had not proceeded many paces before his left arm was shattered by a grape shot; but still he undauntedly ran on at the head of his men, when his right arm was shot; still he ran on cheering his men to the assault until exhausted by pain and loss of blood he fell, unable to move. His company gallantly continued the charge under Lieutenant McAulay, but had come to a standstill, stuck in the snow just at the moment when Macdonell's column came swarming over the Oswegatchie river headed by a Highland company of militia under Captain Eustace and rushed the fort. The enemy retreated rapidly by the opposite entrance and escaped into the woods, our right column being unable to intercept them.

Among others mentioned in the despatch of Colonel Macdonell besides Captains Jenkins and Eustace we find Colonel Fraser, who was in command of the militia, an ancestor of Colonel R. D. Fraser,

a former well-known officer of Brockville. The British losses were 8 killed and 52 wounded, among the latter being Colonel Macdonell himself.

The American losses were 20 killed and 150 wounded, while four officers and 70 privates were taken prisoners. Eleven guns were captured, among them being two twelve-pounders, surrendered by Burgoyne in 1777. There was also a large quantity of ordnance and military stores of all descriptions. Two barracks were burned, also two armed schooners, and two large gun-boats, which being frozen in the ice, could not be moved. The honor of this action was not tarnished by any looting in spite of the way the Americans had plundered Gananoque and Brockville. Macdonell would not let his followers help themselves to so much as a twist of tobacco; he even paid American teamsters four dollars a day for their labor in hauling the military stores across to Prescott.

During the following spring and summer success varied. The Americans captured York (now Toronto), then suffered humiliating defeat at Stoney Creek and Beaver Dams. Again the United States Navy were successful on Lake Erie and their army followed it up by beating Proctor in the Battle of the Thames, where Tecumseh, the great Indian chief, is supposed to have been killed. Then they drove our forces in the Niagara Peninsula back to Burlington Heights.

Things looked gloomy for Canada.

The Americans had still their Army of the North at Lake Champlain, now under General Hampton. It had for nearly a year been constantly drilled under Major-General Izard, who had served two campaigns in the French army. These troops were all well uniformed and equipped, and the most efficient regular army which the United States were able to send into the field during the war.

At this time another army of from ten to twelve thousand (American reports admit ten thousand), were assembled at Grenadier Island, eighteen miles below Sackett's Harbor, with a huge fleet of boats called the Invincible Armada of the St. Lawrence.

It was planned that with the aid of their navy in Lake Ontario, under Admiral Chauncey, they were to capture Kingston, then come down the river, as a mere matter of detail take Prescott en route, and uniting with Hampton's army near St. Regis, sweep on to Montreal and so wind up matters. There was to be a triumphal entry into Montreal where they would take up comfortable winter quarters.

Such was the plan, but the best laid plans of mice and men gang aft aglee.

First let us follow the fate of Hampton and his Army of the North. He was at Burlington, Vermont. His intentions were unknown to the British. It was supposed that they were to march up the valley of the Richelieu to Montreal. A corps of observation was sent out under Colonel de Salaberry with instructions to move parallel to the American army, breaking up and obstructing the roads in his front and molesting him in every possible way.

De Salaberry was a French-Canadian gentleman who had entered the British army at an early age and having served eleven years returned to Canada. He raised a regiment of Canadian Voltigeurs.

The Eastern Townships during the Old Régime remained an almost unbroken wilderness. During the "War of Independence" this wilderness proved an important barrier against invasion and in the War of 1812 materially retarded the operations of the hostile armies.

Colonel Macdonell (Red George), had lately been appointed to the command of a regiment of French-Canadian Fencibles, and was at Kingston organizing and drilling them. On October 20th, Sir George Prevost, then at Kingston, heard rumors of approaching activity on Hampton's part and determined to go down to the Beauharnois frontier to see how matters were. Just as he was about to start at noon he met Macdonell and asked him how soon he hoped to have his corps in shape for active service. "As soon as they have finished dinner, sir," was the reply, so Prevost ordered him to bring them down to the assistance of De Salaberry, telling him of the information which he had received; and Prevost started on his journey.

Macdonell promptly procured boats, embarked his regiment, ran down the river and rapids, crossed Lake St. Francis in a storm, then threaded twenty miles of forest in single file in the dead of night and arrived just in time to assist De Salaberry, having travelled 170 miles by water and twenty by land in sixty hours, actual travel, and not one man absent.

In the meantime Hampton had left Burlington and marched on and captured Odelltown in apparently a straight line towards Montreal, but instead of proceeding directly he turned partially back and then westerly until he arrived at Chateaugay Four Corners, just on the American side of the border. He arrived there on the 24th of September and awaited orders. Four roads converged at this point, running, one towards Lake Champlain, another westerly towards Ogdensburg, another followed the Chateaugay River northeasterly to the St. Lawrence at Chateaugay and another more easterly.

While Hampton remained at Four Corners, De Salaberry could not divine which route he was likely to take. Hampton received orders

on 21st October to move towards the St. Lawrence. De Salaberry, in order to reconnoitre, attacked Hampton's outposts and evidently obtained reliable information that Hampton meant to advance along the Chateauguay. Accordingly he took up a position on the northern bank of the Chateauguay along which the road ran, his left resting on the river, his front and right guarded by a series of natural ditches or ravines strengthened by rough barricades. He constructed an outwork of fallen trees across the road about a mile in advance of the main defences, in order to give a first halt to the advancing enemy. The weak point of the position was that just below it there was a ford, by which, if not securely guarded, the Americans, if they came down the south bank, could cross and take the defenders in the rear. But he placed a company of his Voltigeurs in a hidden spot on this bank.

On the 23rd and 24th Hampton had succeeded in establishing a line of communication with Ogdensburg, and having brought up his artillery and stores, on the 25th he matured his scheme of attack. One column was to cross the Chateauguay, to advance along its southern bank, to seize the ford and recross in rear of the enemy; the main force was to advance on the northern bank through six or seven miles of open country into the woodland where De Salaberry was posted, and charge his position by a frontal attack. The column on the southern bank, 3,000 strong, under Colonel Purdy, started on the night of the 25th. On the morning of the 26th the main body of about 4,000, under General Izard, regarded as the ablest officer of the United States forces, moved slowly forward along the road on the northern bank of the river.

De Salaberry had under his immediate command 300 French-Canadians, composed of some of his Voltigeurs and some Beauharnois militia, and also fifty Indians under Captain Lamothe. In reserve he had Colonel Macdonell's Regiment of French-Canadian Fencibles, 600 strong. With the exception of Colonel Macdonell and Captains Ferguson and Daly there was not a person of British blood on the field.

De Salaberry was without artillery or cavalry at any time, while Hampton had 180 cavalry and ten field guns. Purdy's column was first engaged by a handful of Beauharnois militia, who were pushed back, and Purdy made for the ford, expecting to occupy it with little opposition, but a company of Colonel Macdonell's regiment under Captain Daly had been sent across the river and received him with a well-directed fire. It is stated that Macdonell had taught his men to shoot while kneeling—this was apparently something new in those days. On this occasion it appears to have worked well. Even so, however,

Daly had to retire before the Americans and was himself severely wounded. Immediately above the ford the river took a sharp bend towards the east, and it was just at this bend that De Salaberry had posted his company in hiding. Purdy was eagerly pressing Daly's company back when this company of Voltigeurs suddenly poured a volley into his flank. The surprise was perfect—his column stopped, and the firing on his front and flank became heavier; at the same moment many British bugles from many directions were heard blowing the advance, and loud Indian cries came floating across the river. He thought he was opposed by thousands, and believing it impossible to cross the ford against such opposition he ordered a retreat, but even when he got out of range of our forces the firing on his column did not cease, for an excited body of Americans on the other side of the river, mistaking their identity, fired several furious volleys into them before the mistake was apparent.

Meanwhile De Salaberry and his 300 Voltigeurs were out about a mile in advance to meet the main body of the enemy, and along they (the enemy) came with cavalry and artillery.

A small working party first met them and retired into a line of skirmishers; these made Izard deploy into line, and the working party then retired behind the abattis where De Salaberry was stationed. A heavy fire was opened on both sides. The Voltigeurs—300 of them against 4,000—at one time broke and started to bolt, all but one man and a boy. The man was De Salaberry, and the boy was a bugler whom De Salaberry had grabbed by the collar and forced to sound the advance. Macdonell, back in the reserve, heard the bugle, and, interpreting it as a demand for support, caused his own bugles to sound and his men to cheer; he sent the buglers through the woods with instructions to separate and to continue blowing; he also called upon the Indians to yell with all their strength, and he rushed forward with his Fencibles to De Salaberry's assistance, the Voltigeurs going back with him.

The opposition then put up against the United States force was so briak that with the cries and bugle sounds they hesitated, then halted. In such a crisis to halt was to court defeat, and shortly afterwards they broke and retired, a vigorous fire following them. There was no attempt to reform or to return the attack. Hampton believed that he had been opposed by a force of 7,000. Upwards of ninety bodies and graves were found upon the right bank of the river, and also a considerable number of muskets, knapsacks, etc., showing the confusion

with which Hampton's column retreated. Twenty prisoners were captured. The Canadian loss was two killed and sixteen wounded. Hampton retreated with his full force to Chateauguay Four Corners harassed by the Canadians and Indians, 100 odd more of whom had arrived. On the 11th November Hampton retired to Plattsburg, and thus ended the invasion of Canada by the Army of the North.

Returning now to Grenadier Island, where Wilkinson had finally on 1st November mobilized his army of 10,000. He was in blissful ignorance of Hampton's defeat and was acting under the full belief that Hampton's army was advancing victoriously through Lower Canada to join him at St. Regis. Wilkinson had been greatly delayed by rough weather, which had for some time prevented some of his troops leaving Sackett's Harbor to join him at Grenadier Island.

On 1st November, while the United States fleet on Lake Ontario under Chauncey attempted to blockade the British squadron under Yeo at Kingston, Wilkinson moved his vanguard and artillery to French Creek, about twenty miles down the St. Lawrence on the south shore, where is now the town of Clayton. In spite of Chauncey's blockade, two sloops, two schooners and four gunboats got out of Kingston and attacked them at French Creek, doing much damage on the afternoon of the 1st and forenoon of the 2nd, when Chauncey's fleet arrived in force and the British boats drew off, eluded him and got safely away through the islands.

On 5th November Wilkinson started down the river with his Invincible Armada of the St. Lawrence. He had given up all idea of attacking Kingston, owing to his delay in starting, it is said, but perhaps also because of Chauncey's failure to keep the British boats bottled up in Kingston. Wilkinson had a force of 10,000, as shown by his own reports. He is said to have had eight Generals in his army. At any rate he had four Brigades, commanded by Generals Boyd, Brown, Covington and Swartout. He had upwards of three hundred boats and scows, as well as twelve heavy gunboats. He had two twenty-four-pounders mounted on scows, so that they could be fired in any direction, and he had all the St. Lawrence river pilots of the United States. It must have been a grand sight to one on the south shore, to see this enormous flotilla glide down our beautiful river, through the Thousand Islands, but it was not all peaceful gliding. Vigorous pursuit was at once instituted from Kingston. A force of 600 in eight gunboats with three field pieces eluded Chauncey's fleet and followed fast, under Captain Mulcaster, of the Navy. These boats were heavier and slower

than Wilkinson's batteaux and Durham boats. One of the British gunboats, the *Nelson*, required eighty men to row her, forty on each side. She had mounted a thirty-two-pounder and a twenty-four-pounder. Whenever it could prove effective, artillery and musketry were discharged at the Armada. Wilkinson, late that first night, reached a point on the American shore seven miles above Ogdensburg. There he remained throughout the 6th, and issued an address to the inhabitants of Canada offering protection to those who remained quiet at home, whilst those taken in arms would be treated as enemies.

Because of the batteries at Prescott the troops were landed with the ammunition, and on the night of the 6th the boats with muffled oars dropped down along the American shore, and on the following morning were rejoined below Ogdensburg by the army, which had marched by Ogdensburg overland. That day a force of about 1,200 men was landed on the Canadian side to march down parallel with the boats and clear the way, for the river is narrower and much damage could be done from the shore. On the 8th a further body of cavalry was landed on the same shore, and the next day the whole expedition reached a point near the head of the Long Sault Rapids. At the head of the rapids Brown's Brigade of 2,500 men were landed, and the next day marched down towards Cornwall, being delayed by a small militia force under Captain Dennis, who broke the bridges and held the Americans in check. In the meantime the flotilla was waiting at the head of the rapids for intelligence that Brown had cleared the bank, and most of the remaining force had been landed under General Boyd to protect the rear from the British force in their wake, which numbered about 600 when it left Kingston. It was made up of the 89th, under strength, and a portion of the 49th, and was under command of Colonel Morrison, of the 89th. With him was Colonel Harvey, D.A.G., the hero of Stoney Creek. At Prescott they picked up two more companies of the 49th, some Canadian Fencibles and some militia, a small party of Indians and another six-pounder gun—numbering, altogether, something over 800. On the morning of the 11th, while Wilkinson, having heard from Brown, was giving orders for the American flotilla to run the rapids, the British gunboats opened fire, and at the same time Boyd reported that Morrison was pressing him on land. Wilkinson accordingly instructed him to turn about and beat them off, and in the middle of the day the battle of Chrysler's Farm took place. Boyd had about 2,500 men, including cavalry, and later in the fight was further reinforced. His cavalry was posted on the road on his left.

Morrison, probably under Harvey's advice, had chosen his ground well. He rested his right on the river, his left on a pine wood, both flanks being thus protected by nature. The intervening distance of open ground was about seven hundred yards. Next the river were three companies of the 89th, with one gun; away in front, athwart the road, were the flank companies of the 49th, with some Canadians and a gun, under Colonel Pearson; on the left and in echelon thrown back and reaching to the wood, was the remainder of the regiment, with the third gun. In the wood were the Canadian Voltigeurs and Indians, whose duty it was to skirmish in advance and draw the Americans on to the main British position.

The fight began by the skirmishers being driven in on the British left, which was followed by an attack in force upon that side of the position about 2.30 p.m. The Americans came within range before they deployed, and during deployment regular volleys by platoons were poured into them and beat them off in disorder. General Covington then came on the field with his brigade, and an attempt was made to outflank and crush our right nearest the river. During this attempt General Covington was killed. The British gunboats immediately afterwards succeeded in firing some shrapnel into the ranks of the enemy. The advanced party of the 49th made a counter charge for one of the enemy's guns, but was pulled up by a threatened American cavalry charge. The 89th nearest the river then rushed forward in support, and together they beat off the dragoons and took the gun. This decided the battle. The Americans after two hours' fighting retreated, and their infantry was taken on board the boats and down the river, while the cavalry and artillery followed on land.

The Canadian casualties were 3 officers and 21 men killed, 8 officers and 137 men wounded, and 12 missing, in all 181 out of 800. American official reports put their casualties at 102 killed and 253 wounded, which included General Covington amongst those killed; 180 prisoners were taken and one gun captured. Colonel Harvey, D.A.G., in a letter dated Chrysler's, 12th November, says there were at least 4,000 Americans engaged, and he ascribes our success to the steady countenance of our men and to superiority of fire, our regiments firing regularly in volleys by platoons and wings, while the Americans' fire was entirely irregular. He says the enemy left 180 dead on the field.

The next day Wilkinson learned of Hampton's defeat and retreat to Lake Champlain, and he decided to give up all idea of attacking Montreal. Accordingly he took his forces across the river and went into winter quarters at French Mills and Malone. In February the

army was broken up. It had been always harassed by the Canadians. Thus failed the Invincible Armada of the St. Lawrence.

Before the end of the year, under General Gordon Drummond, who had taken command in Upper Canada, the Americans were driven out of the Niagara Peninsula, and Canada was free of them.

The next year Britain was able to spare more troops, and soon the seat of war was removed to the United States; and on 24th December, 1814, the Treaty of Ghent was signed.

VI.

DEFENCE OF ESSEX DURING THE WAR OF 1812.*

BY FRANCIS CLEARY, WINDSOR, ONT.

The Essex Historical Society determined last year to place a tablet on the River Canard Bridge to record the engagements which took place there between the British and American troops during the above war. This tablet has recently been completed and placed in position. It is of bronze, with raised letters, and is 19 by 24½ inches in size, and bears the following inscription :—

This marks the place
of several engagements
between
British and United States
troops in defence of
the River Canard Bridge,
where *First Blood* was
shed during the War of
1812-14.
July 24th, 1812.

At a meeting of the Essex Historical Society held at the Public Library here on May 3rd, 1911, a paper was read by one of the members, Mr. Gavin, containing a short account of the events which took place in and around this county during the war, part of which may be repeated here.

In the "Journal of an American Prisoner at Fort Malden and Quebec in the War of 1812," edited by G. M. Fairchild, Jr., and published at Quebec in 1909, after stating how the Journal came into his possession, in the preface or historical note he says: "Anticipating the formal declaration of war, President Madison during the winter of 1811-1812 commissioned Gov. Wm. Hull, of the Territory of Michigan, as a Brigadier General to command the Ohio and Michigan troops at Detroit, with the understanding that immediately upon the announcement of war he was

* Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Napanee, Ont., 1912.

to invade all that part of Canada contiguous to Detroit. On June 24th, 1812, General Hull, with several thousand troops, had arrived at Fort Findlay. Here he received despatches from Washington to hasten his forces to Detroit. When the troops arrived at the mouth of the Maumee River, Hull determined to relieve his tired men of as much baggage as possible by dispatching it by water. Accordingly a considerable portion of the stores, Hull's and his staff's personal baggage, and the trunk containing Hull's instructions and the muster rolls of the army, together with other valuable papers, and Lieut. Goodwin and Lieut. Dent, with thirty soldiers, were transferred to the *Cuyahoga* packet and an auxiliary schooner.

"On the morning of the 2nd July the *Cuyahoga* and the schooner entered the Detroit River, and while sailing past Fort Malden (Amherstburg), the British armed vessel *Hunter* went alongside the *Cuyahoga*, and vessel and cargo became a prize, while the crew, troops and passengers, forty-five in all, were declared prisoners of war. The schooner was also captured. Col. St. George, the commander at Fort Malden, had received the news of the declaration of war on the 30th of June, while General Hull received it only on the 2nd July, when he immediately sent an officer to the mouth of the River Raisin in Michigan to intercept the two vessels, but he arrived too late. In the capture of these two vessels, valuable stores and still more valuable information fell into the hands of the British."

On July 12th General Hull crossed with his army of 2,500 from Detroit and took possession of the Town of Sandwich, the few British troops stationed there retiring to Malden. It was at this time that General Hull pitched his tents on the Indian Reserve at Sandwich for his 2,500 soldiers, and remained there until shortly before the arrival of General Brock at Amherstburg, when he returned to the Fort at Detroit.

The Journal in question begins July 1st, 1812, and some of the events therein recorded, from such observations as were possible to a prisoner and from stray information, are worth mentioning in connection with what took place on this border at the time. The journey from Malden to Quebec is recounted almost day by day, until the prisoner with others was sent to Boston for exchange. Here are a few extracts (taking some liberties with the spelling and grammar).

"July 1st, 1812. After a long and tedious march, I, with the sick, went on board the *Cuyahoga* packet at Maumee. Doctor Edwards, Surgeon General of the North-Western Army, gave me charge of the hospital stores and sick to go by water to Detroit. We sailed about

4 p.m. At sunset we anchored for the night, and about 4 o'clock in the morning we weighed anchor and with a fair wind entered Lake Erie, thinking we should be at Detroit by 3 o'clock in the afternoon. To our surprise, as we were about to enter Detroit River, we saw a boat that hailed us and ordered our captain to lower sail. I thought it improper to make any resistance, as I had not been informed that war had been declared. Lieut. Goodwin, two other officers, three ladies and two soldiers' wives, making in all forty-five in number on board, it would have been imprudent in the highest degree to have attempted to resist a boat of eight well armed men and a captain, and another of five men who demanded us as prisoners of war when we were nearly under the cover of the guns of Fort Malden. We gave ourselves up, and were taken into Malden on July 4th. We were surrounded with savages singing and dancing their war dances through the town. O heavens! what a glory sun for independence! Can any person describe the feelings of a free born subject, to see the savages dancing their war dance and hooting about the town, and to be confined when we knew they were preparing to murder our fellow creatures.

"July 5th. Some gentlemen from our side came from Detroit with a flag of truce and brought news that our army had arrived there safe, and that the men were in tolerable health and spirits."

This no doubt refers to the fact that Col. Cass was sent to Malden with a flag of truce to demand the baggage and prisoners taken from the schooner. The demand was unheeded, and he returned to camp with Captain Burbanks of the British army.

"July 12th, Sunday. The American troops crossed the river into Sandwich and divested the people of their arms and sent them to their farms.

"July 16th. Captain Brown came to town with a flag of truce, on what express news we knew not, but could judge by the movements. Two top-sail vessels were sent out of the river and the people were moving out of the town at night.

"July 17th. The Indians were flocking into town all morning. It appeared by 10 o'clock that almost every person had left the town." Mr. Fairchild's footnote to this is to the effect that on the 16th Col. Cass of the American army, with a force of about 280 men, pushed forward to the Ta-ron-tee, or Riviere Aux Canards, about four miles above Malden, and engaged the British outposts guarding the bridge across the river. The British and Indians retreated. Hull retired the force to Sandwich, as he said the position was untenable with so small a force.

"July 19th, Sunday. There was considerable movement to-day; the Indians again passed armed, and about 2 p.m. we heard firing towards Sandwich."

The footnotes to this are as follows: "On the 18th July Gen. Hull issued an order for a general movement on Fort Malden. Col. McArthur, with a detachment of his regiment, joined Captain Snelling on the 19th at Petite Cote, about a mile from Aux Canards Bridge. A general skirmish ensued with the Indians under command of Tecumseh, and McArthur was compelled to fall back. He sent for reinforcements, and Col. Cass hastened to his aid with a six-pounder, but after another short engagement with the Indians and the British supports that had been hastened to their assistance, the American forces returned to Sandwich.

"Another engagement took place July 24th, When Major Denny and a considerable force of Americans were engaged with some Indians, and retreated in considerable confusion pursued by the Indians. Denny lost six killed and two wounded. This was the first blood shed in the war.

"August 2nd, Sunday. Nothing extra. The Indians commence to cross to Brownstown (now Trenton, Mich.), with British and officers." This is followed with short notes of what took place up to the following Sunday, viz.: "On 3rd soldiers and Indians crossed to Brownstown, twelve boats loaded; I should judge about 400 in numbers. On 4th the troops crossed the river as they did yesterday, and returned about 8 o'clock in the evening. 5th. The Indians crossed the river about 11 o'clock, and people appeared very much alarmed. A party of them returned about sunset, but the boats had few in them." Col. Proctor, who was then in command at Amherstburg, detached the Indians under Tecumseh across the river to intercept a convoy that Major Van Horne and a force of Americans had been sent to safely conduct within the American lines, and on the 5th August Tecumseh badly defeated Van Horne's force of Americans near Brownstown. This victory, however, was reversed on Sunday, 9th, at the battle of Magagua, where Col. Miller, in command of the Americans, defeated the British and Indians, and drove them to their boats, when they returned to Malden.

The Journal entries under dates of August 14th, 15th and 16th are shortly as follows: "Friday, 14th. There were five boats came up loaded with soldiers and five more this morning with from 15 to 20 men in each, making in all about 170 men; another boat arrived about 11 o'clock with 20 men; the new soldiers all appeared to leave town about sunset.

"Saturday, 15th. Foggy; the drums beat to arms about sunrise and the troops were all in motion. The citizens all entered boats for Detroit, as I am told. The Indians went by boats, by land 300. About sunset the cannons began to roar at Sandwich.

"Sunday, 16th. Pleasant weather but unpleasant news. We heard about noon that Hull had given up Detroit and the whole territory of Michigan. The Indians began to return about sunset, well mounted and some with horses."

This news was soon confirmed. As a matter of history it is known that Gen. Brock had left Niagara shortly before this date and joined Col. Proctor at Fort Malden on the night of the 13th August with 300 militia and a few regulars, and had marched the following day with the forces under his command and taken possession of Sandwich, which had been abandoned by the Americans. About 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 15th a general cannonading began between the British at Sandwich and the Americans at Detroit. Considerable damage was done by the British artillery, and several American officers were killed. Two guns on the British side were silenced by the American artillery. During the night the British crossed to the Detroit side of the river and prepared for an assault on the town. The guns at Sandwich opened a heavy cannonading and their range was so accurate that many were slain. The capitulation of Gen. Hull early followed; by the terms of surrender the American militia were paroled and allowed to return to their homes, but the regulars were declared to be prisoners of war and were sent on board the prison ships.

The American prisoner continues his narrative, giving a detailed account of the journey of the prisoners of war by sea and by land until they reached Quebec on the evening of the 11th September.

The next issue of the *Quebec Gazette* newspaper contains the following item: "The officers and regular troops of the American army taken at Detroit and which have no permission to return to their parole, arrived at Anse des Meres Friday afternoon, escorted by a detachment of the Regiment of Three Rivers. The prisoners, with the exception of the officers, were immediately embarked in boats for the transports. The officers were lodged in the city for the night, and the following day were conducted to Charlesbourg, where they will be domiciled on parole." And the *Quebec Mercury* of the 28th October, 1812, contains the following: "The prisoners taken at Detroit and brought down to Quebec are on the point of embarking for Boston for the purpose of being exchanged. Five cannon are now lying at the Chateau Court taken at Detroit."

In the diary of Wm. McCaw, a militiaman from Niagara, and who was with Gen. Brock at the taking of Detroit, Aug. 16, 1812, many of the items in the American Prisoner's Journal are corroborated.

In going through the Fort at Detroit after the capitulation he says he saw several of the soldiers who had been killed and a number of the wounded.

It is worthy of mention here that Captain Frederick Rolette played an important part in the capture of the *Cuyahoga* packet already mentioned, and also in many of the important events of this war which took place subsequently. Frederick Rolette was educated at the Quebec Seminary, and when a mere lad entered the Royal Navy. He saw much active service, and received no less than five wounds at the battles of Aboukir and Trafalgar. He returned to Canada in 1807, and shortly afterwards was appointed to the Provincial Marine. By commission of October 4th, 1808, he was nominated second lieutenant in His Majesty's Provincial Marine. In 1812 he received promotion to the rank of first lieutenant in H. M. Provincial Marine, and was given command of the brig *General Hunter*, commissioned to cruise on Lake Erie. During the early days of Hull's invasion of Upper Canada in 1812, the *General Hunter* was in Amherstburg harbor, when Rolette espied a United States vessel approach, and put out towards her in a boat with eight armed men. Boarding the stranger, he was surprised, but not alarmed, apparently, to find himself on the deck of a Government vessel, the *Cuyahoga* packet, with four officers and forty men of the United States army on board, besides her own crew.

His pluck and presence of mind did not desert him. Placing one of his sailors as a sentry over the arm-chest and others at the companion-way, he issued orders in a loud voice to shoot down the first man who showed any disposition to resist. For a time his boldness had the desired effect, but before long some of the United States officers, chagrined at their position, began to make menacing demonstration. At this time the prize was approaching Fort Malden. Rolette, in a menacing voice, ordered the *Cuyahoga* to be run in under the guns of the battery. This quelled all idea of an uprising on the part of the Americans, and reinforcements conveniently arriving, the prize, which proved to be of great value, was secured.

Rolette served ashore with distinction under Brock at the capture of Detroit, and in the operations with Proctor on the River Raisin, being seriously wounded while commanding a naval gun detachment at Frenchtown. During the war he served successively on the schooner *Chippewa*, the sloop *Little Belt*, and the nineteen-gun ship, *De-*

troit. In the action on Lake Erie at Put-in Bay, Sept. 10th, 1813, he assumed command, though wounded, of the *Lady Prevost*, after her captain was killed, and was again very dangerously wounded when the magazines blew up. He was taken prisoner of war and held in captivity for several months. Upon his return to Canada he was presented with a sword of honor by his classmates of the Quebec Seminary.

It is fitting that something should be said here of the services rendered to the British by Tecumseh, the brave Shawnee chief, in repelling the attacks made by the Americans on those defending the Essex frontier during this war. He was with the British with his Indian allies in many of the engagements, including the capture of Detroit. It was much against his will that he joined in the retreat with Proctor from Detroit in October, 1813. The particulars of the battle at Moravian-town, where he gave up his life, are too well known to be repeated here.

Surely something should be done to erect a monument or other suitable memorial in testimony of his services. The question of where this should be erected has been much discussed. Various suggestions have been made. We would respectfully submit that it should be at or near Thamesville, where he gave up his life in the defence of his country, or at the Town of Amherstburg, where he was an active participator in the many stirring events in and around its vicinity.

VII.

THE ECONOMIC EFFECT OF THE WAR OF 1812 ON UPPER CANADA.*

BY ADAM SHORTT, C.M.G., M.A., F.R.S.C., OTTAWA, ONT.

In considering the economic conditions of any country, and especially of a new country, many considerations have to be taken into account besides a mere survey of prices, rates of profit, or volume of trade. Only when we know the social and economic atmosphere of the various districts, the conditions of transportation, labor, local production, etc., can we come to any rational conclusions. Thus, in dealing with the economic condition of Upper Canada before, during, and after the War of 1812, we require to know not only the isolated facts as to prices and values, but the general setting of the country, geographical, social and commercial.

In its early days there were two or three important general conditions which vitally affected the economic development of the Province of Upper Canada. In the first place, the frontier settlements of Ontario were planted much earlier than the corresponding regions of the adjoining states to the south of the lakes. The first settlers, being for the most part United Empire Loyalists, enjoyed the benefit of having been especially outfitted by the British Government and partially supported at its expense for several years. For various reasons, partly accidental and partly of an international nature, the Government established strong garrisons along the Canadian frontier, contributed largely to the support of the civil government, and undertook certain public works. The requirements of these establishments created very profitable local markets for the limited produce of the early settlers, much of which could not support the expense of shipment from the country. They furnished also a strong market for labor, so that during the first ten years of Upper Canada's existence as a separate province, the economic condition of the country was, on the whole, very satisfactory, especially along the frontier settlements, where the people had access to both local and central markets. The most important trade of the province in both exports and imports was conducted for a considerable time by Messrs.

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Cartwright and Hamilton, who were originally partners and always close business associates. In various capacities, the Honorable Richard Cartwright was associated with practically all the business of Upper Canada. These varied interests are fully represented in his commercial and general letter-books, which constitute the most extensive and accurate sources of information as to the more important affairs of Upper Canada, between the first settlement of the province in 1785 and the close of the War of 1812. This information is supplemented and confirmed by many special papers in the Canadian Archives, and by more fragmentary letters and records drawn from various private sources.

From these various sources we find that the early settlers of Upper Canada were by no means dependent upon their own resources for the establishment and development of the province. In other words, they were not compelled to pay for what they imported by furnishing exports to be disposed of in distant markets. Otherwise, their struggle for existence would have been much harder than it was, for few of them had much capital and not many of them had much experience in making their way in the wilderness. The most successful element from the point of view of individual resources, with a knowledge of agricultural conditions in a new country, were the subsequent American immigrants, such as the Quakers and others, who settled in Prince Edward County, and in other districts along the Bay of Quinte, the Niagara region, and at various points along the north shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie.

When the American settlers began to develop along the south shore of the lakes, they naturally depended upon the Canadians for the larger part of their food supplies, as well as for much of their imported European goods. These settlements proved to be very valuable and high-priced markets for Canadian produce. Thus it was, that, except for an odd year now and again, the greater part of the Upper Canadian agricultural produce found local markets. In such cases the price of agricultural produce in western Canada, instead of being determined by the price in Britain less the cost of transportation, insurance, commission and duty, expressed a local demand only, the limit of which was the price in Britain plus these items; because in those days, and occasionally in the future, Canada found it necessary to import food supplies from Europe.

It is a common mistake to suppose that since the forests have been largely cleared from the basin of the Great Lakes, the rainfall has been lessened and drouth is more common. The fact is that drouth was at least as common and the rise and fall of the lakes was as much commented upon over a hundred years ago as to-day. The period from 1794

to 1797 was an exceptionally dry one, and the people, with little past experience, were alarmed at the prospect of the permanent lowering of the Great Lakes. Crops suffered severely from drouth, as also from the ravages of the Hessian fly. In consequence, the harvests were light and prices high. At this time flour sold in Upper Canada at \$4.00 to \$4.50 per cwt., and on the American side of the lakes at even higher prices. Peas brought \$1.00 per bushel, and very inferior grades of salt pork cost \$26.00 per barrel. At the same time, the Government was importing food supplies from Europe to feed the troops in Lower Canada. When it is remembered that the cost of transporting a barrel of flour from Upper Canada to Montreal, up to 1802, had not been reduced below 80 cents, even when taken on rafts and scows, one can understand what difference it would make when the cost of transport was deducted from the price of provisions in Upper Canada. Cartwright summed up the situation very well when he said, "As long as the British Government shall think proper to hire people to come over to eat our flour we shall go on very well, and continue to make a figure, but when once we come to export our produce, the disadvantages of our remote inland situation will operate in their full force, and the very large portion of the price of our produce that must be absorbed by the expense of transporting it to the place of export, and the enhanced value which the same cost must add to every article of European manufacture, will give an effective check to the improvement of the country beyond a certain extent."

A few good harvests in the early part of the nineteenth century, and the rapidity with which the Americans brought their side of the lakes under cultivation, greatly changed the situation in Upper Canada. The price of wheat fell in the Upper Province because it had now to bear the cost of transportation to the Lower Province, and sometimes to England. It was estimated that between 1800 and 1810 the normal difference in the price of a barrel of flour as between Kingston and Montreal, including commission and freight, would range from \$1.00 to \$1.50. When, therefore, the price of grain fell, the people of Upper Canada turned their attention to the lumber and timber trade, and to the production of staves and potash. The timber, in particular, could be cheaply transported down the St. Lawrence.

The era of the Orders in Council, after 1808, and the increasing trouble with the United States before the outbreak of the war, coupled with returning short harvests, led to a revival of prices, between 1808 and 1811. Having regard to the price of wheat alone, one would infer that the province must have been increasingly prosperous during this

period, but such was not the case. Prices, it is true, in Upper Canada were practically the same as in Lower Canada, because there was little to export, the wheat crop having been particularly poor during 1810. Moreover, as indicated, agriculture had suffered considerably for the past few years on account of the settlers going in for lumber and staves, but now there was a severe fall in the prices of these articles, as also of potash. The high price of staves during the years 1808 and 1809 had induced many settlers to go into that line very extensively, but in 1810 prices fell from forty to sixty per cent.

Owing to the slowness and uncertainty of transport, and the closing of the Canadian ports in winter, merchants required to order their supplies of goods considerably in advance. The result was that in 1810 the merchants found themselves overstocked with European goods, which the public were unable to purchase, or for which the merchants could not secure returns. The commercial distress first manifested itself at Montreal, but spread more or less rapidly to the outlying districts dependent upon it, and especially to Upper Canada. As Cartwright put it, "The large returns heretofore made in lumber have occasioned an immense quantity of goods to be brought into this country, and sudden depression in the price of that article would occasion great deficiency in remittances." The reaction caused even the price of food to drop. Flour, which had been \$11 and \$12 per barrel in April, fell to \$8.40 in Montreal and \$7.50 in the Kingston district. As a natural consequence of the depression, specie became very scarce, while merchant bills were a drug on the market. For lack of a better medium of exchange, notes of hand were in circulation in local centres. Towards the latter part of 1811 things were looking very blue indeed in all parts of Canada. Montreal merchants could not collect their debts from their western correspondents, because they in turn could not collect from their debtors. Bills of exchange, accepted by the merchants, were not met when due, and the cost of protesting them was heavy. Early in 1812 Cartwright was offered pork at \$18.00 per barrel and flour at \$9.00. In June it could be had at \$8.00 delivered in Montreal. Early in July, however, it was learned that war had been declared and prices immediately took an upward turn. As the summer advanced, supplies of every description rapidly rose in price. In September flour had risen to \$12.00 per barrel and in November to \$13.00. In the spring of 1813 shipments of provisions down the St. Lawrence had quite ceased, everything available being in demand for the supply of the troops and others in the service of the Government. When the army bills went into circulation in August, 1812, they furnished an easy and safe means of meeting the

immediate obligations of the British Government without the danger of shipping specie to Canada, while their being convertible into bills of exchange enabled the merchants to meet their obligations in Britain without expense. Towards the close of 1812, we find Cartwright beginning to receive quite a stream of payments from all parts of the province in commissariat bills and army bills, which he, in turn, was sending down to Montreal to pay off his indebtedness there.

From the beginning of 1813 to the close of the war, there was little or nothing going down the river beyond furs from the west and an ever increasing stream of bills of exchange and army bills. The whole movement of commerce was up the river, and the rates of freight were correspondingly high. In 1814 freight from Montreal to Kingston amounted to \$12.50 per barrel of miscellaneous goods. The conditions referred to by Cartwright in the early nineties were reproduced in an exaggerated form. The British Government had sent large contingents of troops and marines to Canada, including Upper Canada. It was also employing men and horses wherever available from Cornwall to Detroit. It paid famine prices for all kinds of produce and hired men to consume it in the province. Owing to the great volume of exchanges drawn against Britain, the very unusual experience was realized, from the beginning of 1814, of Government exchange on Britain being at a discount. Thus we find Cartwright, in July, 1814, buying a bill of exchange on England for £61 2s. 2d. sterling for which he paid only £55 currency, a pound currency being rated at \$4.00. Real estate and other property in the frontier towns had gone up enormously in value.

As supplies on the Canadian side began to grow scarce during the last two years of the war, those who had to furnish provisions for the troops, particularly in the lines of flour and meat, found it necessary to devise means of obtaining supplies from the adjoining districts of the United States. This was accomplished, as a rule, by the connivance of people of influence, military and other, on both sides of the line. This trade, once established, continued very briskly for nearly a couple of years after the war; the Province of Upper Canada in particular having been practically stripped of everything saleable in the food line.

During the war, certain permanent changes were made in the methods of conducting business. Money being very plentiful in all parts of the province, trade brisk, and the returns rapid, the old system of long credits, extending to at least a year and over, were gradually abolished, and at the close of the war the business of the province was pretty well established on a cash basis. On this basis the purely commercial busi-

ness of the country remained, though in some of the newer sections and in minor retail trade, longer and more irregular credits once more prevailed. Again, in consequence of the universal employment of the army bills and the facilities which they afforded for effective exchange, the people had grown accustomed to the use of an efficient and reliable paper currency. Hence, when the war terminated and the army bills were withdrawn, the people were in a proper frame of mind for the establishment of banks. Thus, the Bank of Montreal appeared in 1817, and in the following year the Quebec Bank, the Bank of Canada at Montreal and the Bank of Upper Canada at Kingston.

On the other hand, there were certain unfortunate consequences which, if they did not originate from the exceptional prosperity of the war period, were at least greatly fostered by it. Merchants, wholesale and retail, transporters, laborers and farmers had all alike grown accustomed to obtaining large profits, good wages, and high prices, and all without any special enterprise, foresight, or industry on their part. When the fertilizing stream of British expenditure, all of it extracted from the pockets of the British taxpayer, had ceased to flow, the people could not believe that the prosperity which they had enjoyed must cease, and that they must henceforth largely depend upon their own exertions and enterprise for such wealth as they might acquire. Many people who had cultivated expensive tastes and who found it difficult to severely prune their expenditure, fell into financial difficulties and were ultimately ruined. Much wealth was, of course, left in the country when the war ceased, and so long as it lasted prices declined but slowly. Upper Canadian markets were therefore especially attractive to enterprising American producers. For fully three years the upper province imported quite abnormal amounts of American goods. Lastly, the war had not improved the social condition of the people. The lack of means to gratify their tastes accounted for the relative sobriety of a considerable element in the population during the early years of provincial history. Many of these persons, however, were quite unable to stand prosperity, hence drunkenness and other forms of vice flourished throughout the province in proportion to the diffusion of British wealth. Naturally, the later state of these people was much worse than the first, and the existence of a regular pauperized class dates from the close of the war.

It is difficult to determine whether Canada was, on the whole, benefited or the reverse by the exceptional period of prosperity which the war had brought to her doors. It may be said, however, that the more thrifty elements of the population and those who had not lost their heads

through sudden wealth, utilized their savings for the establishment of permanent enterprises, while for the more unbalanced and incapable the war period had proved their undoing. A great change, therefore, was observable in the personnel of the leaders in economic and social life after the war, as compared with the period before it. On one point, however, there is no doubt whatever, namely, that the War of 1812, instead of being the occasion of loss and suffering to Upper Canada as a whole, was the occasion of the greatest era of prosperity which it had heretofore enjoyed, or which it was yet to experience before the Crimean War and the American Civil War again occasioned quite abnormal demands for its produce at exceptionally high prices.

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Place-Names in Georgian Bay

(Including the North Channel)

BY JAMES WHITE, F.R.G.S.

For convenience and on account of the historical connection, the North Channel names have also been included in this compilation.

Place-names in the area covered by this paper can be assigned to three distinct periods ; first, those given by Bayfield when he surveyed it in 1819-22 ; second, the local names given by fishermen, residents and others between the date of Bayfield's survey and 1883 ; third, the new survey by Messrs. Boulton and Stewart in 1883-93.

Before discussing the derivations of the first period, a few notes respecting Bayfield may be of interest. He was born in 1795, entered the Navy in 1806, on H.M.S. Pompee (80), Sir William Sydney Smith, and was in action with a French privateer, six hours after leaving Portsmouth. Later, he served in H.M.S. Queen (98), Admiral Lord Collingwood's flagship, and in the Duchess of Bedford, Lieut. Spilsbury. In 1806, he was appointed to H.M.S. Beagle, Capt. F. Newcombe, and, in 1811, he was midshipman in the Wanderer (21), Capt. F. Newcombe. He was promoted to Lieutenant, 1815, and was appointed assistant to Capt. William Fitzwilliam Owen, R.N., in the survey of Lake Ontario. The war of 1812-14 had shown the necessity for a hydrographical survey of the Great Lakes and Capt. Owen had been appointed for the survey. While the naval force at the beginning of hostilities was a negligible quantity, at the close there were upwards of 40 British war vessels, ranging from one-gun gunboats to the St. Lawrence, a ship of the line with 102 guns. To permit these vessels to navigate the lakes with confidence, a survey was absolutely necessary.

Owen was in charge of the survey of Lake Ontario till its completion in 1816, when he was succeeded by Bayfield who surveyed

*Read at the annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Brantford June, 1911

Lake Erie in 1818, Huron and Georgian Bay in 1819-22, and Superior in 1823-25. In 1827, Bayfield was appointed to the survey of the St. Lawrence River and Gulf. This work was carried on in Gulnare I, 1827-51, and Gulnare II, from 1852 till his promotion to Rear Admiral in 1856. He retired with rank of full Admiral, 1867, and died at Charlottetown, P.E.I., 1885. For the quality of his work it is sufficient to quote Capt. Boulton: "While making a survey of Georgian Bay and the North Channel of Lake Huron . . . I had a good opportunity of witnessing the marvellous quantity and excellence of Admiral Bayfield's work. . . . I doubt whether the British Navy has ever possessed a more gifted and zealous surveyor than Bayfield. He had a marvellous combination of natural talent with tremendous physical energy."

The charts that were sufficient for navigation in the "twenties" when the largest vessel on Lake Huron measured a few hundred tons were inadequate for the vessels of a half-century later. In 1883, the Canadian Government secured the services of an Admiralty surveyor, Capt. J. G. Boulton, R.N. For ten years, 1883-93, surveys of Georgian Bay and North Channel were carried on under his direction. In 1893, he resigned to return to duty in the Navy and was succeeded by his principal assistant, the present Chief Hydrographer, Mr. W. J. Stewart.

So far as the names given by Bayfield are concerned, their derivation is a matter of inference, but the evidence, in some instances, almost amounts to a demonstration. At the date of his survey, George IV was King of Great Britain and Ireland, hence Georgian Bay and Lake George; Prince William Henry, Duke of Clarence, was Admiral of the Fleet, 1811, and Lord High Admiral, 1827-28, hence Prince William Henry Island; William Frederick, Duke of Gloucester, married Prince William Henry's sister, Mary, and was thus, both his cousin and his brother-in-law, hence Gloucester Point and Bay.

In 1822, Robert Saunder Dundas, 2nd Viscount Melville, Sir Wm. Johnstone Hope, Sir Geo. Cockburn and Wm. Robt. Keith Douglas were Lord High Admirals, hence Cape Dundas, Melville Sound, Hope Bay and Island, Cockburn Island and Point, and Douglas Bay and Point. Capt. Thos. Hurd was Hydrographer from 1808 to 1823, and Capt (afterwards, Admiral Sir) William Edward Parry, from 1823-29, and James Horsburg was Hydrographer to the East India Co.; hence Cape Hurd, Parry Sound and Island and Horsburg Point. Barrow Bay is after Sir John Barrow, for 38 years, 1807-45, Second Secretary to the Admiralty, and Croker Cape and Island after John Wilson Croker, First Secretary, 1809-30; Dyer Bay, after John James Dyer, for many years Chief Clerk of the Admiralty; Hay Island, after Viscount Melville's private secretary, and Amedroz Island after an Admiralty official.

As there was a considerable naval establishment on the Great Lakes, Bayfield named a number of features after naval officers. James, Lucas and Yeo Islands, after Sir James Lucas Yeo, commander-in-chief on the Great Lakes, 1814; Barrie Island after Capt. Robt. Barrie, Acting Commissioner of the Navy at Kingston; Bushby Inlet, Boucher Point Clapperton Island and Channel, Henvey Inlet, Wingfield Point and Basin, Worsley Bay, Grant Island and Thompson Point are also named after officers of the Royal Navy serving on the Great Lakes.

Confiance Rock was named after the *Confiance*, gunboat on Lake Huron, formerly the U. S. S. *Scorpion*, captured Sept. 6th, 1814. This *Confiance* was the third bearing her name. The first was Yeo's first command, a French privateer captured by him at Muros Bay, and the second was Downie's flagship on Lake Champlain, captured by the Americans at Plattsburgh, Sept. 11th, 1814, five days after the capture by the British of what was, later, *Confiance* III. Bedford Island is, probably, after the Duchess of Bedford, the third ship in which Bayfield served, or, after Admiral William Bedford.

Colpoys Bay, Rous Islands, Mudge Bay and Byng Inlet are after British admirals, the last named being the admiral who was shot, in 1757, for his failure to relieve Minorca—"pour encourager les autres." Fitzwilliam Island and Owen Channel are after Bayfield's former chief in the survey of Lake Ontario, while Cape Commodore, Owen Sound, Point William, Campbell Cliff and Point Rich commemorate Owen's brother, Commodore Sir E. W. C. R. Owen.

Bayfield's assistants were: Midshipmen Philip Edward Collins and Vidal, "immortalized" in Philip Edward Island, Collins Inlet and Vidal Island. Till his death in 1835, Collins was Bayfield's assistant in his survey of the St. Lawrence, and Vidal was the grandfather of the late Gen. Vidal, Ottawa.

Franklin Inlet—now obsolete—and Parry Island and Sound were named after the famous Arctic navigators; Portlock Harbour is, probably, after Capt. Portlock, R.N., who commanded a fur-trading expedition to the Pacific Coast and published an account of his voyage; Bigsby Island is after Dr. J. J. Bigsby, geologist to the Commission appointed under the Treaty of Ghent to define the International boundary through the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes.

Of the Bayfield family there are: Henry Island, Wolsey Lake and Bayfield Sound after himself, Elizabeth Bay after his mother, Helen Bay after his only sister, Julia Bay and Point after a young lady of Quebec. Honora Bay and Juliet Cove are, probably, after other young ladies of his acquaintance, but nothing definite is known concerning them.

The other names given by Bayfield are either unimportant or of unknown derivation.

As already stated, during the second period local names were given to many features, but were only known locally. When Capt. Boulton commenced his survey in 1883, the only names on the charts were those given by Bayfield, sixty years earlier. Consequently, while there was a second "name-period," it is not possible to separate it from the third, namely, those given by Messrs. Boulton and Stewart. As the circumstances connected with the names given in the second period were, in nearly every case, of local interest only, they were incorporated in the charts and no description of them is necessary.

The names given by Messrs. Boulton and Stewart can be divided into a number of classes, only a few of which need be noticed. As Capt. Boulton was an officer of the Royal Navy, many features bear the names of Admiralty officials and naval officers. Thus, Brassey Island, Hamilton Rock, Hood Patch and Hotham Island are after Lords of the Admiralty; Dalrymple Rock is after Alex. Dalrymple, the first Hydrographer to the Admiralty, and Beaufort Island and Evans and Wharton Points after recent incumbents; Browning Cove and Island, Goalen Island, Harris Bank, Hoskin Island, Jamieson Island, Orlebar Rock, Pender Islets, Peter Islands, Pettey Rock, Richards Reef, and Scott Island are after naval surveyors. An island is named after Admiral Lord Charles Beresford of "Well done, Condor" fame, and another after Admiral Sir Thomas Sabine Pasley.

The war of 1812-14 is commemorated by features named after the Chesapeake and her captain, Lawrence, after the Shannon and Lieut. Provo Wallis. That there were gunboats on the lakes after the close of the war is commemorated by islands, etc., named Faith, Minstrel, Heron, Rescue, Gunboat, Britomart, Cherub, Danville and Drew. Naval officers who distinguished themselves in 1812-14 are not forgotten as evidenced by Barclay, Huntly and Finnis Rocks, Frederic Inlet, Spilsbury Island and Popham Point.

A study of the "First Conquest of Canada" resulted in the naming of islands after Thomas Kirke, after one of his captains, Brewerton, and after two of the vessels, the Gervase and Abigail. The "Life of Parry" has given numerous names to features. The Ardent, Borer, Griper, Hecla, Niger, Sceptre, Tribune and Vanguard were ships in which Parry served, and Baker, Capel, Cathcart, Coote, Cornwallis, Glyn, Powys, Quilliam and Ricketts were captains under whom he served; Hooper, Hoppner, Liddon, Lyon and Nias were subordinate officers during his Arctic expeditions;

the Christian names of his father and the Christian names and surnames of his mother and wife were also utilized.

The defence of Detroit, 1763, is commemorated by Beaver and Gladwyn Rocks ; the naval battle in Hudson Bay, 1693, by Dering, Hampshire and Pelican Rocks and French explorers and missionaries by Brehoef, Champlain, Hennepin, Joliette, La Salle, Nicolet, Talon and Tonty Islands and Roberval Point ; Dauphine Rock is named after the vessel in which Verrazano made his discoveries in 1524.

The Camperdown-Victoria disaster, in 1893, furnished names for twenty features, nearly all of which were after officers of the ill-fated Victoria. The eldest son of King Edward VII—died 1892—is commemorated in Victor Bank, Albert and Clarence Channels and Duke Island. The Hudson Bay expeditions of 1884, 1885 and 1886, account for Neptune Island, Gordon Rock and Alcert Point. Our Governors-General are represented by Aberdeen, Dufferin, Elgin, Lansdowne, Lorne and Stanley Islands and Monck Point, while Aide-de-camps Colville, Kilcoursie, Kindersley and St. Aubyn have not been forgotten. Lieutenant-Governors Aikins, Morris and Schultz of Manitoba, Beverly Robinson and Kirkpatrick of Ontario, Belleau, Masson, Robitaille and Letellier de St. Just of Quebec, and Laird and Royal of the Northwest Territories, have had their names attached to features, also Sir John Abbott, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Hector Langevin, Sir Francis Hincks, Sir A. T. Galt, Sir Charles Tupper and many other Ministers and about forty-five Members and Senators.

Of the remainder it is only possible to enumerate the classes of name-derivations. (1) Scores of features, principally rocks and shoals, have been named after lake vessels, usually because the danger has been reported by one of her officers or because she has achieved an undesired fame by striking it. Many others have received the names of captains and other officers of lake vessels and of officials of navigation companies. The families and near relations of Messrs. Boulton and Stewart and of the sailing-master, Capt. McGregor, account for thirty names. As Mr. Stewart is a graduate of the Royal Military College, Kingston, he attached the names of some twenty-five officers and cadets to rocks, etc., in the North Channel and St. Mary River. The surveys were carried on under the Department of Marine and Fisheries and the names of eighty officials of that and other departments have been given. Seventeen features are named after judges of the Supreme Court and of Ontario courts and many bear the names of residents of nearby towns, of clergymen, of citizens of Ottawa, of fishermen, light-house-keepers and Indian chiefs,

Place-Names in Georgian Bay and North Channel

ABBOTT.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Sir J. J. C. Abbott (1821-1892), Premier, 1891-92.

ABERDEEN.—Island, Muskoka ; after Lord Aberdeen, Governor-General of Canada, 1893-98.

ABIGAIL.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after one of Kirke's vessels at taking of Quebec, 1629.

ACADIA.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the propeller Acadia.

***ADAMS.**—Point, Simcoe ; named by Bayfield ; possibly after an official of Penetanguishene naval station.

AFRICA.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after steambarge Africa.

AIKINS.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Hon. J. C. Aikins, Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, 1882-88.

***AIRD.**—Island and bay North Channel, Algoma ; derivation unknown ; named by Bayfield.

AJAX.—Islands, Parry Sound ; probably after a lake vessel.

ALBERT.—Channel, Parry Sound ; after Prince Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence, (1864-1892).

ALBERTA.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the steamer Alberta.

ALEC CLARKE.—Rock Manitoulin ; after a fisherman of Collingwood.

ALERT.—Point, Cloche I., Sudbury ; after the Alert, an Admiralty vessel, loaned by the Admiralty to the Canadian Government for the Hudson Bay expeditions, 1885 and 1886 ; was the flagship of the Nares Arctic expedition, 1875-76.

ALEXANDER.—Island, Muskoka ; after private secretary to Sir W. C. Van Horne.

††Names distinguished by a †† have same derivation as the first feature bearing same name.

*Names preceded by an asterisk appeared in Bayfield's chart, and, unless otherwise stated, were given by him. All Bayfield's names are noted whether the derivation is known or unknown.

ALEXANDER.—Inlet, Parry Sound ; after Alexander Murray McGregor, sailing-master of the steamer Bayfield.

ALEXANDER.—Rock, Manitoulin ; after Wm. Alexander, clerk in Marine and Fisheries Department.

ALFRED.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Alfred D. De Celles, General Librarian, Library of Parliament.

ALICE.—Rock, Muskoka ; after Christian name of Mrs. Libbs, a widow of Penetanguishene.

ALICE.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after sister of John Woodman, C.E., Winnipeg.

ALICIA.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after a daughter of George Marks, Bruce Mines.

ALLEN.—Rocks, Muskoka ; probably after Henry R. Allen, clerk to Secretary of the Victoria, sunk in collision with the Camperdown off Tripoli, June 23rd, 1893.

ALMON.—Island, St. John Channel, Algoma ; after late M. B. Almon, C.E., graduated from the Royal Military College, Kingston, 1883.

ALVES.—Point, Parry Sound ; after a resident.

ALWIN.—Rock, Key Harbour, Parry Sound ; after a seaman on the Bayfield.

***AMEDROZ.**—Island, North Channel, Sudbury ; named by Bayfield after a clerk in the Admiralty.

AMELIA.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Miss Amelia Johnson, daughter of a Parry Sound merchant.

AMERICAN CAMP.—Island, Muskoka ; a party from the United States camped on it.

AMYOT.—Rocks, North Channel, Algoma ; after late Lt.-Col. Amyot, M.P.

ANCHOR.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; good anchorage near it.

††**ANCHOR.**—Island and rock, Parry Sound.

††**ANCHOR.**—Rock, Muskoka,

ANDERSON.—Ledge, Manitoulin ; after Col. Wm. P. Anderson, Chief Engineer, Department of Marine and Fisheries.

***ANNARELLA.**—Islands Sudbury ; named by Bayfield ; derivation unknown ; name now obsolete.

ANNIE.—Rock, Manitoulin ; after the Annie Clark, fishing tug.

ANN LONG.—Bank, Manitoulin ; after the first vessel used in the hydrographical survey of Georgian Bay, 1883.

ANSLEY.—Island, Parry Sound ; after postmaster at Parry Sound.

ANTHONY.—Island, Manitoulin ; after an Indian of Wikwemikong.

APPELBE.—Island, Parry Sound ; after a physician of Parry Sound.

ARAXES.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after the Araxes, a lake vessel.

ARDENT.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after H.M.S. Ardent in which Parry (q.v.) served, 1815.

ARIEL.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the schooner Ariel.

ARMSTRONG.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a tourist, named Armstrong.

ARMSTRONG.—Rocks, Parry Sound ; after Judge Armstrong.

ARNOLD.—Point, Aird I., Algoma ; after a mill-owner, Spanish River.

††ARNOLD.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma.

ARTHUR.—Island, Muskoka ; after Arthur Street-Macklem, Toronto. Indian name *minnewawa*, meaning 'pleasant sound' (as of wind in the trees).

ARTHUR.—Point, Vidal I., Manitoulin ; after a son of Capt. Boulton.

ASHMEAD.—Point, Algoma ; after Ashmead Ellis Bartlett Burdett-Coutts, British politician, Lord of the Admiralty, 1885.

ASIA.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the steamer Asia, lost in Georgian Bay, 1882.

ATHABASCA.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after steamer Athabasca.

ATLANTIC.—Rock, St. Joseph I., Algoma ; after the steamer Atlantic.

AUGUSTA.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a daughter of Capt. Cox, R.N., naval surveyor.

AURORA.—Bank, North Channel, Algoma ; after the schooner Aurora.

AVA.—Island, Muskoka ; after the late Lord Ava, eldest son of Lord Dufferin ; killed in the Boer war.

AZOV.—Ledges, Manitoulin ; after the schooner Azov, stranded on Squaw I.

BACON.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after late Lt.-Col. Bacon, Ottawa.

*BADGLEY.—Island and rocks, Manitoulin ; named by Bayfield, 1826, probably after Dr. Badgley, a prominent fur-trader who came to Montreal about 1788, d. 1841 ; possibly after Capt. Francis Badgley, 1st Batt., Montreal City Militia, on duty during war of 1812-14. 'Badgeley' on chart.

BAD NEIGHBOUR.—Rock, Manitoulin ; "the worst danger in the main channel."

BAILEY.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a fisherman.

BAKER.—Group, Parry Sound ; after the captain of the *Tribune*, vessel in which Parry (q.v.) served.

BAKER.—Point, Clapperton I., Manitoulin ; after E. Crow Baker, sometime M.P. for Victoria, B.C.

BALD.—Island and rock, Parry Sound ; descriptive.

††**BALD.**—Rock, North Channel, Algoma.

BAMAGESECK.—Bay, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after an Indian.

BAMFORD.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after the lighthouse-keeper.

BAND.—Island, Muskoka ; after the Bursar of the Reformatory at Penetanguishene.

BANDIN.—Bluff, Manitoulin ; after a Roman Catholic priest, Wikwemikong.

BANSHEE.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the Banshee, a lake trading vessel.

BAR.—Island, Parry Sound ; descriptive.

††**BAR.**—Point, Simcoe.

BARCLAY.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Com. Robert Heriot Barclay (1785-1837), British commander in the battle of Lake Erie, 1813 ; post captain, 1824.

BARIL.—Point, Parry Sound ; stated that the name commemorates the loss of a barrel of whiskey at this point—a doubtful explanation.

BARNARD.—Bank, Muskoka ; after William Barnard, acting boatswain in the *Victoria*, sunk in collision with the *Camperdown* off Tripoli, 1893.

BARREN.—Island, Sudbury ; descriptive.

BARRETT.—Bank, North Channel, Algoma ; after a boatman in surveying steamer *Bayfield*.

***BARRIE.**—Island, Manitoulin ; after Commodore Robert Barrie, Acting Commissioner of the Navy at Kingston after the war of 1812-14 ; made a tour of inspection through Simcoe county about 1828.

***BARRIER.**—Island, Bruce ; named by Bayfield ; descriptive.

***BARROW.**—Bay, Bruce ; after Sir John Barrow (1764-1843) ; from 1807 to 1845, Second Secretary to the Admiralty.

BARTLETT.—Point, Algoma ; after Ashmead Ellis Bartlett Burdett-Coutts, Lord of the Admiralty, 1885.

BASS.—Group of islands, Muskoka ; noted fishing ground for bass.

BASSETT.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the captain of a Georgian Bay vessel.

††**BASSETT.**—Rock, Parry Sound.

BATE.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Sir Henry N. Bate, Chairman of the Ottawa Improvement Commission, Ottawa.

BATEAU.—Islands, Parry Sound ; after the passages between the islands, only passable by small boats (bateaux).

BATH.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Bath, city, Somerset, England. Parry (q.v.) was educated in Bath.

BATOCHÉ.—Point, Bedford I., Sudbury ; after the action at Batoche, Sask., Riel rebellion, 1885.

BATTERY.—Bluff, Manitoulin ; descriptive, resembles a battery.

BATTURE.—Island, Manitoulin ; after the reef (batture) joining it to Vidal Island.

BAXTER.—Point, Aird I., Algoma ; after the captain of a Spanish River tug.

BAYARD.—Island and reef, Manitoulin ; probably after Thomas Francis Bayard (1828-1898), Secretary of State (U.S.) 1885-89 ; first U. S. ambassador to England, 1893.

BAYFIELD.—Bluff, Killarney harbour, Manitoulin ; from "the surveying steamer Bayfield having occasionally tied up to it during the progress of the survey in this locality."

††**BAYFIELD.**—Rock, Parry Sound.

BAYFIELD.—Sound, Manitoulin ; after Captain (later, Admiral) Henry Wolsey Bayfield, naval surveyor, who did so much excellent work upon the Great Lakes between 1817 and 1823.

††**BAYFIELD.**—Reef, Manitoulin.

BAY OF ISLANDS.—Bay, Manitoulin I. ; from the numerous islands.

BAYVIEW.—Point, Grey ; descriptive.

BEACH.—Point, Fitzwilliam I., Manitoulin ; "derives its name from the fact of its being the north-easterly termination of a long stony beach."

BEAR.—Island, Georgian Bay ; this name is also applied to numerous other features in Canada, usually owing to the unusual numbers of this animal frequenting the vicinity ; or to some unusual occurrence in connection with it at the time of naming ; or, it is the translation of the Indian name.

††**BEAR BACK.**—Island and shoal, Algoma.

††**BEAR.**—Head, Parry Sound.

BEAR'S RUMP.—Island and shoal, Bruce ; "the name given to an island having somewhat the outline of that animal."

BEATRICE.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after Miss Beatrice Johnson, daughter of a Parry Sound merchant.

BEATTY.—Bay, Clapperton I., North Channel ; after the manager of the Canadian Pacific lake steamship line, 1887.

BEAUDRY.—Point, Algoma ; probably after Hon. J. L. Beaudry, Montreal ; died 1886.

BEAUFORT.—Island and reef, North Channel, Algoma ; after Rear-Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort (1774-1857), Hydrographer to the Navy.

BEAUMONT.—Point, Algoma ; after Dr. H. Beaumont Small, Ottawa.

BEAUSOLEIL.—Island, Simcoe ; after a French-Canadian who came from Drummond Island ; he settled here in 1819. "Prince William Henry I." on Bayfield's chart.

BEAUTY.—Island, Goat Channel, Sudbury ; descriptive.

††**BEAUTY.**—Island, Parry Sound.

BEAVER.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the schooner Beaver employed in the defence of Detroit during Pontiac's rebellion, 1763.

BEAVER.—Island, Strawberry I., Manitoulin ; probably contained many beaver in the early days.

††**BEAVER ISLAND.**—Harbour and bank, Strawberry I., Manitoulin.

***BECKWITH.**—Island ; named by Bayfield, after Colonel Sir Thomas Sydney Beckwith, 95th Regt., served in the Peninsula : appointed Quartermaster-General, North America, Jan. 7, 1813 ; died 1831.

***BEDFORD.**—Island, Sudbury ; named by Bayfield, probably after Admiral William Bedford, d. 1827. Or, after the Duchess of Bedford in which Bayfield had served.

BEER.—Point, Manitoulin ; after a clergyman, Manitoulin I.

††**BEER.**—Rock, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma.

BEGLEY.—Channel and rocks, Parry Sound ; after a fisherman.

BELCHER.—Rock, Algoma ; after Admiral Sir Edward Belcher (1799-1877), commanded a Franklin search expedition of four searching vessels and a store vessel, 1852-54 ; his officers, notably M'Clintock, Mecham, Richards and Osborn, discovered and surveyed thousands of miles of coast-line of the Arctic islands of Canada.

BELIZE.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the tug Belize.

BELL.—Cove, Clôche I., Sudbury ; after Dr. Robert Bell, late Chief Geologist, Geological Survey.

BELLE.—Bay, Parry I., Parry Sound ; after Georgian Bay steamer Northern Belle.

††**BELLE.**—Rock, North Channel, Algoma.

BELLEAU.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Sir Narcisse F. Belleau, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, 1868-73.

BEN BACK.—Shoal, Manitoulin ; after one of crew in surveying steamer Bayfield.

BENJAMIN.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Christian name of lightkeeper at Clapperton Island.

BENNETT.—Bank, Simcoe ; after William Humphrey Bennett, M.P. for East Simcoe for many years.

BENSON.—Point, Manitoulin ; after Col. Thomas Benson, Master-General of the Ordnance, Ottawa ; graduated from Royal Military College 1883.

BERESFORD.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Admiral Lord Charles Beresford, K.C.B., G.C.V.O., Lord of the Admiralty, 1886.

BERGERON.—Point, John I., Algoma ; after J. G. H. Bergeron, M.P. for Beauharnois, 1879-1900.

BERGIN.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the late Darby Bergin, M.P. for Cornwall, 1872-74 and 1878-82 ; for Cornwall and Stormont, 1882-96.

***BERNARD.**—Rock, Manitoulin ; named by Bayfield, probably after Alex. Bernard, R.N., Asst. Surgeon during war of 1812-14.

BEVERLY.—Island, Manitoulin ; after Sir John Beverly Robinson (1821-1896), Lieut.-Governor of Ontario, 1880-87.

BIG DAVID.—Bay, Muskoka ; after an Indian chief.

BIGGAR.—Rock, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Charles A. Biggar, D.L.S., Dominion Astronomical Observatory.

***BIGSBY.**—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after John J. Bigsby, M.D., geologist to the International Boundary Commission, appointed under the Treaty of Ghent ; was author of "Shoe and Canoe."

BILLA.—Rocks, Aird I., Algoma ; after the late Senator Billa Flint, Belleville.

BIRCH.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; descriptive.

BIRCHALL.—Island, Muskoka ; after maiden name of Mrs. Charles Band, Penetanguishene.

BIRD.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; characteristic ; frequented by gulls, etc.

***BLACK BILL.**—Islands, Parry Sound ; named by Bayfield ; descriptive of these black rocks rising a few feet above the surface of the water.

BLACKSTOCK.—Point, Manitoulin ; after Geo. Tate Blackstock, K.C., Toronto.

BLACKSTONE.—Point, Clapperton I., Manitoulin ; descriptive.

BLAIR.—Landing, Parry Sound ; "after the present occupant of the farm house at the mouth of the stream."

BLAKE.—Island, Sudbury ; after late Hon. Edward Blake, Minister of Justice, 1875-77 President of the Privy Council, 1877-78 ; M.P. for West Durham, 1867-75 and 1879-91 ; M.P. for South Bruce, 1872-78 ; elected member of the Imperial Parliament for Longford S.D., 1892.

BLIND.—Bay, Parry Sound ; descriptive.

BLIND.—River, and **BLIND RIVER**, post village, Algoma ; after the formation of the river mouth which is not discernable from the lake (Huron). Named by the French who settled here, 1837 ; Indian name *penebawabikong*, signifying "a sloping rock."

BLOCK.—Island, Western Islands, Parry Sound ; after blocks of stone on top of rock.

BLUE.—Mountains, Grey ; name given by the early voyageurs ; when seen from out in the lake, they have a bluish, hazy appearance.

BLUFF.—Point, Parry Sound ; characteristic.

BOAT.—Cove, Cloche I., Sudbury ; descriptive, navigable only by small boats.

††**BOAT.**—Harbour and passage, Cove I., Bruce.

††**BOAT.**—Harbour and rock, Manitoulin.

††**BOAT.**—Passage, Parry Sound.

BOGART.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Ven. James John Bogart, Archdeacon of Ottawa.

BOLD.—Point, Manitoulin ; "so called from the fact of there being good water close to it."

BOLGER.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the late Francis Bolger, O.I.S.

BOLSTER.—Bank, Muskoka ; after Thomas Bolster, Fleet-Surgeon in the Victoria, sunk in collision with the Camperdown off Tripoli, 1893.

BONNET.—Island, Bruce ; "from its clump of dark coloured trees, somewhat resembling a plume."

BOOTH.—Rocks, North Channel, Algoma ; after J. R. Booth, manufacturer and lumber merchant, Ottawa, late President of Canada Atlantic Railway.

BORER.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after H. M. brig Borer in which Parry (q.v.) served.

BORRON.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after E. B. Borron, Inspector of Mines, Ontario, 1872.

BOSWELL.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after late Col. Boswell, 90th Regt., Winnipeg.

BOTTERELL.—Point, Manitoulin ; after Edward Botterell, sometime Distributor of Printed Documents, House of Commons.

***BOUCHER.**—Point, Grey ; named by Bayfield after Capt. Wm. Boucher, in command of Lake Erie fleet, in 1816.

BOUCHER.—Rock, Muskoka ; after a land surveyor, resident of Pcnctanguishene.

BOUCHER.—Island, Parry Sound ; after a fisherman.

BOUCHIER.—Islands, Parry Sound ; after a naval surveyor of 1865.

BOULANGER.—Point, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after the farmer who owned it.

BOULDER.—Bank, Manitoulin, and bluff, Bruce ; descriptive.

BOULTON.—Reef, Manitoulin ; after Capt. Boulton, in command of survey of Georgian Bay and North Channel, 1883-93 ; now residing in Quebec.

BOURINOT.—Island and rock, Algoma ; after the late Sir John Bourinot, Clerk of the House of Commons.

BOURKE.—Point, Muskoka ; after Hon. Maurice A. Bourke, captain of the Victoria, sunk in collision with the Camperdown, 1893.

BOWELL.—Cove, Manitoulin ; after the Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell, P.C., Premier, 1894-96.

BOWEN.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Major Aylesworth Bowen Perry, Commissioner, Royal Northwest Mounted Police ; graduated from the Royal Military College, 1880.

BOWES.—Island, Muskoka ; after a lawyer, Parry Sound.

BOWKER.—Point, Algoma ; after a merchant residing at Marksville.

BOYD.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Sir John Alexander Boyd, Chancellor of Ontario.

††**BOYD.**—Islands, Parry Sound.

BOYLE.—Cove, Manitoulin ; after a draughtsman at the Admiralty, 1880.

BRADLEY.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after late F. Bradley, Secretary, Department of Railways and Canals.

BRANDON.—Harbour, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after a hotelkeeper, Richards Landing.

BRASSEY.—Island, Manitoulin ; after the late Lord Brassey, Lord of the Admiralty, 1880, 1882-83 ; First Secretary of the Admiralty, 1884-85.

BRAY.—Reef, Key Harbour, Parry Sound ; after a seaman in steamer Bayfield.

BREBOEUF.—Island, Muskoka ; after Rev. Father Breboeuf, Jesuit missionary, put to death by the Iroquois, 1649.

BREWERTON.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; one of the captains of Kirke's squadron which captured Quebec, 1629.

BRIGGS.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after a draughtsman at the Admiralty in 1887.

BRITOMART.—Point, Manitoulin ; after a British gunboat.

BROMLEY.—Island, Parry Sound ; after a mill-owner of Pembroke.

BROTHERS.—Islands, Alexander Inlet, Parry Sound ; descriptive of their resemblance to each other.

BROWNING.—Cove and island, Heywood I., Manitoulin ; after an officer in the British surveying service.

BRUCE.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; from its proximity to Bruce Mines which, probably, after James Bruce, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine (1811-63).

BRYMNER.—Bay, Manitoulin ; after the late Dr. Douglas Brymner, Dominion Archivist.

BURBIDGE.—Island, Manitoulin ; after the late George Wheelock Burbidge, Judge, Exchequer Court, Ottawa.

BURGESS.—Reef, Manitoulin ; after late A. M. Burgess, Deputy Minister of the Interior, 1883-97.

BURKE.—Shoal, Parry Sound ; after a Georgian Bay pilot.

BURTON.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after a mill-owner of Byng Inlet.

***BUSHBY.**—Inlet, Muskoka ; named by Bayfield after Lieut. Bushby in command of the schooner Newash on Lake Erie, 1816.

††**BUSHBY.**—Point, Muskoka.

BUSHY.—Island, Alexander Inlet, Parry Sound ; descriptive.

***BUSTARD.**—Islands, Sudbury ; named by Bayfield, probably after numerous wild fowl seen on them.

BUSWELL.—Point, Algoma ; after the owner of a mill on North Shore.

BUTCHER BOY.—Bank, North Channel, Algoma ; after the lake steamer Butcher Boy.

BUZWALES.—Cove, Manitoulin ; after an Indian at Wikwemikong.

***BYNG.**—Inlet, Parry Sound ; named by Bayfield probably after Admiral John Byng (1704-1757), courtmartialled for his failure to take Minorca and shot, 1757, as a witty Frenchman said : "pour encourager les autres."

***CABOT.**—Head, Bruce ; after John Cabot, famous explorer ; commissioned by Henry VIII, discovered Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, in 1497. Name appears on Bouchette's map, 1815.

††**CABOT HEAD.**—Shoal, Bruce.

CADOTTE.—Point, Parry I., Parry Sound ; after a boatman in steamer Bayfield.

CALEB.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Dr. Caleb Hillier Parry, father of Admiral Sir W. E. Parry, Arctic explorer.

CALF.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; so named as it is a small island compared with others in vicinity.

CALLADY.—Reef, Parry Sound ; after a boatman in surveying steamer Bayfield.

CALVIN.—Island, Muskoka ; after Hiram A. Calvin, manager of the Calvin Co. ; M.P. for Frontenac, 1892-96 and 1900-04.

CAMBRIA.—Bank, St. Joseph I., Algoma ; after steamer Cambria.

CAMEL.—Rock, Parry Sound ; descriptive of appearance.

CAMFRON.—Bay, Aird I., Algoma ; after an official of the Spanish River Lumber Co.

CAMERON.—Island, Parry Sound ; after late Chas. Cameron, Collingwood, manager, Northern Navigation Co., and owner of the island.

CAMP.—Point, John I., Algoma ; from W. J. Stewart having camped there.

††**CAMP.**—Cove, Strawberry I., Manitoulin.

CAMPANA.—Shoal, North Channel, Algoma ; after steamer Campana.

***CAMPBELL.**—Cliff, Grey ; named by Bayfield after Admiral Sir Edward William Campbell Rich Owen (q.v.) ; name obsolete ; now called "The Claybanks."

CAMPBELL.—Island, Parry Sound ; after captain of a lake steamer.

CAMPBELL.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after D. C. Campbell, Department of Marine and Fisheries ; graduate, Royal Military College, 1883.

††**CAMPBELL.**—Rock, Manitoulin.

***CAMPEMENT D'OURS.**—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; this name, probably, commemorates an adventure with a bear. Probably a local name placed on the chart by Bayfield.

CAMPING.—Point, Vankoughnet Island, Manitoulin ; a hydrographical survey party camped here.

CAMPION.—Island, Georgian Bay, Muskoka ; after William H. Campion, Asst. Paymaster in Victoria, sunk in collision with the Camperdown off Tripoli, 1893.

CANADA.—Rock, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after the fishery protection cruiser Canada.

CANDLEMAS.—Shoal, Muskoka ; named on Candlemas day.

CANOE.—Channel, Squaw Island, Parry Sound ; used by canoes.

††**CANOE.**—Point, St. Joseph Island, Algoma ; probably same as preceding.

CAPEL.—Rock, Parry Sound ; Lieut. W. E. Parry was in 1813, appointed to H.M.S. La Hogue, Capt. the Hon. Bladen Capel.

CARADOC.—Point, St. Joseph Island, Algoma ; after Christian name of Major-General Ivor John Caradoc Herbert, commanding Canadian Militia, 1890-95.

CAREY.—Rocks, Parry Sound ; after Lieut.-Col. H. C. Carey, graduate, Royal Military College, 1884.

CARIBOU.—Point, Algoma ; after the caribou seen on the island in early days.

CARLETON.—Point, Amedroz Island, Manitoulin ; after a clerk in Marine and Fisheries Department ; now superannuated.

CARLING.—Bay and point, Manitoulin ; after the late Sir John Carling, K.C.M.G., Postmaster-General, 1882-85 ; Minister of Agriculture, 1885-92 ; Senator, 1891-92 and 1896-1911.

††**CARLING.**—Rock, Parry Sound.

CARMONA.—Rock, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after the steamer Carmona.

CAROLINE.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after a sister of W. J. Stewart, Chief Hydrographer.

CARON.—Point and reef, Manitoulin ; after the late Sir Joseph Philippe René Adolphe Caron (1843-1908), Minister of Militia, 1880-92 ; Postmaster-General, 1892-96.

CARPMAEL.—Island, Sudbury ; after the late Charles Carpmael, Director, Meteorological Service, Toronto.

CARTWRIGHT.—Point, Manitoulin ; after the late Hon. Sir Richard John Cartwright, K.C.M.G., Minister of Finance, 1873-78 ; Minister of Trade and Commerce, 1896-1911.

CASEY.—Shoal, North Channel, Algoma ; after late George Elliott Casey, M.P. for West Elgin, 1872-1900 ; d. 1903.

CASGRAIN.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after P. B. Casgrain, M.P. for L'Islet, 1872-91.

CASTLE.—Island, Bustard Island, Parry Sound ; descriptive.

CATARACT.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the schooner Cataract, wrecked there.

CATHCART.—Island, Parry Sound ; Lieut. W. E. Parry (q.v.) served in the Alexandria, Capt. Cathcart, 1811-13.

CATHERINE.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Lady Parry, née Catherine Edwards Hankinson.

CAVE.—Point, Bruce ; 'from the number of small caverns in its cliffy face.'

CEDAR.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; from the cedar trees on it.

††**CEDAR.**—Point, Simcoe.

CELTIC.—Rocks, Manitoulin ; after the steamer Celtic.

CENTRE.—Island, and **CENTRE ISLAND**, bank, Manitoulin ; descriptive of position.

CHAIN.—Island, Parry Sound ; descriptive.

CHALLENGER.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the Challenger, a famous British surveying vessel.

CHAMBERLAIN.—Island, Parry Sound ; after the steambarge Chamberlain.

CHAMBERLAIN.—Point, Manitoulin ; after the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, British statesman.

CHAMPLAIN.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Samuel Champlain (1567-1635), famous French navigator and explorer.

CHANCELLOR.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Sir John Alexander Boyd, Chancellor of Ontario.

CHANNEL.—Point, Cove Island, Bruce ; descriptive of position near a channel.

††**CHANNEL.**—Point, Cockburn Island, Manitoulin.

††**CHANNEL.**—Rock, Fitzwilliam Island, Manitoulin, and rock, Parry Sound.

CHAPLEAU.—Cove and point, Manitoulin ; after the Hon. Sir Joseph Adolphe Chapleau (1840-1898), Lieut.-Governor of Quebec, 1892-98.

CHAPMAN.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; error for Chipman ; after C. C. Chipman, sometime Private Secretary to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries ; later, Commissioner, Hudson's Bay Co., Winnipeg.

CHARITY.—Point, Christian Island, Simcoe ; because on Christian Islands, which were, at one time, known as Faith, Hope and Charity.

CHARLES.—Inlet, Parry Sound ; after a son of Capt. McGregor (q.v.).

CHARLIE.—Island, Manitoulin ; after a son of Admiral Bayfield.

CHATWIN.—Rock, Algoma ; after a steward in surveying steamer Bayfield.

CHEROKEE.—Rock, French River, Parry Sound ; after the tug Cherokee.

CHERUB.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the Cherub, a British gunboat on Lake Huron.

CHESAPEAKE.—Rock, Georgian Bay, Parry Sound ; after the U. S. frigate Chesapeake, captured by the Shannon in war of 1812-14.

CHEVALIER.—Islands, North Channel, Algoma ; after Chevalier St. Onge, a French halfbreed who, at one time resided on the western, and larger, of the two islands.

CHICORA.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the steamer Chicora.

††**CHICORA.**—Shoal, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma.

CHIEF.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Solomon, an Indian chief.

***CHILES.**—Point, Simcoe ; name obsolete ; now Sturgeon Point ; possibly after an official of Penetanguishene naval station.

***CHIN.**—Cape, Bruce ; named by Bayfield ; descriptive.

CHINA.—Reef, Bruce ; after the schooner China, wrecked on this reef.

††**CHINA.**—Cove, Bruce.

CHIPPEWA.—Bank, North Channel, Algoma ; after a lake vessel.

CHOWN.—Island, Parry Sound ; after George Y. Chown, Registrar, Queen's University, Kingston.

***CHRISTIAN.**—Island, Simcoe ; so called because the Christianized Hurons and the priests, fleeing from the Iroquois, took refuge on these islands and endeavoured to found a new settlement, trusting that they would there be safe from attack ; name probably antedated Bayfield's survey.

CHRYSLER.—Rocks, North Channel, Algoma ; after F. H. Chrysler, K.C., Ottawa.

CHURCH.—Hill, Manitoulin ; after Roman Catholic church near the hill.

CHURCHILL.—Islands, Parry Sound ; after the late Lord Randolph Churchill (1859-95), British statesman.

CITY.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the steamer City of Midland.

***CLAPPERTON.**—Channel, Manitoulin ; probably after Lieut. B. Clapperton who was returned, Oct. 16, 1815, as Acting Lieutenant in the Star on Lake Ontario. Possibly after Hugh Clapperton (1788-1827) ; made extensive explorations in the Soudan and Niger, Africa.

††***CLAPPERTON.**—Island, Manitoulin.

††**CLAPPERTON.**—Harbour, Manitoulin.

CLARA.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Mrs. W. J. Stewart (q.v.)

CLARENCE.—Channel, Parry Sound ; after Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence and Avondale, eldest son of Albert Edward, Prince of Wales ; died, 1892.

CLARKE.—Rock, Muskoka ; after the captain of a lake tug.

CLARKE.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a fisherman.

CLAUDE.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Claude Johnson, son of a Parry Sound merchant.

CLAY.—Cliff, Manitoulin ; characteristic.

*CLOCHE.—Island, North Channel, Sudbury ; the name applied to the island by the French, from the rocks ringing like a bell (Fr. *cloche*) on being struck.

††CLOCHE.—Channel, peninsula, bluff and mountain, Sudbury.

††LITTLE CLOCHE.—Island, Sudbury.

*CLUB.—Island, Manitoulin ; named by Bayfield ; derivation unknown.

††CLUB.—Harbour, and CLUB ISLAND, ledge, Manitoulin.

COATSWORTH.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after a well-known Toronto family.

*COCKBURN.—Island, Manitoulin ; after Vice-Admiral Sir George Cockburn (1772-1853), Lord of the Admiralty, 1834-35 and 1841-46. Parry says that he named the northern portion of Baffin Island after Cockburn, "whose warm personal interest in everything relating to northern discovery can only be surpassed by the public zeal with which he has always promoted it." Or, after Lieut.-Col. Francis Cockburn, Deputy Quartermaster General who was in attendance on the Earl of Dalhousie on a tour of inspection, 1822.

††*COCKBURN.—Point, Simcoe ; named by Bayfield ; name obsolete ; now called Gidley Point.

COFFIN.—Cove and hill, Grey ; after a farmer residing there.

COGANASHENE.—Point, Muskoka ; abbreviation of Minnacoganashene (q.v.).

COLBY.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Hon. C. C. Colby, M.P. for Stanstead, 1867-91.

COLE.—Bay, Manitoulin ; after a Church of England clergyman at Manitowaning.

COLIN.—Point, Algoma ; after D. Colin Campbell, assistant to Capt. Boulton during survey of Georgian Bay.

††COLIN.—Rock, Parry Sound.

*COLLINS.—Inlet, Manitoulin ; after Philip Edward Collins, assistant to Capt. Bayfield during the survey of Lakes Huron and Superior.

††COLLINS.—Bay and reef, Parry Sound.

COLLINS.—Reef, Nottawasaga Bay, Simcoe ; after the lighthousekeeper, Geo. Collins, Collingwood.

*COLLS.—Bay, Georgian Bay, Simcoe ; name obsolete ; now Hog Bay ; possibly after an official of Pnetanguishene naval station.

COLMER.—Ground, North Channel, Algoma ; after J. G. Colmer, from 1881 to 1903, Secretary to the High Commissioner for Canada, London.

*COLPOYS.—Bay, Bruce ; named by Bayfield ; after Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Griffith Colpoys ; died 1832.

COLTER.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after N. R. Colter, M.P. for Carleton, N.B., 1891-96.

COLVILLE.—Island and bank, North Channel, Algoma ; after Major the Hon. C. R. W. Colville, Secretary to Lord Stanley, 1888-1892.

***COMB.**—Point, Algoma ; named by Bayfield ; derivation unknown.

***COMMODORE.**—Cape, Bruce ; after Commodore Sir E. W. C. R. Owen (q.v.) ; commanded naval forces on Great Lakes in 1815.

CONE.—Island, Georgian Bay, Parry Sound ; descriptive.

***CONFIANCE.**—Rock, Bruce ; after the *Confiance* (2) gunboat on Lake Huron ; formerly the U. S. S. *Scorpion*, captured Sept. 6th, 1814. The first *Confiance* was Yeo's (q.v.) first command, a French privateer captured by him at Muros Bay ; the second was a 36-gun ship carrying Downie's flag on Lake Champlain, captured off Plattsburg, Sept. 11th, 1814 ; the third was the namesake of *Confiance* rock ("shoal" on Bayfield's chart).

CONMEE.—Island, North Channel ; after James Conmee, Port Arthur ; M.P. for Thunder Bay and Rainy River, 1904-11.

COOK.—Bay, Manitoulin ; after the late John Cook, first settler there.

COOK.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after H. H. Cook, M.P. for North Simcoe, 1872-78 ; for East Simcoe, 1882-91.

COOPER.—Rock, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after R. W. Cooper, clerk in Rideau Canal Office, Ottawa.

COOTE.—Island, Parry Sound ; Lieut. W. E. Parry commanded one of the boats during a "cutting-out" expedition up the Connecticut River in 1814. The expedition was under the command of Capt. Coote of H. M. brig *Borer*.

COPPER.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; this name is also applied to numerous other features in Canada, usually owing to the real or alleged discovery of this mineral in the vicinity.

COPPERHEAD.—Island and harbour, Parry Sound ; from copperhead snakes found on the island.

COPPERMINE.—Point, Algoma ; descriptive.

CORBIER.—Cove, West Bay, Manitoulin ; after a half-breed chief living at Honora Bay.

CORBMAN.—Point, Franklin Island, Parry Sound ; after a resident of the locality.

CORISANDE.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the schooner *Corisande*.

CORNER.—Rock, Parry Sound ; descriptive.

CORNET.—Point, Griffiths Island, Grey ; after a fisherman.

CORNWALLIS.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Admiral the Hon. W. Cornwallis, who was in command of the Channel fleet in 1803. Parry went to sea for the first time, in Cornwallis' flagship.

COSTIGAN.—Point, Manitoulin ; after the Hon. John Costigan, Minister of Inland Revenue, 1882-92 ; Secretary of State, 1892-94 ; Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 1894-96.

COUNTS.—Bank, Key Harbour, Parry Sound ; resident, Sault Ste. Marie.

COURSOL.—Bay, Algoma ; after the late C. J. Coursol, M.P. for Montreal East, 1878 till death in 1888.

COURTNEY.—Island and bank, Manitoulin ; after J. M. Courtney, C.M.G., I.S.O., late Deputy Minister of Finance.

COUTLEE.—Island, Thunder Bay ; after Chas. R. Coutlee, C.E., Chief Engineer, Ottawa River Regulation ; graduate, Royal Military College, 1886.

***COVE.**—Island, Bruce ; descriptive.

††**COVE ISLAND.**—Harbour and ground, Bruce.

COVE OF CORK.—Bay, Bruce ; probably from fancied resemblance to cove at foot of bay, to Cove of Cork, Ireland.

COWIE.—Reef, Muskoka ; after F. W. Cowie, Chief Engineer, Montreal Harbour Commission ; sometime, Chief Engineer, St. Lawrence ship channel.

COWPER.—Island, Parry Sound ; after George B. Cowper who was Chief Clerk, Crown Lands Department, Ontario.

COX.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after a draughtsman in Department of Marine and Fisheries.

CRACROFT.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Miss Sophia Cracroft, niece of Sir John Franklin, the famous Arctic explorer.

CRAFTSMAN.—Point, Algoma ; after the schooner Craftsman.

CRAWFORD.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the Hon. Thomas Crawford, M.P.P. for West Toronto since 1898 ; Speaker of Legislature, 1907.

CREAK.—Island, North Channel, Sudbury ; after a naval officer, Admiralty 1890—probably Capt. Ettrick William Creak, C.B., retired, 1891.

CREASOR.—Bight, Manitoulin ; after Judge Creasor, Owen Sound.

CREBO.—Rock, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after a Killarney merchant.

CREIGHTON.—Point, Manitoulin ; after David Creighton, M.P.P. for North Grey, 1875-90 ; Asst. Receiver-General, Toronto, 1895.

CRESCENT.—Island, Simcoe ; descriptive of its crescentic outline.

††***CRESCENT.**—Island Manitoulin, and island, Parry Sound.

CRICKET.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Miss C. Clark, Henderson, N. Carolina.

***CROKER.**—Cape, Bruce ; named by Bayfield, after John Wilson Croker (1780-1853), Secretary to the Admiralty 1809-30 ; he was an enthusiastic supporter of the search for the Northwest passage and of the Franklin search.

††***CROKER.**—Island, North Channel, Algoma.

CROOKS.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after late Hon. Adam Crooks, M.P.P. for West Toronto and, later, South Oxford ; Provincial Treasurer 1872-76 ; Minister of Education, 1876-83.

CROSS.—Island, Serpent Harbour, Algoma ; "so-called because it lies athwart the channel into the harbour."

††**CROSS.**—Ledge, Parry Sound.

CROWLEY.—Reef, North Channel, Algoma ; after a fisherman at Grant fishery station.

CRUISER.—Rock, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after the Cruiser, purchased from Allan Gilmour, Ottawa, and used in fishery protection service on Georgian Bay and Lake Huron.

CUBA.—Rock, Georgian Bay, Parry Sound ; after the steamer Cuba.

CUMBERLAND.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after steamer Cumberland.

CUNNINGHAM.—Point, Manitoulin ; after Cyril Cunningham Boulton, son of Capt. Boulton.

CURRAN.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after Hon. J. J. Curran, M.P. for Montreal Centre, 1892-95 ; Solicitor-General, 1892-95 ; Judge, Superior Court, Montreal District, 1895.

CUTKNIFE.—Cove, Bedford I., Sudbury ; after action at Cutknife Creek, Saskatchewan, Riel rebellion, 1885.

CYRIL.—Cove, Manitoulin ; after Cyril Cunningham Boulton, a son of Capt. Boulton.

††**CYRIL.**—Point, Parry Sound.

DALRYMPLE.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808), first Hydrographer to the Admiralty.

DALTON.—Reef, North Channel, Algoma ; after late Dalton McCarthy, M.P. for Cardwell, 1874-78 ; M.P. for North Simcoe, 1878-98.

††**DALTON.**—Reef, Nottawasaga Bay, Grey.

DALY.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after late Hon. T. M. Daly, Minister of the Interior, 1892-96.

††**DALY.**—Point, Christian I., Simcoe.

DANIEL.—Shoal, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Rev. A. W. Daniel, Rothesay, N.B. ; graduate, Royal Military College, 1881.

DANVILLE.—Ground, Manitoulin ; after commander of a gunboat on Great Lakes.

DARBY.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after Darby Bering, M.D. (q.v.), sometime M.P. for Cornwall and Stormont.

***DARCH.**—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; named by Bayfield ; derivation unknown.

DARLING.—Reef, Bruce ; after a fisherman.

DART.—Rock, Alexander Inlet, Parry Sound ; after a British surveying vessel, 470 tons. Another Dart was with Nelson at Copenhagen.

DAUPHINE.—Rock, Parry Sound ; in 1524, Verrazano, in the Dauphine, explored the Atlantic coast of North America from lat. 34 degrees north, to Newfoundland.

DAVID.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the late Hon. David Mills (1831-1903), Minister of Justice, 1876-78 and 1897-1902.

DAVIES.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after Sir Louis Davies, K.C.M.G., Justice, Supreme Court of Canada ; Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 1896-1901.

DAVIN.—Point, John I., Algoma ; after Nicholas Flood Davin, K.C. (1843-1900) ; M.P. for Assiniboia West, 1887-1900.

DAVY.—Island and rock, Parry Sound ; after maternal parent of Mrs. W. J. Stewart.

DAWSON.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after late S. E. Dawson, M.P., whose representations induced the Dominion Government to commence the survey of Georgian Bay.

***DAWSON.**—Rock, Manitoulin ; named by Bayfield, probably after George Robert Dawson, Secretary to the Admiralty, 1834-35.

DEAD.—Island, Parry Sound ; "from the fact of its having been in olden times the burial place of the Indian tribes frequenting these parts."

DEAN.—Bay, Manitoulin ; after David and Thomas Dean who own timber lands here.

DE CAEN.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after Emery de Caen, who received Quebec when restored by English, 1632, after capture by Kirke.

DE CELLES.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Alfred D. De Celles, General Librarian of Parliament.

DEEP.—Cove, Huckleberry I., Parry Sound ; descriptive.

DEEP.—Point, Darch I. Algoma ; descriptive of water off point.

DEEPWATER.—Island, Fraser Bay, Manitoulin ; from having deep water nearly all around it.

††**DEEPWATER.**—Point, Parry I., Parry Sound.

††**DEEPWATER.**—Point, Griffith I., Grey.

DEER.—Island, Muskoka ; from its proximity to Moose Deer Point.

DELF.—Island, Muskoka ; from broken crockery found on it.

DELOS.—Island, Parry Sound ; probably after a half-breed. Possibly after Delos, an island in the Aegean Sea—the mythical floating island and birthplace of Apollo and Artemis.

DENISON.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after Col. George Taylor Denison, police magistrate, Toronto.

DENNIS.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Colonel Stoughton Dennis, C.M.G., Surveyor-General, 1871-78 ; Deputy Minister of the Interior, 1878-81.

DENT.—Bay and rock, Parry Sound ; after a resident of the locality.

DEPOT.—Bay, Parry Sound ; takes its name from being the landing place in past years of the supplies for the Parry Island Indians.

DERING.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after an armed Hudson's Bay Co. vessel, which took part in fight with French fleet under d'Iberville, 1697.

DE ROBERVAL.—Point, Algoma ; after Jean Francois de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval, first viceroy of New France, 1540.

DESJARDINS.—Bay, St. Joseph I., Algoma ; after Hon. Alphonse Desjardins, M.P. for Hochelaga, 1874-92 ; Senator for De Lorimier division, 1892.

DEVIL.—Gap, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; an experienced navigator states that it was so called because it is exceedingly difficult to navigate it.

††**DEVIL.**—Island, St. Joseph Channel.

DEVIL.—Island, Bruce ; the island is surrounded by shoal water and dangerous for vessels to approach.

††**DEVIL ISLAND.**—Bank and channel, Bruce.

DEVILS ELBOW.—Channel, Parry Sound ; from a sharp bend in the channel.

DEWDNEY.—Island and rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the Hon. Edgar Dewdney, Minister of the Interior, 1888-92, and Lieut.-Governor of British Columbia, 1892-97.

DIGBY.—Bank, Muskoka ; after Hon. Gerald F. Digby, Lieutenant in the Victoria, sunk in collision with the Camperdown, 1893.

DIVIDED.—Island, Parry Sound ; descriptive.

DIXIE.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the tug Dixie.

DIXON.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after a fisherman.

DIXON.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after a naval surveyor.

DOBIE.—Point, Algoma; after James S. Dobie, merchant, Thessalon.

DOG.—Point, Mississagi Island, Algoma; from a dog being found there during the survey.

††**DOG POINT.**—Shoal, Algoma.

DOKIS.—Island, Parry Sound; late Chief Dokis, Nipissing band of Indians.

DOROTHY.—Inlet, Algoma; after Mrs. W. P. Anderson (q.v.), Ottawa.

DOT.—Island, North Channel, Algoma. Descriptive (very small).

DOTY.—Rocks, Parry Sound; after a tug.

DOUBLE.—Island, Parry Sound; "divided into two parts, hence the name."

††**DOUBLE.**—Island, North Channel, Algoma, and island, Simcoe.

††**DOUBLE.**—Cove, island, and **DOUBLE ISLAND**, ledge, Manitoulin.

DOUBLE TOP.—Island, Western Islands, Parry Sound; "it is nearly divided into two small rocks."

DOUCET.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma; after Emile Doucet, C.E., District Engineer, National Transcontinental Ry.; graduate of Royal Military College, 1880.

***DOUGLAS.**—Bay, Simcoe; named by Bayfield, probably after Wm. Robt. Keith Douglas, Lord of the Admiralty, 1822-27; name obsolete; now Thunder Bay.

DOUGLAS.—Point, Simcoe; after a marine surveyor (voyageur's statement, probably wrong).

DOWELL.—Rock, Parry Sound; after a merchant of Parry Sound.

DOYLE.—Rock, Smith Bay, Manitoulin; after one of the crew of the Bayfield.

DRAPER.—Island, Manitoulin; after Hon. W. H. Draper, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, 1863-68; Chief Justice of Ontario, 1868-77.

DREVER.—Rock, Parry Sound; after a fisherman.

DREW.—Island, North Channel, Algoma; after the commander of a gunboat on Great Lakes in 1838.

DRIFTWOOD.—Cove, Bruce; characteristic.

DUETT.—Rock, Georgian Bay, Parry Sound; after a boatman in steamer Bayfield.

DUFFERIN.—Island, Manitoulin; after the Rt. Hon. Frederick Temple Blackwood, Marquis of Dufferin and Ava (1826-1902), Governor-General of Canada, 1872-78.

DUFFY.—Island, Parry Sound ; after a fisherman.

DUKE.—Island, and rock, Parry Sound ; after Prince Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence (1864-1892).

DUNCAN.—Rock, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after a Marksville hotelkeeper.

***DUNDAS.**—Cape, Bruce ; named by Bayfield after Robert Saunders Dundas, 2nd Viscount Melville (1771-1851) ; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1812-27, and 1828-30.

DUNLEVIE.—Point, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after the late John Dunlevie, Winnipeg.

DUROQUET.—Point, Manitoulin ; after the R. C. priest at Wikwemikong.

DUTCHMAN.—Head, Manitoulin ; descriptive of outline.

DUVAL.—Island, St. Joseph I., Algoma ; after Prof. Duval, Royal Military College, Kingston.

DWYER.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after an engineer, Algoma Mills.

***DYER.**—Bay, Bruce ; named by Bayfield after John Jones Dyer, Chief Clerk of the Admiralty.

DYMENT.—Rock, Algoma ; after a lumber merchant, Barrie.

EAGLE.—Cove and point, Cove I., Bruce ; after the schooner Eagle.

EAGLE.—Island and point, North Channel, Algoma ; probably same as Eagle rock.

EAGLE.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the steamer Eagle.

††EAGLE.—Reef, Parry Sound.

EAGLE NEST.—Point, Algoma ; after eagle's nest on it.

EAGOR.—Bank, Muskoka ; after a boatman in steamer Bayfield.

EARL.—Patches, Bruce ; after an old resident (pilot) of Tobermory.

EATON.—Point, Manitoulin ; after a Church of England clergyman.

ECHO.—Island, Bruce ; characteristic.

EDITH.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Mrs. F. A. Beament, Ottawa, née Belford.

EDSALL.—Bank, Parry Sound ; old name of surveying steamer Bayfield.

EDWARD.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Admiral Sir William Edward Parry (q.v.).

EDWARDS.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after Lady Parry, née Catherine Edwards Hankinson.

***EGG.**—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; many gulls' eggs were found on the island.

EIGHT-FATHOM.—Patch, Georgian Bay, Bruce ; after the depth of water on it.

EKOBA.—Bay, Algoma ; corruption of Echo Bay ; which from Echo Lake ; latter named after the "echo" from the bluffs on its shores.

ELEVEN-FOOT.—Rock, Sudbury ; from having that depth of water on it.

ELGIN.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the Earl of Elgin (1811-63) ; Governor-General of Canada, 1847-53.

***ELIZABETH.**—Bay, Manitoulin ; named by Captain Bayfield (q.v.) after his mother.

††**ELIZABETH.**—Point, Manitoulin.

ELLIS.—Point, Algoma ; after Ashmead Ellis Bartlett Burdett-Coutts, British politician, son of Ellis Bartlett, U.S.A. ; m. Baroness Burdett-Coutts, 1881, and assumed the surname "Burdett-Coutts" ; Lord of the Admiralty, 1885.

ELM.—Island, Algoma ; "from a single tree of that nature which it still preserves."

††**ELM-TREE.**—Island, Parry Sound.

EMERALD.—Point, Serpent Harbour, Algoma ; after the steamer Emerald.

EMERY.—Reef, Algoma ; after the U.S. tug Temple Emery.

EMILY.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the wife of Col. Boswell, 90th Regt., Winnipeg.

EMILY MAXWELL.—Reef, Fitzwilliam I., Manitoulin ; after the U.S. schooner Emily Maxwell ; stranded on Fitzwilliam Island.

EMPIRE.—Ledge, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Canadian lake steamer, United Empire.

ENGLISH.—Point, Cloche I., Sudbury ; after a Little Current hotelkeeper.

ERIE.—Shingle, Manitoulin ; after the Erie, a trading vessel, wrecked on it.

††**ERIE.**—Channel and bank, Manitoulin.

ESTHER.—Cliff, Grey ; after the daughter of a farmer.

ESTHER.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a sister of Capt. Boulton.

ETHEL.—Rock, Aird I. Algoma ; after Capt. Boulton's daughter.

EULAS.—Ground, Algoma ; after Hon. George Eulas Foster,

Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 1885-88 ; Minister of Finance, 1888-96 ; Minister of Trade and Commerce since 1911.

EUROPA.—Reef, North Channel, Algoma ; after the Europa, a lake vessel.

EVANGELINE.—Patch, Algoma ; after Bishop Sullivan's yacht.

EVANS.—Point, Badgley I., Manitoulin ; after Sir Frederick John Owen Evans (1815-85), British hydrographer.

EVELYN.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Evelyn Steele, Dept. of Secretary of State, Ottawa.

EVERARD.—Reef, Parry Sound ; after Commander Thomas Everard, R.N., who came from H.M. brig Wasp then lying at Quebec ; commanded expedition of Aug. 1, 1813, against Plattsburg and Saranac.

FAGAN.—Ground, Manitoulin ; after a waiter in steamer Bayfield.

FAITH.—Point, Beckwith I., Simcoe ; after the armed schooner Faith.

FALSE DETOUR.—Channel between Cockburn and Drummond Islands ; called "False" to distinguish it from the true Detour channel which is at the other—western—end of Drummond Island ; called "Detour" because it was the passage used by the fur-traders when going to Mackinac. As Mackinac was off at one side of the regular route from Montreal to Lake Superior, they were thus forced to make a "detour" to reach it.

FANNY.—Island, Manitoulin ; after Christian name of Mrs. Bayfield.

FARR.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a fisherman. *

FAWCETT.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Thomas Fawcett, D.L.S., Niagara Falls.

FAWKES.—Rock, Muskoka ; after Ayscough G. H. Fawkes, midshipman in the Victoria, sunk in collision with the Camperdown off Tripoli, June 23, 1893.

FELIX.—Rock, Muskoka ; after Felix Foreman, fleet engineer in the Victoria sunk in collision with the Camperdown, 1893.

FINNIS.—Rock, Manitoulin ; after Capt. Finnis who was in command of the Queen Charlotte and was killed in the battle of Lake Erie, Sept. 10th, 1813.

FISH.—Point, George I., Manitoulin ; "derives its name from being the place where the fishermen of Killarney formerly deposited their fish refuse."

FISH CREEK.—Point, Rous I., Sudbury ; after the action of Fish Creek, Riel rebellion, 1885.

FISHER.—Bay and shoal, St. Joseph I., Algoma ; after a farmer, who lived on the shore of the bay.

FISHER.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the Hon. Sidney Fisher, Minister of Agriculture, 1896-1911.

FISHERMAN.—Gut, North Channel, Algoma ; so called because frequented by fishermen.

††**FISHERMAN.**—Point, Simcoe.

***FISHERMAN.**—Shoal, Simcoe ; name obsolete ; named by Bayfield.

FISHERY.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; descriptive.

††**FISHERY.**—Island, Parry Sound.

††**FISHERY ISLAND.**—Cove, Manitoulin.

FISHERY.—Point, Manitoulin : it "affords shelter to boats employed in attending the pound nets in the locality."

FSK.—Reef, North Channel, Algoma ; after the captain of a lake vessel.

FITZGERALD.—Bay, Parry Sound ; after a resident of Parry Sound.

***FITZWILLIAM.**—Island, Manitoulin ; after Captain (later, Vice-Admiral) William Fitzwilliam Owen (1774-1857) ; died at St. John, N.B. Lieut. Bayfield was his assistant in the survey of Lake Ontario, 1816-17.

††**FITZWILLIAM.**—Channel, Manitoulin.

FIVE-FATHOM.—Patch, Manitowaning Bay, Manitoulin ; descriptive—"5¼ fathoms on it."

FIVE-MILE.—Bay, Parry Sound ; because supposed to be five miles long.

FLAT.—Island, Goat Channel, Sudbury ; descriptive ; numerous other features bear this name.

††**FLAT ROCK.**—Bank, Simcoe.

FLEMING.—Bank, Algoma ; after Sir Sandford Fleming, Ottawa, eminent Canadian civil engineer.

††**FLEMING.**—Rock, Nottawasaga Bay, Grey.

FLINT.—Rocks, Aird I., Algoma ; after the late Senator Billa Flint, Belleville.

FLOOD.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the late Nicholas Flood Davin, M.P. for West Assiniboia.

FLOWER-POT.—Island, Bruce ; "derives its name from two remarkable isolated rocks close to the east shore, both being much eroded at the bases, with a few small trees on their summits, much resemble gigantic flower pots."

FLUMMERFELT.—Patch, Bruce ; after a fireman in steamer Bayfield.

FORBES.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after John Colin Forbes, artist, Toronto.

FOREMAN.—Islands, Muskoka ; after Felix Foreman, Fleet-Engineer in the Victoria, sunk in collision with the Camperdown, 1893.

FORSHAW.—Island, St Joseph I., Algoma ; after late Prof. Forshaw Day, sometime Professor of Drawing at the Royal Military College, Kingston.

FORT.—Channel, Algoma ; after the remains of a fort in the locality.

FORTIN.—Rocks, North Channel, Algoma ; after Pierre Fortin, M.P. for Gaspe, 1867-74 and 1878-87 ; Senator, 1887 ; d. 1888.

FOSTER.—Bank, Sudbury ; after Hon. George Eulas Foster, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 1885-88 ; Minister of Finance, 1888-96 ; Minister of Trade and Commerce since 1911.

††**FOSTER.**—Rock, Parry Sound.

FOUL.—Bight, Algoma ; descriptive.

FOURNIER.—Islands, Serpent Harbour, Algoma ; after Hon. Telesphore Fournier, Minister of Inland Revenue, 1873-74 ; Minister of Justice, 1874-75 ; Postmaster-General, 1875 ; Judge, Supreme Court, 1875-95 ; d. 1896.

***FOX.**—Islands, Algoma ; probably because numerous foxes found on these islands.

FRANCES.—Point, Parry Sound ; after steamer Frances Smith, which named by first owner after his wife.

††**FRANCES SMITH.**—Shoal, Key Harbour, Parry Sound.

FRANCIS.—Brook, Manitowaning Bay, Manitoulin ; after a doctor, Manitowaning.

***FRANCIS.**—Point, Manitoulin ; named by Bayfield ; derivation unknown.

FRANK.—Rock, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Frank Marks, Marksville.

FRANK.—Ledge, Smith Bay, Manitoulin ; after Frank McGregor, a son of sailing master of the Bayfield.

***FRANKLIN.**—Inlet, Parry Sound ; after Sir John Franklin, Captain, R.N. ; famous Arctic explorer ; in 1825, passed through Georgian Bay on his way to the Arctic and met Bayfield ; name practically obsolete ; usually called Shawanaga Bay.

***FRASER.**—Bay, Manitoulin ; named by Bayfield ; derivation unknown.

††**FRASER BAY.**—Hill, Manitoulin.

FRASER.—Rocks, North Channel, Algoma ; after Hon. C. F. Fraser, Provincial Secretary 1873-74 ; Commissioner of Public Works, 1874-94.

FRECHETTE.—Bay and island, Manitoulin, and island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the late Louis Honoré Fréchette, French-Canadian poet.

FREDERIC.—Inlet, Parry Sound ; after Provincial Lieut. Chas. Frederic Rolette (1783-1831) ; "entered Royal Navy ; was at the battle of the Nile (wounded) and Trafalgar ; 1st Lieutenant in the Hunter, 1812 ; captured the packet Cuyahoga, 3rd July, 1812 ; was at Put-in Bay, taking command of the Lady Prevost when commander was wounded ; a prisoner of war and confined as a hostage in Frankfort penitentiary."

FREER.—Point, Manitoulin ; after the late Capt. H. C. Freer, South Staffordshire Regiment ; graduate of Royal Military College, 1880.

FREMLIN.—Island and reef, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after a Marksville lumber merchant.

FRENCH.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; so called because a number of islands in vicinity were named after early French explorers and missionaries.

FRENCH.—River, Parry Sound ; the waterway by which the early French traders came from eastern Canada to the western country.

FROST.—Point, Manitoulin ; after a clergyman at Sheguian-dah.

GAFFNEY.—Island, St. Joseph I., Algoma ; after an officer of the U.S. engineers.

GAHAN.—Rock, Muskoka ; after Dr. Gahan, Penetanguishenc.

GALBRAITH.—Point, Aird I., Algoma ; after Dr. John Galbraith, Dean of the Faculty of Applied Science, University of Toronto.

GALT.—Island, Sudbury ; after the late Sir A. T. Galt, G.C.M.G. (1817-1893), Minister of Finance, 1867 ; High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, 1880-83.

GAMON.—Rock, Nottawasaga Bay, Simcoe ; after a lawyer of Collingwood.

GARDEN.—Island, Goat Channel, Sudbury ; named by contrast, being a barren, limestone island.

GARDEN.—Bay, Algoma ; from Garden River, which from a cultivated or cleared spot at the mouth.

GARIBALDI.—Island, Serpent Harbour, Algoma ; after a trading vessel.

GARRISON.—Point, Simcoe ; where the first fort was built.

***GAT.**—Point, Cove I., Bruce ; named by Bayfield ; derivation unknown.

††**GAT POINT.**—Reef, Cove I., Bruce.

GAUGE.—Islands, Parry Sound ; "The name was given to this small cluster on account of a beacon fastened to the eastern islet to

indicate to the Midland and Parry Sound steamer the depth of water in South Channel."

GAUTHIER.—Point, Manitoulin ; after a resident.

GAVAZZI.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Rev. Father Gavazzi, whose preaching in Montreal led to riots in 1854.

GAVILLER.—Island, Parry Sound ; after a Church of England clergyman, Rev. Hans Gaviller.

GEORGE.—Rock, Nottawasaga Bay, Simcoe ; after George Moberly, Collingwood.

*GEORGE.—Island, Manitoulin ; after King George IV, reigning monarch at date of Bayfield's survey.

††GEORGE.—Rocks, Manitoulin.

††*GEORGE.—Lake, St. Mary River, Algoma.

††*GEORGIAN.—Bay, Lake Huron.

GERALDINE.—Island, Muskoka ; after tug Geraldine.

GEREAUX.—Island, Parry Sound ; after the light-keeper on the island.

GERMAIN.—Island, Key Harbour, Parry Sound ; after a launch owner, Byng Inlet.

GERTRUDE.—Island, Manitoulin ; after a daughter of Admiral Bayfield.

GERVASE.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after one of the ships in Capt. Kirke's squadron which captured Quebec, 1629 ; the vessel named after Capt. Kirke's father, Gervase Kirke.

*GIANT'S TOMB.—Island, Simcoe ; "from the appearance of the highest part, as seen from 'The Westerns,' when, usually, the hill appears out of the water, and resembles a huge tomb."

GIBBONS.—Point, Manitoulin ; after a retired naval officer, Little Current.

GIBRALTAR.—Cliff, Manitoulin ; fancied resemblance to the famous peak.

GIBSON.—Point, Manitoulin, and reef, Muskoka ; after a draughtsman at Admiralty in 1890.

GIDLEY.—Point, Simcoe ; after the owner.

*GIG.—Point, Cove I., Bruce ; named by Bayfield, probably after his gig (boat).

GILEAD.—Rock, Muskoka ; from balm of Gilead trees on rock.

GILLESPIE.—Island, Muskoka ; after a Mr. Gillespie of Hamilton.

GILLFORD.—Rocks, Georgian Bay, Muskoka ; after Lord Gillford, Flag-Lieutenant in the Victoria, sunk in collision with the Camperdown, June 23, 1893

GILLMOR.—Point, Frechette I., Algoma ; after the late Arthur H. Gillmor, M.P. for Charlotte, N.B., 1874-96 ; Senator, 1900.

GISBORNE.—Point, Croker I., Algoma ; after the late Francis N. Gisborne, Superintendent, Dominion Telegraphs.

GLACIS.—Island, Muskoka ; after its "steep, bare, western face."

GLADMAN.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a resident of Parry Sound.

GLADWYN.—Rock, Parry Sound ; the schooner Gladwyn assisted in defence of Fort Detroit, 1763 ; the fort was commanded by Captain Gladwyn.

GLADYS.—Island, Thunder Bay ; after a member of an Ottawa family.

***GLOUCESTER.**—Bay, Simcoe ; after H.R.H. the Princess Mary (1776-1857), fourth daughter of George III. She was the last surviving of the fifteen children of George III. Or, after her husband, and first cousin, H.R.H. William Frederick, Duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh. Name appears on Bouchette's map, 1815, but is now obsolete ; now, Midland Bay.

***GLOUCESTER.**—Point Simcoe ; name obsolete ; now Sucker Creek Point.

***GLOVER.**—Point, Simcoe ; possibly after an official of Penetanguishene naval station.

GLYN.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the captain of H.M.S. Vanguard, in which Parry (q.v.) served, 1808-09.

GOALEN.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after an assistant surveyor with Capt. Tooker in hydrographic survey of Newfoundland.

GODFREY.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after a friend of Captain Boulton.

GO-HOME.—River, Muskoka ; translation of the Indian name *kewanenashing*.

††**GO-HOME.**—Bay, Muskoka.

GOLD-HUNTER.—Rock, Smith Bay, Manitoulin ; after schooner Gold-hunter, stranded near here.

GOLDWIN.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Prof. Goldwin Smith, "The Grange," Toronto.

GOOD CHEER.—Island, Parry Sound ; a descriptive name given by the owner of the island, Chancellor Boyd.

GORDON.—Point, Simcoe ; the site of an old trading post established by George Gordon, 1825.

GORDON.—Rocks, Parry Sound ; after Lieutenant Andrew R. Gordon, R.N., in command of Hudson Bay expedition, 1888.

††**GORDON.**—Rock, Sudbury.

GORE.—Bay, and **GORE BAY**, town, Manitoulin ; after the steamboat Gore which plied between Collingwood and Sault Ste. Marie in the "sixties" ; the steamboat named after Sir Charles S.

Gore, who assisted in suppression of the rebellion of 1837-38. Formerly called Janet Cove and named by Admiral Bayfield.

††GORE.—Rock, Simcoe ; the Gore struck on this rock.

GORREL.—Point, Manitoulin ; after a farmer of Gore Bay.

GOURDEAU.—Patch, Manitoulin ; after Colonel F. F. Gourdeau, late Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

GOW.—Point and shoal, Strawberry I., Manitoulin ; after a summer resident of the island.

GOWLAND.—Point, Parry Sound ; after a doctor, Parry Sound.

GRABURN.—Island, Parry Sound ; after an officer of the Department of Marine and Fisheries ; he made a survey of French River.

GRACE.—Bank, Muskoka ; after the tug Grace.

GRAND.—Bank, Manitoulin ; descriptive.

*GRANT.—EAST, MIDDLE and WEST, islands, North Channel, Algoma ; after an officer of the gunboat *Confiance*, on Lake Huron in 1826. Or, after Charles Grant (later, Lord Glenelg), Treasurer of the Navy, 1827-28.

GRANTHAM.—Shoal, Georgian Bay, Manitoulin ; after the schooner *Grantham*.

GRAVEL.—Point, St. Joseph I., Algoma ; characteristic.

††GRAVELLY.—Point and bay, Bruce.

GRAVEYARD.—Point, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; descriptive.

*GRAVIER.—Point, St. Joseph I., Algoma ; old voyageur name ; now translated into English form. See Gravel Point. Appears on Bayfield's chart.

GRAY.—Point, Manitoulin ; after Major Gray, formerly resident engineer, Public Works Department of Canada, Toronto.

GREEN.—Island, Parry Sound ; this and numerous other features so named after the green timber covering them.

GREENFIELD.—Reef, Bruce ; after the colour of the water enclosed by the reef.

GREENWAY.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Thomas Greenway (1838-1908), some time Premier of Manitoba.

GRIEVE.—Rock, Muskoka ; after Arthur C. Grieve, midshipman in the *Victoria*, sunk in collision with the *Camperdown* off Tripoli, June 23rd, 1893.

GRIFFIN.—Bank, Manitoulin ; after M. J. Griffin, General Librarian, Parliamentary Library.

*GRIFFITH.—Island, Grey ; after Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Griffith Colpoys (q.v.).

GRIPER.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after one of Parry's vessels in his expedition in search of the Northwest passage, 1819-20.

***GRONDINE.**—Point, Manitoulin ; named by the voyageurs after the grinding (grumbling) sound made by the rocks of the shore when affected by the waves.

††**GRONDINE.**—Rock, Manitoulin.

GUANO.—Rock, Key Harbour, Parry Sound ; so-called because much resorted to by gulls, etc.

GULL.—Rocks, Parry Sound ; this, and other features, so called because much frequented by gulls.

GULNARE.—Point, North Channel, Algoma ; after the steamer Gulnare, surveying vessel, Newfoundland. The first Gulnare was used by Bayfield during his surveys of St. Lawrence River and Gulf.

***GUN.**—Point, Bruce ; named by Bayfield, probably to commemorate the loss of a gun or similar occurrence.

GUNBOAT.—Shoal, North Channel, Algoma ; after its position near Minstrel rock which named after a British gunboat.

GUNDERSON.—Shoal, Grey ; after a lake captain.

GUY.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a son of Capt. Boulton.

GWYNNE.—Bay, Algoma ; after John Wellington Gwynne, Justice, High Court for Ontario, 1868-79 ; Judge, Supreme Court, 1879-1902.

HAGARTY.—Islands, North Channel, Algoma ; after Hon. Sir John Hawkins Hagarty (1816-1900), Justice of the High Court for Ontario, Queen's Bench Div. 1862-68 ; Chief Justice of Common Pleas, 1868-78 ; Chief Justice, Queen's Bench, 1874-84 ; Chief Justice for Ontario, 1884-97 ; knighted, 1897.

HAGGART.—Point, Parry Sound ; after late Hon. John Haggart, M.P. ; Postmaster-General, 1882-92 ; Minister of Railways and Canals, 1892-96.

HA-HA.—Rock, Muskoka ; after the tug Ha-ha.

HAIGHT.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a lawyer of Parry Sound.

HAILSTONE.—Island, Parry Sound ; after a resident.

HALCRO.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Chancellor Boyd's yacht.

HALFWAY—Islands, Waubuno Channel, Sudbury ; because situated about half-way through the channel.

***HALFMOON.**—Island, Bruce ; descriptive of outline.

††**HALFMOON.**—Bank, Bruce.

HALKETT.—Rock, Manitoulin ; after J. B. Halkett, chief clerk, Department of Marine and Fisheries.

HALL.—Reef and rock, Parry Sound ; after a steam barge.

HALL.—Shoal, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after one of the crew of the Bayfield.

HAMILTON.—Island, Manitoulin ; after Lord George Hamilton, First Lord of the Admiralty, 1885-92.

††**HAMILTON.**—Rock, Serpent Harbour, Algoma.

HAMPSHIRE.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the Hampshire, an English vessel, sunk by d'Iberville in Hudson Bay, 1697.

***HANGCLIFF.**—Cape, Parry I., Parry Sound ; named by Bayfield : descriptive of appearance ; name obsolete ; now Lion Head.

HANG-DOG.—Point and bank, Parry Sound ; "as the name indicates is a broken-up foul point."

HANKINSON.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after Parry's brother-in-law, Rev. R. E. Hankinson.

HANNAH.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Mrs. M. G. Poole, sister-in-law of W. J. Stewart, Chief Hydrographer.

††**HANNAH.**—Ground, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma.

HANS.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a Church of England clergyman, Rev. Hans Gaviller.

HAPPY-GO-LUCKY.—Island, Muskoka ; so named by the owner of camp on island.

HARBOTTLE.—Islands Alexander Inlet, Parry Sound ; after late Capt. Harbottle, Steamship Inspector, Toronto.

HARBOUR.—Island, Clapperton Island, Manitoulin ; descriptive name applied to this and several other features.

HARD-HEAD.—Point, Hope Island ; from the boulders (hard-heads) scattered along the shore.

HARDIE.—Island, Parry Sound ; after late chief clerk, Department of Marine and Fisheries.

††**HARDIE.**—Rock, Manitoulin.

HAROLD.—Point, Parry Sound ; after a son of Capt. Boulton, late Hydrographer.

††**HAROLD.**—Point, Vidal Island, Manitoulin.

HARRIETTE.—Point, Algoma ; local name.

HARRIS.—Rock, Muskoka ; after a man who was lost in the Waubuno.

HARRIS.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after a naval surveyor.

HARRISON.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after a boatman in steamer Bayfield.

HARTNEY.—Cove, Manitoulin ; after E. P. Hartney, chief clerk, House of Commons.

HARTY.—Patches, Manitoulin ; after Patrick Harty, Kingston, Inspector of Lights, Department of Marine and Fisheries.

HASLEYWOOD.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after a lawyer, Charlottetown ; a friend of Capt. Boulton.

HAT.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; descriptive of outline of island.

HATTIE.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Miss Hattie Richards, Richards Landing.

HAWKES.—Shoal, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after a cousin of Mrs. W. J. Stewart.

HAWKINS.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Sir John Hawkins Hagarty ; see Hagarty.

***HAY.**—Island, Bruce ; named by Bayfield, probably after the private secretary to Lord Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty.

HAYSTACK.—Rock, Parry Sound ; descriptive of appearance.

HAYTER.—Point, Christian Island, Simcoe ; after Hayter Reed, Indian Commissioner 1888-95 ; Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 1893-97.

HEAD.—Island, Parry Sound ; "supposed by some to take its name from the resemblance of the north-east island of the three to a bald-headed man."

HEART.—Bank, Parry Sound ; descriptive of shape.

HECLA.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after one of Parry's vessels in his Arctic expeditions, 1819-20, 1821-23 and 1824-25.

***HELEN.**—Bay, Manitoulin ; named by Bayfield (q.v.) after his only sister, Lady Page Turner.

HELEN.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Mrs. Hurt, sister-in-law of W. J. Stewart.

HENNEPIN.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Father Hennepin (1640-1701), Recollet missionary and explorer.

HENRIETTA.—Point, Franklin Island, Parry Sound ; after the wife of H. B. Small, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa.

***HENRY.**—Island, Manitoulin ; after Admiral Henry W. Bayfield (q.v.)

††**HENRY.**—Patch, Manitoulin.

HENSLEY.—Bay, Manitoulin ; after the late Capt C. A. Hensley of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers ; graduate of the Royal Military College.

***HENVEY.**—Inlet ; named by Bayfield after Lieut. William Henry (or Henvey), R.N., who, in October, 1815, was serving in the St. Lawrence.

HERBERT.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Major-General Ivor John Caradoc Herbert, commanded Canadian Militia, 1890-95.

HERCULES.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after a lake vessel.

HERMAN.—Point, Serpent Harbour, Algoma ; after Herman H. Cook, M.P. (q.v.).

HERON.—Patch, Manitoulin ; after a gunboat on Great Lakes.

HERVEY.—Rock, Muskoka ; after Frederick W. F. Hervey

Lieutenant in the *Victoria*, sunk in collision with the *Campardown*, June 23rd, 1893.

HESSON.—Point, Innes Island, Algoma ; after S. R. Hesson, M.P. for North Perth, 1878-91.

HEWETT.—Shoal, Sudbury ; after late General Hewett, Commandant, Royal Military College, Kingston.

*HEYWOOD.—Island and sound, Manitoulin ; named by Bayfield ; derivation unknown.

††HEYWOOD.—Rocks, Manitoulin.

HIAWATHA.—Bank, Nottawasaga Bay, Grey ; after the tug *Hiawatha*.

HIESORDT.—Rocks, North Channel, Algoma ; after the manager of the Spanish River mill.

HIGH.—Beach, Badgley Island, Manitoulin ; characteristic ; name also applied to several other features.

HILLIER.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Dr. Caleb Hillier Parry, father of the Arctic explorer, W. E. Parry.

HINCKS.—Island ; after Sir Francis Hincks (1807-1885), Premier of Canada, 1851-54.

HOAR.—Point, Hope Island, Simcoe ; after the lightkeeper of Hope Island light.

HOFFMANN.—Bay, Algoma ; after Dr. George C. Hoffmann, late Chemist, Geological Survey.

HOLE-IN-THE-WALL.—Channel, Parry Sound ; "a remarkable cleft separating Huckleberry and Wall Islands. The narrowest place is 111 feet wide."

HOLMES.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Capt. Holmes of C. G. S. *Cruiser*.

*HONORA.—Bay, Manitoulin ; named by Bayfield ; derivation unknown.

††HONORA.—Point, Manitoulin.

HOOD.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after a boatman in surveying steamer *Bayfield*.

HOOD.—Patch, Parry Sound ; after Admiral Sir Arthur William Acland Hood, Lord of the Admiralty, 1885.

††HOOD.—Reef, Parry Sound.

HOOPER.—Island, Georgian Bay, Parry Sound ; after William H. Hooper, purser on Parry's three Arctic voyages.

*HOPE.—Bay, Bruce ; named by Bayfield after Admiral Sir Wm. Johnston Hope ; Lord of the Admiralty, 1807 *et seq* ; d. 1831.

*HOPE.—Island, Simcoe ; probably same as preceding ; possibly after Col. Henry Hope, Member of Legislative Council, Quebec ; Administrator, 1785, pending the return of Lord Dorchester from Great Britain ; died 1789.

HOPPNER.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Lieutenant Henry P. Hoppner, Commander of the *Fury* in Parry's third Arctic voyage, 1824-25.

HORACE.—Point, Manitoulin ; after a son of Admiral Bayfield.

HORNE.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after a boatman in surveying steamer Bayfield.

***HORSBURG.**—Point, Manitoulin ; after James Horsburg (1762-1836), hydrographer to the East India Company, author of the celebrated "Directions for sailing to and from the East Indies, etc.," the basis of the present East India Directory.

††**HORSBURG.**—Hill, Manitoulin.

HORSE.—Island, Manitoulin ; after a shipwrecked horse that remained on the island for several years.

††**HORSE.**—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma.

HORSLEY.—Island, Parry Sound ; after a friend of Captain Boulton.

HOSKIN.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; said to be after a naval surveyor. Possibly should be Hoskins, after Vice-Admiral Sir Anthony H. Hoskins, Lord of the Admiralty, 1880-82 and 1885-88.

HOSPITAL.—Point, Serpent Harbour, Algoma : "so called from its being the temporary site of a camp for the isolation of typhoid fever patients during an outbreak in the season of 1887."

HOTHAM.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Sir Chas. Fred. Hotham, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., Admiral of the Fleet, Lord of the Admiralty.

HOUGHTON.—Bay and rocks, Algoma ; after the tug Houghton.

HOWLAND.—Rocks, North Channel, Algoma ; after William H. Howland, Mayor of Toronto, 1886.

HUDGEN.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a fisherman.

HUMBUG.—Point, St. Joseph Island, Algoma ; after a back current that holds boats when in light wind or calm.

HUNGERFORD.—Point Manitoulin ; after a lake trading vessel.

HUNT.—Point, Cloche Island, Sudbury ; after the late Dr. T. Sterry Hunt, Geological Survey.

HUNTLY.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the commander of a British gunboat on the lakes.

***HURD.**—Cape, Bruce ; after Capt. Thomas Hurd (1757-1823), appointed hydrographer to the Admiralty, 1808.

††**HURD.**—Channel, Bruce.

HURT.—Rock, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after a brother-in-law of W. J. Stewart.

IMPERIAL.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after the steamer Imperial.

INDIAN.—Bight, Manitoulin ; this and other features so named because Indians live on the shores or frequent them.

††**INDIAN.**—Bight, Algoma.

††**INDIAN.**—Channel, Clapperton and Vankoughnet Islands, Manitoulin.

††***INDIAN.**—Harbour, Georgian Bay, Muskoka.

††**INDIAN.**—Island, Serpent Harbour, Algoma.

††***INDIAN.**—Islands, Parry Sound ; name obsolete.

INDIAN BELLE.—Rock, Simcoe ; after the steamer Indian Belle.

INDIAN JOHN.—Point, Algoma ; after a pilot, Spanish River.

INDIAN HARBOUR.—Point and reef, Fitzwilliam Island, Manitoulin ; "much resorted to by the Manitoulin Indians during the trolling season for trout in the autumn."

***INNES.**—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; named by Bayfield ; derivation unknown.

IRELAND.—Point, Parry Sound ; after a resident of Parry Sound.

IRONSIDES.—Rock, Manitoulin ; after an officer of the Indian Department, at Manitowaning.

††**IRONSIDES.**—Reef, North Channel, Algoma.

IRWIN.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Lieut.-Colonel de la C. Irwin, C.M.G. ; retired Colonel, R.C.A. ; was Inspector of Artillery, 1882-98.

ISAAC.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the steamer Isaac May.

ISABEL.—Rock, Algoma ; after Isabel Grant, Ottawa.

ISIAH.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after an Indian.

***ISTHMUS.**—Bay, Bruce ; descriptive ; name obsolete ; now, Whip-poor-Will Bay.

IVOR.—Rocks, North Channel, Algoma ; Major-General Ivor John Caradoc Herbert, commanded Canadian Militia, 1890-95.

JACKMAN.—Rock, Killarney Harbour, Manitoulin ; after a merchant at Killarney.

JACKSON.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the Inspector of Fisheries, Georgian Bay.

***JACKSON.**—Cove, Bruce ; probably after Lieutenant Jackson, in command of the Heron, 1816.

††**JACKSON.**—Shoal, Bruce.

JACQUES.—Island, Muskoka ; after the captain of the steamer Manitou.

JAGGED.—Island, Western Islands, Parry Sound ; descriptive.

***JAMES.**—Bay, Manitoulin ; after James Horsburg (q.v.).

*JAMES.—Island, Manitoulin ; after Commodore Sir James Lucas Yeo (q.v.).

††JAMES ISLAND.—Reef, Manitoulin.

JAMES.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after an Indian.

JAMES FOOTE.—Patch, Manitoulin ; after Capt. James Foote of the steamer Athabasca.

JAMIESON.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after a naval surveyor.

JANE.—Island, Parry Sound ; after schooner Jane McLeod.

JANE.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Capt. McGregor's wife.

*JANET.—Cove, Manitoulin ; named by Bayfield, probably after a friend ; derivation unknown ; now called 'Gore Bay' (q.v.)

††*JANET.—Head, Manitoulin.

JENKINS.—Point, Parry Sound ; after a resident of Parry Sound.

JENKINS.—Rock, Sudbury ; after S. V. Jenkins, sometime Secretary to Hon. George E. Foster, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

JENNIE.—Rock, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Miss Jennie Marks, Bruce Mines.

JERMYN.—Rock, St. Joseph Channel ; after an Indian agent.

JESSIE.—Point, Manitoulin ; after Miss Jessie Grant, Ottawa.

JOE DOLLAR.—Bay, Algoma ; after a citizen of Bruce Mines.

*JOHN.—Island, Algoma ; named by Captain Bayfield (q.v.) after his father.

††JOHN.—Harbour, John I., Algoma.

JOHN.—Ledge, Manitoulin ; after John McNeil, coxswain in surveying steamer Bayfield.

JOHNSON.—Island, Parry Sound ; after George Johnson, late Dominion statistician.

JOLIETTE.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Louis Joliet (1645-1700), French explorer.

JOLY.—Rock, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Lieut.-Col. Alain Joly de Lotbiniere, C.S.I., C.I.E. ; graduated from the Royal Military College, 1883.

*JONES.—Bay, Simcoe ; named by Bayfield ; possibly after an officer of Penetanguishene naval station ; name obsolete ; now Sturgeon Bay.

JONES.—Bluff, Bruce ; after the Wiarton tug J. H. Jones.

JONES.—Island, Parry Sound ; after a former resident of Beeton, Ont.

JONES.—Point, Fox Island, Algoma ; after Charles J. Jones, Assistant Governor-General's Secretary.

JOSEPHINE.—Rocks, Parry Sound ; after daughter of Capt. McGregor, sailing master of steamer Bayfield.

JUBILEE.—Island, Parry Sound ; named in 1887, the year of the late Queen Victoria's Jubilee.

††**JUBILEE.**—Shoal, Manitoulin.

JUDD.—Bank, Muskoka ; after a sister of W. J. Stewart, Chief Hydrographer.

JUKES.—Island, Parry Sound ; after a resident of Parry Sound.

***JULIA.**—Bay and point, Manitoulin ; named by Bayfield (q. v.) after, probably, Julia, eldest daughter of late Mr. Stevenson of Quebec. The latter "was an intimate friend of the Admiral's and for many years supplied the *Gulnare*." The schooner *Julia* was used by Bayfield in the survey of Lake Superior.

***JULIET.**—Cove, Manitoulin ; named by Bayfield ; derivation unknown.

KALULAH.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after a lake vessel.

KANGAROO.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after a lake vessel.

KAULBACH.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the late C. E. Kaulbach, M.P. for Lunenburg, 1878-82, 1883-87 and 1891-1904.

KEATING.—Island, Muskoka ; after a friend of Capt. Boulton, a resident of Penetanguishene.

KEEFER.—Island, Parry Sound ; after T. C. Keefer, Ottawa, prominent Canadian civil engineer.

KEEGAN.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a boatman in steamer Bayfield.

KENNEDY.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after a fisherman.

KENNY.—Point and shoal, Innes Island, Algoma ; after Thomas Edward Kenny, M.P. for Halifax, 1887-96.

KENSINGTON.—Point, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Col. Kensington, late Professor of Mathematics, Royal Military College, Kingston.

KERBY.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Forbes M. Kerby, C.E. ; graduated from Royal Military College, 1883 ; now residing in Grand Forks, B.C.

KERLEY.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after a Church of England clergyman.

KERR.—Island, Muskoka ; after Mark E. F. Kerr, Lieutenant in the *Victoria*, sunk in collision with the *Camperdown*, June 23rd, 1893.

***KEY.**—Inlet, Parry Sound ; so named by Bayfield, because it is key-shaped.

KEYSTONE.—Rock, Parry Sound ; descriptive.

KIDD.—Bay and point, White Cloud Island, Grey ; "after the owner of sawmill here."

KILCOURSIE.—Bay, Parry Sound ; after Viscount Kilcoursie, Grenadier Guards, A.D.C. to Lord Stanley, Governor-General of Canada, 1888-93.

KILLALY.—Point, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after H. H. Killaly, from 1875 to 1892 employed in the construction and enlargement of the St. Lawrence canals.

KILLARNEY.—Village, bay and peak, Manitoulin ; after Killarney, Ireland.

KILL-BEAR.—Point, Parry Sound ; probably commemorates an encounter with a bear.

KINDERSLEY.—Island, Muskoka ; after Captain Kindersley, A.D.C. to Lord Aberdeen, Governor-General, 1893-98.

KING.—Point, Muskoka ; descriptive of commanding position.

††**KING.**—Bay, Muskoka.

KING WILLIAM.—Island, Manitoulin ; after King William IV.

KIRKE.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Sir David Kirke, who, in 1629, captured Quebec ; received a grant of Newfoundland, 1637 ; died 1655.

KIRKPATRICK.—Island, Sudbury ; after the late Hon. Sir George Airey Kirkpatrick (1841-99), Speaker, House of Commons, 1883-87 ; Lieut.-Governor of Ontario, 1892-97 ; K.C.M.G., 1897.

KLOTZ.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Dr. Otto J. Klotz, LL.D., Asst. Chief Astronomer, Department of the Interior.

KNIGHT.—Point, Algoma ; after Staff-Commander Knight, R.N. (retired), Collingwood.

††**KNIGHT.**—Rock.

KNIGHT.—Shoal, Parry Sound ; after a fisherman.

KNIGHTSLEIGH.—Island, Parry Sound ; name given by owner.

KOKANONGIVI.—Island and shingle, Manitoulin ; Indian name of a small fish.

LABATT.—Island, Simcoe ; after a prominent citizen of Hamilton, Ont.

LABELLE.—Reef, North Channel, Algoma, Ont. ; probably after Lieut.-Col. A. E. Labelle, commanded the 65th Rifles during Riel rebellion, 1885.

LA CLOCHE.—See Cloche

LAFFERTY HOUSE.—Rock, Nottawasaga Bay, Simcoe, Ont. ; after a fisherman.

LA FRANCE.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma, Ont. ; after a lake captain.

LAIRD.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the Hon. David Laird, Minister of the Interior, 1873-76 ; Lieut.-Governor of the Northwest Territories, 1876-81.

LALLY.—Point, Algoma ; after the Collector of Customs, Algoma.

LAMANDIN.—Point, Parry Sound ; after a light-keeper, Byng Inlet.

LAMBE.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Lawrence M. Lambe, Invertebrate Palaeontologist, Geological Survey ; graduate, Royal Military College, 1883.

LAMORANDIERE.—Bay and strait, Sudbury ; after an Indian trader who resided there about 1825.

LAMORANDIERE.—Bank, Bruce ; after an Indian residing at McGregor Harbour.

LAMPEY.—Bank, Sudbury ; after a draughtsman in Department of Marine and Fisheries.

††**LAMPEY.**—Island, Parry Sound.

††**LAMPEY.**—Rock, North Channel, Sudbury.

LANDERKIN.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Dr. George Landerkin (1839-1903), M.P. for South Grey, 1872-78 and 1882-1900 ; Senator, 1901.

LANDRY.—Point, Algoma ; after Hon. A. C. P. R. Landry, M.P. for Montmagny, 1878-87 ; Senator, 1892.

LANGÉVIN.—Rock, Strawberry I., Manitoulin ; after Sir Hector L. Langevin, Secretary of State, 1867-69 ; Minister of Public Works, 1869-73 and 1879-91 ; Postmaster-General, 1878-79.

LANSDOWNE.—Channel, Manitoulin ; after Sir Henry Charles (Fitzmaurice), 5th Marquis of Lansdowne ; Governor-General of Canada, 1883-88 ; Governor-General of India, 1888-94.

††**LANSDOWNE.**—Rock, Algoma.

LAPTHORN.—Island, Manitoulin ; after Dr. A. Lapthorn Smith, Montreal, son of late William Smith, Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

LA SALLE.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle (1643-87) ; explored the Mississippi to its mouth, 1682.

LASH.—Island, Key Harbour, Parry Sound ; after Z. A. Lash, K.C., Toronto, Senior Counsel, Canadian Northern Railway.

LASHER.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Mrs. W. J. Stewart, née Lasher.

LAUDER.—Islands, Parry Sound ; after the late Archdeacon J. S. Lauder, Ottawa.

LAURIER.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of Canada, 1896-1911.

LAWRENCE.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after Capt. James Lawrence, in command of the U. S. S. Chesapeake, captured by H. M. S. Shannon, June 1, 1813.

LAWSON.—Island, Parry Sound ; after light-keeper at Red Rock lighthouse, Parry Sound, 1890.

LEFROY.—Island, French River, Parry Sound ; after General Sir John Henry Lefroy (1817-90), an English soldier, administrator and a man of science, was occupied in taking magnetic observations at St. Helena. 1840-1842 ; transferred to the Observatory, Toronto, 1842.

LEHAYE.—Point and rock, Manitoulin ; after a hotelkeeper, Killarney.

LEO.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after a steward in the surveying steamer Bayfield.

LEONARD.—Island, Parry Sound ; after owner.

LEONARD.—Reef, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Major R. W. Leonard, Chairman, National Transcontinental Ry., graduate of Royal Military College, 1883.

LE SUEUR.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Dr. W. D. Le Sueur, late Secretary, Post Office Department.

LETT.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Mrs. Lett, widow of a clergyman, Collingwood.

LEWIN.—Island, Manitoulin ; after Hon. James D. Lewin, St. John, N.B., Senator, 1876 ; died 1900.

LIDDON.—Point, Parry I., Parry Sound ; after Lieut. Matthew Liddon, who commanded the Griper in Parry's Arctic voyage, 1819-1820.

LIMESTONE.—Point, Manitoulin ; "composed of rock of this nature."

LINTER.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the chief engineer in surveying steamer Bayfield, 1886.

††**LINTER.**—Rocks, Manitoulin.

LION.—Head, Bruce ; descriptive of appearance.

††**LION HEAD** and **LION RUMP.**—Hills, Sudbury.

LISGAR.—Island, Manitoulin ; after Sir John Young, Baron Lisgar, Governor-General of Canada, 1869-72.

LISTER.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Justice Frederick Lister, Sarnia, M.P. for West Lambton, 1882-98.

LITTLE DETROIT.—Algoma ; the strait (Fr. *detroit*) between Craftsman Point and Aird Island.

LLOYD.—Island, Parry Sound ; probably after Rev. G. E. Lloyd, chaplain to the Queen's Own Regiment during Riel rebellion, 1885.

LOADING.—Cove, French River, Parry Sound ; "from its being a convenient place for the large vessels to take in saw logs."

LOAF.—Rock, Bruce, and rock, Parry Sound ; descriptive.

LOCKERBIE.—Rock, Nottawasaga Bay, Simcoe ; after harbourmaster at Collingwood.

LOGAN.—Bay and island, Manitoulin ; after the late Sir William E. Logan, famous Canadian geologist ; director of the Geological Survey of Canada, 1841-69.

LONE.—Rock, Parry Sound ; descriptive of position with reference to other islands.

††**LONELY.**—Bay, Manitoulin.

††***LONELY.**—Island, Manitoulin.

LONGUISSA.—Point and bay, Muskoka ; name given by Mr. Campbell, owner of the point, to house which he built on it.

LOOKOUT.—Island, Parry Sound ; has a commanding position over approach to the channel.

LORNE.—Rock, Algoma ; after the Marquis of Lorne, Governor-General of Canada, 1878-83 ; *suc.* his father as Duke of Argyll, 1900.

LOTTIE WOLF.—Rock, Simcoe ; schooner Lottie Wolf struck on this rock.

LOUGHLIN.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after a merchant, Algoma.

LOUIS.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Sir Louis Davies, Judge, Supreme Court of Canada.

LOUISA.—Island and rocks, Parry Sound, and island, Sudbury ; after the wife of Captain Boulton.

LUARD.—Rock, Cloche Island, Sudbury ; after Major-General R. A. Luard ; commanded the Militia of Canada, 1880-84.

LUCAS.—Island, Manitoulin ; after Commodore Sir James Lucas Yeo (1782-1818).

††**LUCAS.**—Channel, Manitoulin.

††**LUCAS ISLAND.**—Reef, Manitoulin.

LUMSDEN.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the late Alexander Lumsden, M.P., lumberman, Ottawa.

LYNCH.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a clerk in Department of Public Works.

LYON.—Rocks, Parry Sound ; after George Francis Lyon, commander of the Hecla in Parry's second Arctic voyage, 1821-23.

LYON.—Cove, St. Joseph Island, and island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Robert Adam Lyon (1830-1902), sometime Registrar of Deeds, Sault Ste. Marie.

***McBEAN.**—Mountain, North Channel, Algoma ; "an Indian trader, of the name of McBean, has been here many years and has given his name to the spot." (Bigsby.)

††**McBEAN.**—Channel and harbour, Algoma.

McBRIEN.—Island, Parry Sound ; after the owner of the island.

McCALLUM.—Islands, North Channel, Algoma ; after the late Hon. Lachlan McCallum ; Senator, 1887 ; d. 1903.

McCARTHY.—Point, and **McCARTHY POINT**, ledge, Fitzwilliam I., Manitoulin ; after the late D'Alton McCarthy, Q.C. ; M.P. for Cardwell, 1874-78, and for North Simcoe, 1878-98.

††**McCARTHY.**—Rock, Nottawasaga Bay, Grey.

McCLELLAND.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a resident of Parry Sound.

McCORMICK.—Island, Parry Sound ; after a boatman in the steamer Bayfield.

***McCOY.**—Island and shoal, Parry Sound ; named by Bayfield, probably after J. S. McCoy, R.N., who in October, 1815, was master in H.M.S. Champlain.

††**McCOY.**—Shoal, Parry Sound.

McCRACKEN.—Island, Serpent Harbour, Algoma ; after a resident of Serpent River.

McCURRY.—Rocks, Parry Sound ; after a magistrate, Parry Sound.

McDONALD.—Shoal, Manitoulin ; after a fisherman.

McELHINNEY.—Ground, Bruce ; after nautical adviser, Department of Marine and Fisheries.

McGLASHAN.—Patch, North Channel, Algoma ; after a fisherman at Grant Islands in 1890.

McGOWAN.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a lightkeeper at Red Rock lighthouse.

McGREGOR.—Bank, Manitoulin ; after Capt. A. H. McGregor, sailing master of surveying vessel Bayfield.

††**McGREGOR.**—Channel, Bruce.

McGREGOR.—Harbour, Bruce ; after the father of Capt. McGregor, sailing master of the Bayfield.

McGUIRE.—Rocks, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after a boatman in surveying steamer Bayfield.

McHUGH.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after an officer of the Department of Marine and Fisheries.

McINTOSH.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after a fisherman.

McKECHNIE.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a camper.

McKENZIE.—Island, Goat Channel, Sudbury ; after a lightkeeper at Strawberry Island light.

McKERREL.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the captain of a lake vessel.

McKINNON.—Rock, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after a boatman in surveying steamer Bayfield.

McLAREN.—Island, Parry Sound ; after the owner of the island.

McLEAN.—Shoal, Parry Sound ; after a boatman in steamer Bayfield.

McLELAN.—Rock, Manitoulin ; after the late Hon. A. W. McLelan, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 1882-85.

McLEOD.—Island, Parry Sound ; after schooner Jane McLeod.

††**McLEOD.**—Point, Muskoka.

McNAB.—Island and reef, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after John McNab, captain of the steamer United Empire in 1889.

††**McNAB.**—Rocks, Parry Sound.

McNEIL.—Ledge, Manitoulin ; after the coxswain in steamer Bayfield.

McPHAIL.—Rock, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after the captain of the tug Kate Marks.

McQUADE.—Island, Parry Sound ; after the engineer and the purser of steamer Manitou.

McQUEEN.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after the chief engineer, in 1889, of the United Empire.

McRAE.—Patch, Sudbury, and patch, North Channel, Manitoulin ; after one of the crew of the surveying steamer Bayfield, 1884.

McTAVISH.—Island, Algoma ; after D. McTavish, Hudson's Bay Co. factor at La Cloche.

MACKAY.—Point, Manitoulin ; after a hotelkeeper, Little Current.

MACKEY.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Rev. A. W. Mackey, Church of England clergyman, Ottawa.

MACOUN.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Prof. John Macoun, Chief Botanist, Geological Survey of Canada.

MACPHERSON.—Ledge, Bedford I., Sudbury ; after late Sir David Macpherson (1818-97), Senator from 1867 ; Minister of the Interior, 1883-85.

MACRAE.—Cove, Manitoulin ; after a mill owner, Mildrum Bay.

MAGANETAWAN.—Ledges, Parry Sound ; after the Maganetawan River—a corruption of the Indian name, *ma'wagawnettewang*, meaning 'a long channel.'

MAGAZINE.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; contains the site of old Canadian Pacific Ry. powder magazine.

MAGAZINE.—Island, Penetanguishene Harbour, Simcoe ; after "the remains of an old naval and military magazine."

MAGEE.—Point, Amedroz I., Manitoulin ; after Chas. Magee, Ottawa, capitalist and banker.

MAGGIE.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the tug Maggie.

MAGGS.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Miss Shepherd, daughter of the light-keeper.

***MAIRS.**—Point, Simcoe ; possibly after an official of Penetanguishene naval station ; name obsolete ; now Flat Point.

MAITLAND.—Bank, Algoma ; after a merchant of Owen Sound.

MALCOLM.—Bluff, Bruce ; after a son of Alex. McNeill, M.P. for North Bruce, 1882-1901.

MALTAS.—Island, Goat Channel, Sudbury ; after a merchant of Little Current.

MANITOBA.—Ledge, Manitoulin ; after the steamer Manitoba, wrecked here.

MANITOU.—Point, Muskoka ; Indian name meaning "Great Spirit."

MANITOU.—Gap, Parry Sound ; after the lake steamer Manitou.

MANITOULIN.—Island, Manitoulin ; according to Indian tradition it is the dwelling place of both the Good Spirit, *gitchi-man-ito* and of *matchi-manito*, the Evil Spirit.

††**MANITOULIN.**—District and bay.

MANITOWANING.—Bay and harbour, Manitoulin ; Indian name, signifying "home of the Great Spirit."

MANN.—Rock, Algoma ; after a draughtsman of Marine and Fisheries Department.

MANN.—Island, Key Harbour, Parry Sound ; after Sir Donald D. Mann, Vice-President, Canadian Northern Ry.

MARY.—Island, Aird I. Algoma ; after the tug Mary.

MARKS.—Bank, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after George Marks, Bruce Mines.

***MARKS.**—Point, Simcoe ; possibly after an official of Penetanguishene naval station.

MARTIN.—Reef, Manitoulin ; after one of the crew of surveying steamer Bayfield, 1884 ; lived at Mudge Bay.

MARTYR.—Islands, Parry Sound ; after Charles Martyr, Secretary to the Admiral commanding at Halifax, 1816, and an intimate friend of Parry (q.v.)

MARY.—Point, Algoma ; after Mary Moodie, authoress.

MARY GRANT.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the secretary to the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 1890.

MASSON.—Island, Manitoulin ; after the late Hon. L. F. R. Masson, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, 1884-87.

MARY WARD.—Ledges, Nottawasaga Bay, Grey; schooner Mary Ward wrecked here.

*MATCHEDASH.—Bay, Simcoe; name applied by the Indians to the shores of the bay; signifies 'marshy land.' Name appears on Bouchette's map, 1815.

MATHER.—Rock, Muskoka; after the late John Mather, capitalist, Ottawa.

MATHESON.—Island, Sudbury; after a boatman in surveying steamer Bayfield.

††MATHESON.—Shoal, Manitoulin.

MAUD.—Island, Parry Sound; after the tug Maud.

MAXWELL.—Island, Muskoka; after the steamer E. B. Maxwell.

MAY.—Reef, North Channel, Algoma; after the steamer Isaac May.

MAYO.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma; after Mayo Neeland, graduate of Royal Military College, 1883.

MAYNE.—Point, Christian I., Simcoe; after Hon. T. Mayne Daly, Minister of the Interior, 1892-96.

MAYNE.—Island, Parry Sound; after a naval officer.

MAZEPPA.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma; after the schooner Mazeppa.

MEAFORD.—Shoal, Parry Sound; fisherman came here from Meaford, Ont.

MEAFORD.—Harbour, Grey; after Meaford town, which after Meaford Hall, seat, Staffordshire, England; birthplace of Admiral Sir John Jervis (1734-1823) Earl of St. Vincent. Meaford town is in St. Vincent township.

*MELVILLE.—Sound, Bruce; after Robert Saunders Dundas, second Viscount Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty, 1812-27.

MELVIN.—Bight, Strawberry I., Manitoulin; after a summer resident.

MENOMINE.—Channel, Parry Sound; *mene*, good, and *min*, a grain—the Chippewa name for wild rice.

MERCER.—Rocks, Parry Sound; after a boatman in steamer Bayfield.

MERCIER.—Rock, Parry Sound; after late Hon. Honoré Mercier, Premier of Quebec, 1887-91.

MEREDITH.—Island, and rock, Manitoulin; after Sir William R. Meredith, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Ontario.

MERIDA.—Shoal, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma; after a lake vessel.

METEOR.—Rock, Serpent Harbour, Algoma; after the steamer Meteor.

METHODIST.—Bay and point, Simcoe ; said to be named after a camp-meeting held at the point by a pioneer Methodist missionary in early days.

MIALI.—Patch, Manitoulin ; after Edward Miall, Commissioner of Inland Revenue, 1883-1901.

MICHAUD.—Point, Simcoe ; after a French-Canadian who settled there, 1840.

MICHEL.—Ground, North Channel, Algoma ; after Bernard Michel, half-breed, Killarney.

MIDLAND.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after the steamer City of Midland.

MIDLAND.—Bay, point and shoal, Simcoe ; after the town of Midland which last after the Midland Railway ; the railway so named because it traversed the middle of Ontario and name suggested by the Midland Ry., Eng.

MIDSHIPMAN.—Point, Manitoulin ; after Midshipman Philip Edward Collins, assistant to Capt. Bayfield.

***MILDRUM.**—Bay and point, Manitoulin ; 'Mildram Point' on Bayfield's chart ; derivation unknown ; may be after Meldrum, parish, Aberdeenshire, Scotland.

MILFORD HAVEN.—Harbour, St. Joseph Island, Algoma ; after Milford Haven, village, Wales.

MILLER.—Point, Manitoulin, and rock, Parry Sound ; after a resident of Parry Sound.

MILLIGAN.—Island, Parry Sound ; after the owner.

MILLIGAN.—Rock, Manitoulin ; after a boatman in the Bayfield.

MILO.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a boatman in steamer Bayfield.

MINER.—Rocks, Parry Sound ; one of crew of Bayfield.

MINNICOG.—Bank, Muskoka ; abbreviation of Minnicoganashene (q.v.)

MINNICOGANASHENE.—Island, Muskoka ; Indian name, meaning "point of many blueberries."

MINNIE.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a tug.

††**MINNIE.**—Rocks, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma.

MINOS.—Bank, Simcoe ; in Greek legend, Minos was a king of Crete ; after his death, a judge in the lower world.

MINSTREL.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the Minstrel, a British gunboat on the Great Lakes.

***MISSISSAGI.**—River, Algoma ; from Chippewa : *missi*, 'large,' and *sag* or *sank*, 'outlet' (of a bay or river) ; the word signifies "great outlet" and is applicable to any river estuary.

††***MISSISSAGI.**—Bay and island, Algoma.

††***MISSISSAGI.**—Strait, Manitoulin.

MITCHELL.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the Hon. Peter Mitchell (1824-1899), one of the 'Fathers of Confederation' ; Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 1867-73.

MOBERLY.—Rock, Sudbury ; after a lawyer of Collingwood.

MOCKING BIRD.—Island, Manitoulin ; after a tug.

MOHAWK.—Rock, Simcoe ; probably after a vessel.

MOILE.—Harbour, John I., Algoma ; after the owner of a sawmill here. The mill was seized by bailiffs, but was transported on scows from Detroit to this point.

MONCK.—Point, Manitoulin ; after Charles Stanley, fourth Viscount Monck (1819-94) ; appointed Governor-General of British North America, 1861-67, and of Canada, 1867-68. Incorrectly, 'Monk' on the chart.

††**MONCK.**—Point, Cockburn I., Manitoulin.

***MONTRESOR.**—Point, Bruce ; named by Bayfield, probably after Capt. Henry Montresor who distinguished himself in the capture of U. S. gunboats at New Orleans, Dec. 12, 1815.

MOODIE.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after Mrs. Susanna Moodie, authoress of "Roughing It in the Bush," etc.

***MOORE.**—Point, Simcoe ; possibly after an official of Penetanguishene naval station.

MOORHOUSE.—Patch, Manitoulin ; after a boatman in surveying steamer Bayfield.

MOOSE.—Point, Georgian Bay, Parry Sound ; 'Moose Deer' point on Bouchette's chart, probably translation of Indian name.

MORDEN.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a lake captain.

MORELAND.—Bank, Manitoulin ; after a steward in the Bayfield.

MORRIS.—Island, Manitoulin ; after late Hon. Alex. Morris (1826-89), Minister of Inland Revenue, 1869-72 ; Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, 1872-77.

††**MORRIS.**—Island, Muskoka.

MORRISON.—Islands, Serpent Harbour, Algoma ; after a lawyer, Owen Sound.

MOSLEY.—Island and rock, Parry Sound ; after a Church of England clergyman.

MOUSE.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; "derives its name from the quantity of mice that abounded on it at the time of the survey."

MOWAT.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Sir Oliver Mowat (1820-1903), Premier of Ontario, 1872-96 ; Lieut.-Governor of Ontario, 1897-1903.

††**MOWAT.**—Island, Manitoulin.

***MUDGE.**—Bay, Manitoulin ; possibly after Lieut.-Col. R. J. Mudge, R.E. (1790-1854), Lieutenant-Colonel, Royal Engineers, one of the commissioners appointed in 1830 to report on Maine-Canada

boundary. Or, after Capt. Zacharie Mudge (1770-1852), first Lieutenant in the Discovery in Vancouver's voyage, 1791-92 ; Rear-Admiral, 1830 ; Admiral, 1849.

MULOCK.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Sir William Mulock, Chief Justice, Court of Exchequer, Ontario ; Postmaster-General, 1896-1905.

MURIEL.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Muriel Welsh Boulton, Capt. Boulton's daughter.

††MURIEL.—Point, Manitoulin.

MURRAY.—Point, Parry Sound ; after Capt. Alex. Murray McGregor (q.v.)

††MURRAY.—Rocks, Parry Sound.

NADEAU.—Island, Parry Sound ; after a Roman Catholic priest at Wikwemikong.

††NADEAU.—Point, Smith Bay, Manitoulin.

NANTON.—Reef, St. Joseph Channel ; after Lieut.-Col. H. C. Nanton, R.E., a graduate of the Royal Military College, 1883.

NARES.—Point and inlet, Parry Sound ; after Admiral Sir George Strong Nares ; commanded an expedition to the Arctic, 1875-76 ; attained the, then, 'farthest North.'

NARROW.—Island and point, Manitoulin, and point, Noble I., Algoma ; descriptive.

NARROWS.—Island, Parry Sound ; descriptive of position near narrow passage.

NEEBISH.—Island, and EAST NEEBISH, rapids, St. Mary River ; Indian name ; probably same derivation as Nabobish, Indian village, Mich., which from *nubobish*, "poor soup."

NEELAND.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Mayo Neeland, graduate, Royal Military College, 1883.

NELLES.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the Rev. Samuel Sobieski Nelles, D.D., LL.D. (1823-87), President of Victoria University, Cobourg, now of Toronto.

NEPTUNE.—Island, Cloche I., Sudbury ; after the steamer Neptune in Hudson Bay expedition under Lieutenant Gordon, 1884.

NEW.—Bank, Nottawasaga Bay, Grey ; discovered during survey.

NEWBERY.—Cove, Manitoulin ; after Christian name of Capt. Boulton's son.

NIAS.—Islands and rocks, Parry Sound ; Lieutenant John Nias served on the Fury during Parry's Arctic voyage, 1821-23.

NICHOLAS.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the late Nicholas Flood Davin (q.v.) M.P. for Assiniboia West.

NICHOLSON.—Rock, Manitoulin ; after Moses Vernon Nicholson, clerk in Department of Marine and Fisheries.

NICOLET.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Jean Nicolet, the famous French explorer who reached Sault Ste. Marie.

NIGER.—Rock, Parry Sound ; Parry (q.v.) served as Lieutenant in the Niger (38) in 1815.

NEWBURN.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a boatman in steamer Bayfield.

NISBET.—Rock, Sudbury ; after the chief engineer of the Bayfield.

NOBLE.—Bank, Manitoulin ; after James Noble, fish merchant.

††**NOBLE.**—Island, Serpent Harbour, Algoma.

NORQUAY.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the late Hon. Joseph Norquay, Premier of Manitoba.

***NOTTAWASAGA.**—Bay, Simcoe ; *Nottaway* (or *Nadowa*) 'adders'—a name applied by various Algonquin tribes to a number of their neighbouring and most detested enemies—*sag* or *sank* 'outlet' (of a river). On Bouchette's map, 1815, the western portion is called "Iroquois Bay."

NUMBER 9.—Island, Muskoka ; number given to the island by the surveyor.

††**NUMBER 10.**—Island, Muskoka.

OAK.—Islands, Parry Sound ; this name is also applied to numerous other features in Canada, usually owing to its predominance in the vicinity over the other varieties of trees.

O'BRIEN.—Islands, Parry Sound, and patch, Manitoulin ; after the late Col. W. E. O'Brien, M.P., in command of the 12th York Rangers and the 35th Simcoe Foresters in Riel rebellion, 1885.

O'CONNOR.—Rocks, Parry Sound ; after Rt. Rev. Richard Alphonsus O'Connor, R. C. Bishop of Peterborough.

O'CONNOR.—Island, North Channel ; probably after late Daniel O'Connor, K.C., Ottawa.

O'DONNELL.—Point and channel, Muskoka ; after the captain of a local passenger steamer.

O'DONNELL.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after a boatman in the surveying steamer Bayfield.

O'DWYER.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after an engineer of Algoma.

OGILVIE.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after late Wm. Ogilvie, D.L.S. ; Commissioner, Yukon, 1898-1901.

OLD TOWER.—Island, Parry Sound ; from old lighthouse on it.

OLIVER.—Rock, Sudbury ; after Major-General J. R. Oliver, sometime, Commandant, Royal Military College, Kingston ; C. M. G., 1889.

O'MEARA.—Point, Manitoulin ; after a former accountant, Department of Militia.

OMEMEA.—Island, Parry Sound ; Indian name, signifies 'wild pigeon.'

ONE-TREE.—Island, Nottawasaga Bay, Simcoe ; from a "single ash tree . . . blown down in 1894."

††**ONE-TREE.**—Island, Western Islands, Muskoka.

††**ONE-TREE.**—Island, Parry Sound.

††**ONE-TREE.**—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma.

††**ONE-TREE.**—Island, Manitoulin.

ORLEBAR.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Commander J. Orlebar, R.N., naval surveyor.

OSBORN.—Point, Manitoulin ; after chaplain to Bishop Sullivan.

OSLER.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Hon. Featherston Osler ; Judge of Common Pleas, Ontario, 1875-83 ; Justice of Appeal since 1883.

OSPREY.—Bank, Muskoka ; after Capt. Osprey V. Spain, late Wreck Commissioner, Marine and Fisheries Department.

OTTER.—Islands, North Channel, Algoma ; after an otter seen swimming near the islands.

OTTLEY.—Island, Muskoka ; after Charles L. Ottley, Commander on the Victoria, sunk in collision with the Camperdown off Tripoli, June 23rd, 1893.

OIDA.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after one of the children of Rev. H. Gaviller, Parry Sound.

OVERHANGING.—Point, Bruce ; "name given to a cliff with a projecting apex."

***OWEN.**—Channel, Manitoulin ; after Capt. (later, Vice-Admiral) William Fitzwilliam Owen (1774-1857) ; in 1815 and 1816, Lieut. Bayfield was assistant to Capt. Owen in the survey of Lake Ontario. Owen entered the navy in 1788 ; was midshipman in the London, bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Colpoys (q.v.) at the date of the great mutiny ; Lieutenant, 1797 ; Commander, 1809 ; Captain, 1811 ; in charge of survey of Great Lakes, March, 1815, to May, 1816 ; Vice-Admiral, 1854 ; died at St. John, N.B., 1857.

††***OWEN.**—Island, Manitoulin.

***OWEN.**—Sound, Grey ; after Admiral Sir Edward William Campbell Rich Owen (1771-1849) ; entered the navy 1786 ; in 1796, he was acting captain of the Impregnable with Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Rich (q.v.), his godfather, and of the Queen Charlotte with Sir John Colpoys (q.v.) ; K.C.B., 1815 ; in October, 1815, he signed, as Commodore, a 'Return of officers serving on the Great

Lakes' ; Commander-in-Chief in the West Indies, 1822-25 ; Rear-Admiral, 1825 ; G.C.H., 1832 ; Vice-Admiral, 1837 ; G.C.B., 1845 ; Admiral, 1846. It has usually been assumed that Owen Sound, like Owen Channel, was named after his brother, William Fitzwilliam Owen, but Cape Commodore at the western entrance and Point William, Campbell Bluff and Point Rich at the eastern, practically demonstrate the accuracy of the above derivation.

††OWEN SOUND.—Town, Grey.

OWEN.—Island, Parry Sound ; after a former resident.

OXLEY.—Point, Hcywood Island, Manitoulin ; after the late James Macdonald Oxley, author, and, sometime, clerk in Department of Marine and Fisheries.

PACIFIC.—Rock, Sudbury ; after the steamer Pacific, which struck on it.

PAGE.—Rocks, North Channel, Algoma ; after John Page, Chief Engineer of Public Works, 1868-79 ; Chief Engineer of Canals, 1879-90.

PALESTINE.—Island, Parry Sound ; "derives its name from the circumstance of its having formerly been used as a rearing place for bees from that country, a reminder of which is a couple of hive-shaped houses still remaining near the north-eastern side of the island."

PALLISER.—Point, East Rous I., Sudbury ; after Sir Edward Palliser, famous British gun-maker.

PANDORA.—Rocks, North Channel, Algoma ; after a Georgian Bay vessel.

PANET.—Point, Clapperton I., Manitoulin ; after late Col. Charles Eugene Panet (1830-98), Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence, 1875-98.

PAPINEAU.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Hon. Louis Joseph Papineau (1786-1871), of Montebello, Que. ; the principal leader in the Rebellion in Lower Canada, 1837-8.

*PAPOOSE.—Island, Manitoulin ; because near a larger island, Squaw Island.

*PARRY.—Sound and island, Parry Sound. As Capt. Boulton named features in Parry Sound and vicinity after brother-officers and ships that Parry served in, and after Parry's relations, etc., a brief summary of his life is given below, the names that have been given to features in Georgian Bay being in capitals :

Rear-Admiral Sir William Edward Parry (1790-1855), son of Dr. CALEB HILLIER Parry and SARAH, his wife. His mother was the daughter of John RIGBY and grand-daughter of Dr. TAYLOR of Norwich. He received the first rudiments of education under Dr. MORGAN, then headmaster of the Grammar School,

BATH. In 1803 he joined as a Volunteer the flagship of the Channel fleet, commanded by Admiral the Hon. W. CORNWALLIS, *Ville de Paris*, Capt. RICKETTS. He contracted a friendship with the Hon. Chas. POWYS. In 1806, he was appointed midshipman on the *TRIBUNE*, Capt. (afterwards Sir Thomas) BAKER. In 1808, he was transferred to the *VANGUARD* commanded by Capt. BAKER, later, by Capt. GLYN. In 1810, Lieut. Parry joined the *Alexandria*, Capt. John QUILLIAM, later commanded by Capt. CATHCART. In 1813, he was appointed to *La Hogue*, Capt. the Hon. Bladen CAPEL; took passage on the *SCEPTRE* to join his ship at Halifax. The following year he commanded one of the boats in a "cutting-out" expedition under Capt. COOTE of the *BORER* brig, up the Connecticut River. In 1815, he served in the *ARDENT*, *Carron* and *NIGER*; was seized with a severe illness when on his way from Bermuda to Halifax, in the *Menai*, Capt. PELL. While at Halifax, he contracted an intimate friendship with the admiral's secretary, Chas. MARTYR. In 1818, he went to the Arctic as second in command of Capt. John Ross' expedition. In the same year, Lieut. John FRANKLIN sailed in the *Trent*, another Arctic expedition, as second in command under Capt. Buchan. In 1819, he was appointed to the command of an Arctic expedition in the *HECLA* and *GRIPER* with Lieut. LIDDON, as second in command. In 1821, he made his second voyage, with Commander LYON as second in command. Other officers were Lieuts. NIAS, H. P. HOPPNER and PALMER and Purser W. H. HOOPER. In 1841, he married CATHERINE EDWARDS, daughter of the Rev. R. HANKINSON, Lynn.

††PARRY.—Harbour, Parry Sound.

††PARRY SOUND.—Town and district.

PARSONS.—Island, North Channel, Algoma; after a Georgian Bay captain.

PASTURE.—Point, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma; in contrast to rugged shores in vicinity; the point is low and flat.

PAT HOWE.—Patch, Manitoulin; after a boatman in surveying steamer Bayfield.

PATRICK.—Point, Algoma; after Col. W. Patrick Anderson, Chief Engineer, Department of Marine and Fisheries.

††PATRICK POINT.—Bank, Algoma.

PATTEN.—Island, Goat Channel, Sudbury; after a merchant of Little Current.

PATTERSON.—Island, Parry Sound; after a boatman in steamer Bayfield.

PATTERSON.—Point, Frechette I., Algoma; after Hon. William Patterson, M.P. for South Brant, 1872-96, for North Grey, 1896-1900, for Wentworth and Brant North, 1900-04, and for Brant 1904-1911; Minister of Customs 1897-1911.

***PAULETT.**—Cape, Bruce ; probably after Capt. Lord H. Paulett, R.N.

PAWSEY.—Rock, Muskoka ; after Charles J. Pawsey, Secretary in the Victoria, sunk in collision with the Camperdown, June, 1893.

PEASE.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a boatman in steamer Bayfield.

PELHAM.—Cove, Parry Sound ; probably after Capt. Frederick S. Pelham, Rear-Admiral, 1907 ; is now, Admiral Superintendent at Gibraltar.

PELICAN.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after one of d'Iberville's vessels. In 1697, d'Iberville sank the Hampshire in Hudson Bay and captured Fort Nelson.

PELKIE.—Rock, Smith Bay, Manitoulin ; after an Indian at Wikwemikong.

PELL.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Capt. Pell of H.M.S. Menai in which Parry sailed.

PELLETANS.—Channel, Algoma ; after a Canadian who long cultivated some land on an island at its east end.

PENDER.—Islets, Manitoulin ; after a naval surveyor, Capt Daniel Pender, R.N. ; surveyed coast of British Columbia, 1857-70.

PENETANG.—Rock, Muskoka ; "so called from the fact that the smaller craft using the passage east of Minnicoganashene Island, on their way to Penetanguishene, have to pass round this, or rather leave the main ship's track here."

PENETANGUSHENE.—Harbour, Simcoe ; Indian name meaning "the place of the white rolling sands" ; from a bank of sand on Pinery Point on west side of harbour.

PERKINS.—Rock, Key Harbour, Parry Sound ; after engineer on Canadian Northern Ry. surveys.

PERLEY.—Island, Manitoulin ; island, Sudbury, and rock, Parry Sound ; after the late Major Henry F. Perley, Chief Engineer, Department of Public Works, 1880-91.

***PERRIQUE.**—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; appears on Bayfield's chart ; name probably given by French voyageurs to commemorate some occurrence in which a wig played a prominent part. A reference in Badgley's diary shows that the name was in use in 1792.

PERSEVERANCE.—Island, Owen Channel, Manitoulin ; after the gunboat Perseverance wrecked at, or near, here.

PETER.—Islands, North Channel, Algoma ; after Peter Scott, naval surveyor.

PETLEY.—Rock, George I., Manitoulin ; after a naval surveyor ; possibly, Eaton Wallace Petley, Nav.-Lieutenant, retired, 1886.

PHILIP EDWARD.—Island, Manitoulin ; after Philip Edward Collins, Assistant to Capt. Bayfield in survey of Lakes Huron and Superior.

PHILLIPS.—Shoal, Key Harbour, Parry Sound ; after William Phillips, late Gen. Freight Agent, Canadian Northern Ry.

PHIPPS.—Point, and **PHIPPS POINT**, shoal, Manitoulin ; after the Indian agent at Manitowaning.

PHOEBE.—Point, Fitzwilliam I., Manitoulin, and rocks, Parry Sound ; after the schooner Phoebe Catherine.

PICTURE.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; "derives its name from a couple of white patches resembling an Indian and squaw with snowshoes over their shoulders."

PIERCE.—Island, Parry Sound ; after caretaker of clubhouse of Hamilton Canoe Club on the island.

PIERCY.—Rocks, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Canon C. Piercy, Sault Ste. Marie, Church of England clergyman, formerly at Marksville.

PIG, THE.—Rock, Muskoka ; "named from the appearance of a large boulder lying on it."

PINCH.—Island, Manitoulin ; after a lumberman at Collins Inlet.

PINCH-GUT.—Point, Darch I., Algoma ; local name ; from the men working in a quarry at this point, having run short of food.

***PINERY.**—Point, Simcoe ; from the pines that grew there. Labatte in his narrative of "The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island," says : "The barracks of Penetanguishene were built of Norway pine from Pinery Point." "Pine Point" on Bayfield's chart.

PLOUGH BOY.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the steamer Plough Boy.

PLUMB.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Hon. Josiah Burr Plumb (1816-88) ; Senator, 1882 ; Speaker of Senate, 1887.

PLUMMER.—Island and bank, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Wm. Plummer, sometime manager of the Bruce mines.

POLLARD.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Rev. Henry Pollard, Ottawa, Church of England clergyman.

POND.—Point, Manitoulin ; "so called from a lake immediately back of it."

POOL.—Rocks, Western Islands, Parry Sound ; from the pools of water in hollows in rocks.

POPE.—Rock, Manitoulin ; after the Hon. John Henry Pope, Minister of Agriculture, 1878-85 ; Minister of Railways and Canals, 1885-89.

POPHAM.—Point, Manitoulin ; after Capt. Stephen Popham, commanding H.M.S. Montreal (22) on Great Lakes, 1814.

PORTAGE.—Island and point, Muskoka ; from a portage across inner portion of the point.

PORTER.—Point, Algoma ; after R. Porter, M.P. for West Huron, 1887-91.

***PORTLOCK.**—Harbour Algoma ; probably after Capt. Nathaniel Portlock (1748-1817) ; explored and traded on Pacific coast of Canada, 1785-88.

††**PORTLOCK.**—Island, Algoma.

POTVIN.—Point, Parry Sound ; after a merchant of Byng Inlet.

POWELL.—Cove, and **POWELL COVE**, bank, Heywood I., Manitoulin ; after Col. Walker Powell, Adjutant General of Militia, 1873-74 and 1875-95.

POWER.—Island, Manitoulin ; after late Augustus Power, K.C., Department of Justice.

POWYS.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Lieut. the Hon. Charles Powys, who served in the Ville de Paris, Parry's (q.v.) first vessel.

PRAIRIE.—Point, Bruce ; descriptive, being a broad, flat, bare, low point.

PRATT.—Island and reef, Key Harbour, Parry Sound ; after the Engineer of Terminals, Canadian Northern Ry.

PRATT.—Shoal, Parry Sound ; after a resident of Parry Sound.

PRENDERGAST.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after a friend of Capt. Boulton.

PRESENT.—Island, Simcoe ; so named from the annual gathering of the Indians to receive the customary distribution of presents from the Government.

***PRINCE WILLIAM HENRY.**—Island, Simcoe ; after Prince William Henry, Duke of Clarence, brother of George III, later William IV. Name obsolete, now called Beausoleil.

PROUT.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after a customs officer, Bruce Mines.

PROVO.—Shoal, Parry Sound ; after Lieut. Wallis Provo of H.M.S. Shannon, which captured the U.S.S. Chesapeake, June 1st, 1813.

PUDDING.—Island, Muskoka ; after conglomerate (pudding-stone) rock on this island.

***PUMPKIN.**—Point, Lake George, Algoma ; probably a vegetable garden at this point.

PYETTE.—Point and hill, Grev. and point, Huckleberry I., Parry Sound ; after a resident.

PYM.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a naval officer.

QUAI DES ROCHES.—Point, Christian Island, Simcoe ; "name applied to a pile of stones."

QUARRY.—Island, Simcoe ; from an old quarry on it.

QUEBEC.—Bay, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after the steamer Quebec.

QUEEN.—Reef, Parry Sound ; after the tug Queen.

QUILLIAM.—Shoal, Parry Sound ; Lieut. W. E. Parry served in the Alexandria, in 1810, under Capt. John Quilliam.

RAFT.—Point, Simcoe ; rafts tie up to it for shelter.

RAGGED.—Point, Alexander Inlet, Parry Sound, and point, Squall I., Manitoulin ; descriptive.

RAINBOTH.—Island, North Channel, Lake Huron ; after J. E. Rainboth, D.L.S., Ottawa.

RAMSEY.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after an engineer on Canadian Pacific Ry.

RANNIE.—Rocks, Manitoulin ; after a fishing tug.

RASPBERRY.—Island, Manitoulin ; characteristic.

RATTLESNAKE.—Islands, North Channel ; from the number of these snakes formerly to be found there.

RED.—Rock, Muskoka ; rock, Manitoulin ; rock, Parry Sound, and **REDCLIFF**, hight, Manitoulin ; "the moss on it gives it a reddish or orange colour."

REFORMATORY.—Point, Simcoe ; from the Provincial Reformatory built on it.

***RENNIE.**—Bay, Muskoka ; named by Bayfield ; possibly after an official of Penetanguishene naval station ; is not on Boulton's chart, but was not surveyed by him.

RESCUE.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after gunboat Rescue on Great Lakes.

RESTLESS.—Bank, North Channel, Algoma ; after a lake vessel.

***RICH.**—Cape, Grey ; after Commodore Sir Edward William Campbell Rich Owen (q.v.) who was godson of Sir Thomas Rich.

RICHARDS.—Reef, Fraser Bay, Manitoulin ; after a naval surveyor, Admiral Sir George Henry Richards (1820-1900) ; surveyed British Columbia coast, 1856-63 ; commanded the Assistance in the Belcher Arctic expedition in search of Franklin, 1852-54 ; Hydrographer, 1864-74.

RICHELIEU.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642), principal adviser of Louis XIII of France.

RICHMOND.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the captain of a tug.

RICKETTS.—Island and reef, Parry Sound ; after Capt. Ricketts of the Ville de Paris, in which vessel Parry (q.v.) first went to sea, 1803.

RICKCORD.—Rocks, Muskoka ; after Valentine D. J. Rickcord, Fleet Paymaster in the Victoria, sunk in collision with the Camperdown off Tripoli, 1893.

RIDOUT.—Islands, Parry Sound ; after late F. Ridout, C.E., Inspecting Engineer, Department of Railways and Canals.

RIGBY.—Island, Waubuno Channel, Parry Sound ; after John Rigby, maternal grandfather of Parry (q.v.).

RIGG.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after Major Rigg, Royal Military College.

RILEY.—Patch, Manitoulin ; after a boatman in steamer Bayfield.

RITCHIE.—Point and rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after Sir William Ritchie ; Chief Justice, Supreme Court of New Brunswick, 1865-75 ; Puisne Judge, Supreme Court, 1875-79 ; Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, 1879-92.

ROBB.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the tug Robb.

***ROBERT.**—Cape, Manitoulin I. ; named by Bayfield ; derivation unknown.

***ROBERTS.**—Bay, Muskoka ; not on Boulton's chart, but was not surveyed by him ; named by Bayfield, possibly after an official of Penetanguishene naval station.

ROBERTSON.—Rock, North Channel, Manitoulin ; after Capt. Tate Robertson of the Frances Smith, who reported it.

ROBIN.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; from fancied resemblance in outline, to a robin.

ROBINSON.—Bay, Manitoulin ; after Hon. John Beverly Robinson (1821-96), Lieut.-Governor of Ontario, 1880-87.

ROBITAILLE.—Point, Darch I., Algoma ; probably after Hon. Theodore Robitaille, Lieut.-Governor of Quebec, 1879-84.

ROB ROY.—Patch, North Channel, Algoma ; after a lake vessel.

ROSS.—Shoal, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after A. B. Ross, graduate of the Royal Military College, 1880.

ROSE.—Rocks, North Channel, Algoma ; after a lake vessel.

ROSSEAU.—Island and shoal, St. Joseph I., Algoma ; after a former resident opposite the island.

***ROUS.**—EAST and WEST, islands, Sudbury ; after Admiral Henry John Rous (1795-1877) ; Admiral of the White, 1864.

ROWLAND.—Bank, Nottawasaga Bay, Grey ; after a hotelman of Collingwood.

ROYAL.—Point, Innes I., Algoma ; after Hon. Joseph Royal, Lieut.-Governor of Northwest Territories, 1888-93.

RYKERT.—Point, Algoma ; after J. C. Rykert, M.P. for Lincoln 1878-82, for Lincoln and Niagara 1882-91.

ST. ANGE.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Chevalier St. Ange, a French halfbreed who, at one time, resided on Chevalier Island.

ST. AUBYN.—Bay, Parry Sound ; after Major the Hon. J. T. St. Aubyn, Military Secretary to Lord Stanley, Governor-General, 1892-93.

ST. JOSEPH.—Island, Algoma ; so named from its position in the St. Mary River, which last named by French missionaries after the Virgin Mary.

ST. JUST.—Islands, North Channel, Algoma ; after the Hon. Luc Letellier de St. Just, Lieut.-Governor of Quebec, 1876-79.

ST. PAUL.—Rock, Aird Island, Algoma ; after a lake steamer.

SABINE.—Island, French River, Parry Sound ; after Admiral Sir Thomas Sabine Pasley (1804-84).

SACKVILLE.—Island, Manitoulin ; after Lionel (Sackville), 2nd Baron Sackville (1827-1903), British Minister at Washington, 1881-88.

SALT.—Point, Parry Island, Parry Sound ; "after the Indian Methodist missionary residing here."

SAM SMITH.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after a boatman in surveying steamer Bayfield.

SANDFIELD.—Point, Manitoulin ; after the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald (1812-72), Premier of Canada, 1862-64 ; opposed Confederation ; Premier of Ontario, 1867-71.

SANDFORD.—Ground, Nottawasaga Bay, Grey ; after Sir Sandford Fleming, an eminent Canadian civil engineer.

SANFORD.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Hon. W. E. Sanford (1838-1899), Hamilton ; Senator, 1887.

SANKEY.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Major Sankey, sometime Professor of Military Engineering, Royal Military College.

SANS SOUCI.—Islands, Parry Sound ; after Sans Souci palace, Potsdam, Prussia, built by Frederick the Great, 1745-47.

SAPPER.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after a graduate of the Royal Military College.

SARAH.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a daughter of Capt. Cox, R.N., naval surveyor.

SARAH.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Sarah Rigby, mother of Parry (q.v.).

-SAULT STE. MARIE.—Town, Algoma ; after the rapids in the St. Mary River which so named by the French missionaries after the Virgin ; previously called "Sault du Gaston" after Jean-Baptiste Gaston, younger brother of Louis XIII and son of Henry IV. According to the Indian legend, the great demi-god, Nanabozho, "when he found the waters of Lake Superior rising, put on

his great boots and walked around the lake until he found at the Sault that the great White Beaver had built a dam and that he kicked away the dam and opened up" the water course. The Chippewa village was called Pawating (Bawiting), a cognate form of *bawī liqunk*, "at the rapids." The old village site is the most sacred spot known to the old-time Chippewa and a Chippewa who has been to the rapids has made a holy pilgrimage.

SAYER.—Island, North Channel, Algoma; after a trader at Mississagi River.

SCEPTRE.—Bank, Parry Sound; Parry (q.v.) travelled from England to Halifax in H.M.S. Sceptre in 1813.

SCHREIBER.—Island, Sudbury; after Collingwood Schreiber, C.M.G., Deputy Minister and Chief Engineer, Dept. of Railways and Canals, 1892; now, Consulting Engineer of same Department.

SCHULTZ.—Island, North Channel, Algoma; after the late Sir John Schultz, Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba, 1888-95.

SCOTT.—Island, Parry Sound; after Peter Scott, naval surveyor.

††SCOTT.—Island, and SCOTT ISLAND, passage, North Channel, Algoma.

SEAGRAM.—Rock, near Pt. Magnet, Thunder Bay; after Jos. Seagram, M.P. for Waterloo North, 1896-1904.

SEAMAN.—Bank, Muskoka; after tug Seaman.

SECRETARY.—Island, North Channel, Algoma; after the Secretary to the Admiralty, John Wilson Croker (q.v.).

SEDGEWICK.—Point, Parry Sound; after Robert Sedgewick, Deputy Minister of Justice, 1888-93; Puisne Judge, Supreme Court, 1893.

SEGUIN.—Bank, Parry Sound; after the steambarge Seguin.

SENECAL.—Point, Clapperton Island, Manitoulin; after A. Sénécal, Superintendent of Printing, 1888-91.

*SERPENT.—Island, North Channel, Algoma; probably voyageur name given because infested with snakes.

SERPENT.—Harbour and river, Algoma; from a perpendicular rock at the mouth of the river, on which a huge serpent is carved.

SEVERN.—River, and PORT SEVERN, village, Simcoe; after the River Severn bordering England and Wales. Indian name was *wai-nautkecheaing* meaning river running about in all directions.

SEXTANT.—Bay and point, Manitoulin; a sextant was lost off this point.

SEYMOUR.—Rock, Parry Sound; after a lake steamer.

SHANLEY.—Island, North Channel; after the late Walter Shanley, C.E., M.P. for South Grenville, 1867-72 and 1885-91.

SHANNON.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the British vessel Shannon, which captured the U.S.S. Chesapeake, June 1st, 1813.

SHAWANAGA.—Bay, island and river, Parry Sound ; Indian name meaning "a long bay or strait."

SHEBASHEKONG.—Bay and river, Parry Sound ; from Indian name *nebeshekong* meaning, "at the place of leaves."

SHEPHERD.—Reef, North Channel, Algoma ; after a light-keeper at Sulphur Island.

SHICKLUNA.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after propeller Shickluna, which named after owner.

SHIP.—Island, Muskoka ; "so called because vessels keep it close on board to avoid Otonabee shoal."

SHUT-IN.—Point, Manitoulin ; descriptive.

SICCORDE.—Point, Algoma ; after a local merchant.

SIDNEY.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Sidney Band, son of Bursar of the Penetanguishene Reformatory.

SILBOW.—Rock, Parry Sound ; local name ; after a dog.

SIMON.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the late Simon J. Dawson, M.P. (q.v.).

SIMPSON.—Rock, Manitoulin ; after Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Co., 1822-1860.

SIMS.—Point, Manitoulin ; after Capt. Sims, Sarnia.

SKINNER.—Bluff, Grey ; after a farmer residing there.

SKULL.—Island and point, Manitoulin ; a large number of skeletons were found in a pit in the rock on the island.

††**SKULL POINT.**—Reef, Manitoulin.

SKYLARK.—Rock, Muskoka ; after yacht Skylark owned by Dodge of New York and Waubaushene.

SMITH.—Bay, Parry Sound ; after one of the crew of steamer Bayfield.

***SMITH.**—Bay and capet Harbour, Algoma ; after late William Smith (q.v.), Deputy Minister of Marine.

††**SMITH.**—Rock, Manitoulin.

***SMITH.**—Bay and cape, Manitoulin ; probably after Sir William Sidney Smith (1764-1840). Bayfield entered the Navy in 1806 as supernumerary volunteer in the Pompee, the flagship of Sir William Sidney Smith. 'Smyth' on Bayfield's chart.

SMITH.—Shoal, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after the steamer Frances Smith.

SNAKE.—Bank and island, and **LITTLE SNAKE**, island, Parry Sound ; noted for snakes.

SNIDER.—Island, Serpent Harbour, Algoma ; after a resident of Serpent River.

SOLITARY.—Rock, Georgian Bay, Parry Sound ; descriptive.

SOLOMON.—Point, Stewart Island, Algoma, and rock, Parry Sound ; after Chief Solomon, an Indian chief.

SOPHIA.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a daughter of Capt. Cox, R.N.

SOW, THE.—Rock, Muskoka ; near "The Pig."

SOW AND PIGS.—Islands, North Channel, Algoma ; descriptive.

SPAIN.—Rock, Muskoka ; after Capt. O. V. Spain, late Wreck Commissioner, Department of Marine and Fisheries.

***SPANISH.**—River, Algoma ; Bigsby says that the name "is given to it from its having been once occupied by Spanish Indians." This, however, is incredible. It was probably named "Spanish" in contra-distinction to the "French" river further east. Name appears on Bayfield's chart, but not on Bouchette's map, 1815.

SPARKS.—Island, Parry Sound ; after a well known Ottawa family.

SPARTAN.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the steamer Spartan.

SPECTACLE.—Island, Parry Sound ; from resemblance in form to a pair of spectacles.

SPILSBURY.—Island, Manitoulin ; after Capt. Francis Brockell Spilsbury, R.N., in command of schooner Melville on Lake Ontario, August 10th, 1815 ; commanded the Beresford at Sackett's Harbour ; was present in actions off Burlington, Sept. 28th, 1813, and at French Creek, Nov. 1st, 1813 ; Captain commanding Niagara, May 21st, 1814 ; present at Oswego, May 6th, 1814. In 1806 Bayfield was serving in the Duchess of Bedford, a hired armed vessel, commanded by Lieut. Spilsbury, and was slightly wounded in a severe action in the Strait of Gibraltar in which that vessel beat off two Spanish feluccas with double her crew.

SPLIT.—Rock, Muskoka ; descriptive.

SPOHN.—Spit, Muskoka ; after P. H. Spohn, M.P. for Simcoe East, 1891-92

SPOTTED.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; "so called from the circumstance of its being patchy."

SPRAGGE.—Island, Algoma ; after the late Hon. John Godfrey Spragge, Justice of the High Court, Chancery Div., Ontario, 1850-69, and Chancellor, 1869-81 ; Chief Justice of Ontario, 1881-84.

***SPRATT.**—Point, Simcoe ; named by Bayfield ; possibly after an official of Penetanguishene naval station.

SPRAY.—Rock, Muskoka ; from "being bold-to on the west side, every little sea causes spray to fly over it."

SPROULE.—Islands, North Channel, Algoma ; after Dr. Thomas Simpson Sproule, M.P. for East Grey since 1878 ; Speaker since 1911.

*SQUAW.—Island, Parry Sound ; so named by Bayfield ; smaller islands near were named "Papoose."

STAIRS.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Capt. W. G. Stairs, graduate, Royal Military College, 1882 ; he accompanied Stanley through Africa.

STALKER.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after a fisherman.

STANLEY.—Island, Manitoulin ; after Lord Stanley, Governor-General of Canada, 1888-93 ; suc. his father as Earl of Derby, 1893.

STANLEY.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Sir Henry M. Stanley, noted African explorer.

STANLEY.—Point, Heywood Island, Manitoulin ; after Capt. Stanley, a naval surveyor, contemporary of Capt. Boulton.

STARVATION.—Bay, Parry Sound ; from a camping party having been wrecked here.

STEELE.—Rock, Manitoulin ; after Vivian H. Steele, clerk in Department of Marine and Fisheries.

STEEPLE.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; "derives its name from its pinnacy nature."

STEERS.—Rock, Muskoka ; after a resident of Penetanguishene.

STEPHENS.—Ground, Nottawasaga Bay, Grey ; after a merchant, Collingwood.

STEPHEN.—Cove, Manitoulin : after a physician at Manitowaning.

STEWART.—Island, Algoma, and rock, Owen Channel, Manitoulin ; after W. J. Stewart, Chief Hydrographer of Canada ; assistant to Capt. Boulton, 1883 to 1893, when succeeded latter.

STONY.—Island, Bayfield Sound, Manitoulin ; from being "connected to the point northward of it by a bank of dry stones."

STORY.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after the tug Story or, after her owner.

STRANGE.—Bay and point, Bedford Island, North Channel ; after late Major-General Thomas Bland Strange ; in 1871 appointed to command of Canadian artillery ; commanded Alberta field force in rebellion of 1885.

STRAUBENZIE.—Point and reef, Bedford Island, North Channel ; after the late Lieut.-Col. Bowen Van Straubenzie, b. 1829 ; commanded the Infantry Brigade at the action of Batoche, 1885.

STRAWBERRY.—Channel and island, Manitoulin ; from the wild strawberries growing on the island.

STRUTHERS.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after a physician, Algoma.

SULLIVAN.—Patch, Algoma ; after the Rt. Rev. Edward Sullivan, late Bishop of Algoma.

***SULPHUR.**—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; named by Bayfield ; derivation unknown, but probably in use before date of survey.

SULTAN.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a lake vessel.

SUPERIOR.—Shoal, Muskoka ; after tug Superior.

SUPPLY.—Point, Algoma ; "derives its name from a small cove on the west side of the point affording good landing for provisions sent in to the parties working on the railway."

SURPRISE.—Shoal, Bruce ; from being unexpected ; it is at a considerable distance from land.

SUSANNA.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Mrs. Susanna Moodie, authoress of "Roughing It in the Bush," etc.

SUTHERLAND.—Shoal, Manitoulin ; after one of the boatmen on surveying steamer Bayfield.

SWEATMAN.—Island, Muskoka ; after the Most Rev. Arthur Sweatman (1834-1909), Archbishop of Toronto.

***SYDNEY.**—Bay, Bruce ; possibly after John Thomas (Townshend), 2nd Viscount Sydney (1764-1831), Lord of the Admiralty, 1789-93 ; or, after Sir Sydney Smith (q.v.).

SYLVAIN.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after L. P. Sylvain, Chief Clerk, Library of Parliament.

SYLVIA.—Rock, Alexander Inlet, Parry Sound ; after a British surveying vessel.

SYMES.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after a lake captain.

TABLE.—Rocks, Muskoka ; "from the flat appearance of the top of the highest one."

TACHE.—Island and TACHE ISLAND, reef, Manitoulin ; after the Most Rev. Archbishop Tache, St. Boniface, Man.

TALBOT.—Islands, Muskoka ; after Col. O. E. Talbot, M.P. for Bellechase, 1896-1911.

TALON.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after Jean Talon, Intendant of New France, 1663-68 and 1669-75.

TASCHEREAU.—Bay, North Channel ; after late Sir Henri Elzear Taschereau, Puisne Judge, Supreme Court of Canada, 1878-1902 ; Chief Justice, Supreme Court, 1902 ; died, 1911.

TAYLOR.—Island, Parry Sound ; after the great-grandfather of Parry (q.v.).

TEAT, THE.—Rocks, Muskoka ; "so called from the appearance of the southeastern one."

TECUMSEH.—Cove, Cove Island, Bruce ; the steamer Tecumseh was wrecked here.

TELEGRAM.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the steamer Telegram.

TEMPLE.—Rocks, Algoma ; after an American tug, Temple Emery.

TENBY.—Bay, St. Joseph Island, Manitoulin ; after Tenby, town, Wales ; named by late Major Rains, one of the first settlers.

TEN-MILE.—Point and shoal, Manitoulin ; "derives its name from being nearly that distance from Manitowaning."

TENNANT.—Point, Parry Sound ; after Lady Stanley, née Dorothy Tennant ; married Sir H. M. Stanley, African explorer, 1890.

TEN-RIB.—Rock, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; a fisherman broke ten ribs of his boat by running on this rock.

TERN.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the sea-swallow.

THEBO.—Point and cove, Killarney Harbour ; after a merchant, Killarney.

THE COUSIN.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; descriptive ; the islands are close together and with shoal water between.

THESSALON.—River, Algoma ; said by the Chief of the Mississagi band to mean "slow" ; the Chief of the Thessalon band says it means "a long, narrow point" ; called by the Jesuits "Tessalon."

††**THESSALON.**—Island and river, Algoma.

THE TOOTH.—Rock, Manitoulin ; descriptive.

THE TRIANGLE.—Rocks, Manitoulin ; "name given to three sunken rocks."

THE TRIPLETS.—Islands, Muskoka ; descriptive.

THE WALL.—Reef, Manitoulin ; "on account of the steepness of its eastern side."

THISTLE.—Island, Parry Sound ; after the late W. R. Thistle, lumberman, Ottawa.

THOMAS.—Bay and point, Manitoulin ; after Col. Thos. Benson, Master-General of the Ordnance, Ottawa ; graduate, Royal Military College, 1883.

THOMAS.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Thomas Kirke, in command of the George at capture of Quebec, 1629.

THOMAS LONG.—Shoal, Nottawasaga Bay, Grey ; after Thomas Long, Vice-President, Collingwood Shipbuilding Co., Toronto.

***THOMPSON.**—Point, Cockburn Island, Manitoulin ; named by Bayfield after an officer then serving on the gunboat Constance.

THOMPSON.—Point, Manitoulin ; after the Rt. Hon. Sir John S. D. Thompson (1844-1894), Minister of Justice, 1885-94 ; Premier of Canada, 1892-94.

THREE-MILE.—Point, Parry Island, Parry Sound ; from being "about three statute miles from the town of Parry Sound."

THREE STAR.—Shoal, Parry Sound ; marked by three crosses (stars) on old chart.

THUMB.—Rock, Western Islands, Parry Sound ; descriptive.

THUNDER.—Bay, Simcoe ; present Owen Sound was named Thunder Bay on Bouchette's map, 1815 ; probably the name was misplaced and is a translation of the Indian name.

TIE.—Island, Parry Sound ; "so called from the fact of tugs tying up to it with their rafts in southerly gales."

TILTON.—Reef, Bruce ; after Lieut.-Col. J. Tilton, Deputy Minister of Fisheries, 1884-91.

TINDALL.—Point, Parry Sound ; after a resident of Parry Sound.

TINY.—Beach and island, Simcoe ; name originally applied to the township, which named after one of Lady Sarah Maitland's pet dogs.

TOAD.—Island, Manitoulin ; from its shape ; resembles a toad.

TOBERMORY.—Harbour, Bruce ; after Tobermory, seaport, Argyllshire, Scotland, which from Gaelic and Irish, *lobar moire* "well of the Virgin Mary."

***TODD.**—Point, Simcoe ; named by Bayfield ; possibly after an official of Penetanguishene naval station.

TODD.—Point and shoal, Amedroz Island, Algoma ; after late Alpheus Todd, LL.D., Librarian of Parliament, 1867-84.

TODDS.—Point, Simcoe ; after an early surveyor of that name.

TOLSMA.—Bay, Manitoulin ; after ——— Tolsma, who carried on an extensive fishing business here.

TOMLINSON.—Islands, North Channel, Algoma ; after Joseph Tomlinson, Engineer and Superintendent of Lighthouses, Department of Marine and Fisheries, 1873-80.

TONTY.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after Henri de Tonti (or Tonty) (1650-1704), lieutenant of La Salle in his explorations of the Mississippi.

TOTTENHAM.—Shoal, Muskoka ; probably after Tottenham, parish, suburb of London, England.

TOWNSEND.—Island, Muskoka ; after the owner.

TRACK.—Island, Parry Sound ; it is near the track for steamers.

TRANCH.—Rock, Parry Sound, and rock, Manitoulin ; after a lake captain.

TREE.—Island, Parry Sound ; from a single large pine-tree on it.

TRENT.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the vessel which Lieut. Franklin commanded in his Arctic voyage to Spitzbergen, 1818.

TRIBUNE.—Island, Parry Sound ; Parry (q.v.) was appointed midshipman in the Tribune in 1806.

TRITON.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after the Triton, British surveying vessel.

TROW.—Point, and **TROW POINT**, shoal, Algoma ; after James Trow, M.P. for South Perth, 1872-92.

TRUDEAU.—Point, Manitoulin ; after the late Toussaint Trudeau, Deputy Minister of Public Works, 1868-79 ; Deputy Minister of Railways and Canals, 1879-92.

TRUDEAUX.—Point, Simcoe ; after Jean Baptiste Trudcaux ; was blacksmith in the Navy ; later, settled there.

TRYON.—Island, Muskoka ; after Admiral Sir George Tryon, commanding fleet at time of the Victoria-Camperdown collision, June 23rd, 1893.

TUG.—Rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the tug Robt.

TULLY.—Island, Muskoka ; after late Kivas Tully, C.E., Toronto, father of Mrs. Band (q.v.).

TUPPER.—Island, North Channel, Sudbury ; after Sir Charles Tupper, Minister of Inland Revenue, 1872-73 ; of Customs, 1873 ; of Public Works, 1878-79 ; of Railways and Canals, 1879-84 ; High Commissioner for Canada, 1884-87, 1888-96 ; Minister of Finance, 1888 ; Premier, 1896.

TURNBULL.—Island, and **TURNBULL ISLAND**, passage, North Channel, Algoma ; after Lieut.-Col. James F. Turnbull, Commandant, Royal Can. Dragoons, 1883 ; accompanied his corps to N. W. T. on outbreak of Riel rebellion, 1885 ; Inspector of Cavalry, 1895 ; retired, 1895.

TURNER.—Cove, Manitoulin ; after postmaster, Little Current.

TURNING.—Island, Parry Sound ; "as its name indicates, marks the turning point from the middle reach into the main body of Shawanaga Bay."

††**TURNING.**—Island, Bruce, and rock, Muskoka.

TURTLE.—Channel, Parry Sound ; from a rock in the channel having a fancied resemblance to a turtle.

††**TURTLE.**—Rock, Muskoka, and rock, Algoma.

TWIN.—Island, Parry Sound ; "as its name indicates, it is almost divided into two parts."

††**TWIN.**—Islands, Manitoulin.

††**TWIN.**—Rock, Parry Sound.

TWINING.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Lieut.-Col. P. G. Twining, R.E., graduate of Royal Military College, 1883.

TWO-MILE.—Point, Parry Island, Parry Sound ; from "being about two statute miles from the town of Parry Sound."

††**TWO-MILE.**—Narrows Parry Sound.

TYRWHITT.—Shoal, North Channel, Algoma ; after Lieut.-Col. R. Tyrwhitt, M.P. for South Simcoe, 1878-1900.

UMBRELLA.—Islands and ledges, Parry Sound ; "presumably from a single large pine tree growing upon one of the inside islets."

UNDERHILL.—Point, Badgley Island, Manitoulin ; after H. H. Underhill, draughtsman in the Hydrographic Department, Admiralty.

VAIL.—Point, and **VAIL POINT**, shoal, Grey ; after a Meaford fisherman.

††**VAIL.**—Rock, Parry Sound.

VALENTINE.—Rocks, Muskoka ; after Valentine Rickcord, Fleet Paymaster in the Victoria, sunk in collision with the Camperdown, 1893.

VANGUARD.—Rock, Parry Sound ; Parry (q.v.) served in H. M. S. Vanguard, 1808-09.

VANKOUGHNET.—Island, Manitoulin ; after the late Lawrence Vankoughnet, Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, 1874-93.

††**VANKOUGHNET.**—Ground, Parry Sound.

VARIATION.—Point, Beckwith Island, Simcoe ; "so called because the late Admiral Bayfield, when surveying Georgian Bay in 1822, observed here for variation of the magnetic needle."

VICTOR.—Bank, Parry Sound ; after H.R.H. Albert Victor Christian Edward of Wales, Duke of Clarence (1864-92).

VICTORIA.—Island, Parry Sound, and harbour, Simcoe ; after late Queen Victoria (1819-1901).

***VIDAL.**—Island, Manitoulin ; after an assistant to Capt. Bayfield ; he was the grandfather of late Gen. Beaufort Henry Vidal. On Dec. 6, 1815, Monroe, U.S. Secretary of State, wrote the British representative at Washington, reporting "an enquiry into the case of Lieutenant Vidal, who had been fined for riot while pursuing offenders into American territory."

††**VIDAL.**—Bay, Manitoulin Island.

VILLIERS.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after late Col. Villiers, D.A.G., Winnipeg.

VIVIAN.—Rocks, Parry Sound ; after a cook in steamer Bayfield.

VIXEN.—Rocks, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after a lake vessel.

VOYAGEUR.—Channel, Algoma ; "it was by this mouth of French River that the canoes in the early days are said to have entered Georgian Bay from Lake Nipissing on their way westward."

WABOO.—Island, West Bay, Manitoulin ; Indian word meaning "rabbit."

WABOSON.—Island, Manitoulin ; Indian name meaning "little rabbit."

WAUBUNO.—Bank, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after the steamer Waubuno, lost with all hands in a snowstorm, Nov. 22nd, 1879.

††**WAUBUNO.**—Channel, Sudbury.

††**WAUBUNO.**—Channel and rock, Parry Sound.

WAGSTAFF.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a tourist.

WAIT-A-BIT.—Point, Simcoe ; from delay to sailboats by getting into an eddy here.

WALES.—Rock, Muskoka ; after tug Wales.

WALKER.—Point, Muskoka ; after John Walker, farmer ; prior to 1875, was known as Long Point.

***WALL.**—Island, Manitoulin ; "from the south side of Wall Island, a reef, named The Wall (on account of the steepness of its eastern side), extends."

††***WALL.**—Island, Parry Sound.

††**WALL ISLAND.**—Channel, Manitoulin.

WALLACE.—Island and rock, North Channel, Algoma ; after the late Hon. N. Clarke Wallace, M.P. for West York, 1878 to 1901.

WALLACE.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after a Parry Sound fisherman.

WALLIS.—Rocks, Parry Sound ; after Lieut. Wallis Provo, of H.M.S. Shannon which captured the Chesapeake, June 1st, 1813.

WARD.—Island, Muskoka ; after Hon. Cyril A. Ward, midshipman in the Victoria, sunk in collision with the Camperdown, June 23rd, 1893.

***WATCHER.**—Islands, NORTH and SOUTH, and reef, Muskoka ; "two small islands acting as a kind of guard to the shore, hence the name."

WATERS.—Point, John Island, Algoma ; after late Dr. John Francis Waters, Department of the Secretary of State.

WATTS.—Rock, Heywood Island, Manitoulin ; after a boat-builder, W. Watts, of Collingwood.

WEBBER.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after a draughtsman at the Admiralty.

WEDGE.—Island, Parry Sound ; descriptive.

WELDON.—Shoal, North Channel, Algoma ; after late Dr. C. W. Weldon, M.P. for St. John, N.B., 1878-91.

WELLER.—Island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after J. L. Weller, Superintendent, Welland Canal ; graduate of Royal Military College, 1883.

WELSH.—Island, Manitoulin ; after Muriel Welsh Boulton, daughter of Capt. Boulton.

***WESTERN.**—Islands, Parry Sound ; most westerly of the "30,000 Islands," east coast of Georgian Bay.

WESTERN.—Reef, Manitoulin ; "from being the westernmost of all the patches, being near the west entrance of Clapperton Channel."

WHALESBACK.—Rock, Muskoka ; has "a round top that is supposed to resemble the back of a whale."

††**WHALESBACK.**—Channel and rock, North Channel, Algoma.

WHARTON.—Point, Heywood Island, Manitoulin ; after late Rear-Admiral Sir William J. L. Wharton, Hydrographer of the Admiralty.

WHEELER.—Bank, Nottawasaga Bay, Simcoe ; after a resident of Collingwood.

WHIP-POOR-WILL.—Bay, Bruce ; from the unusually large amount of whip-poor-wills frequenting the vicinity.

WHISKEY.—Island, Simcoe ; "it was the custom of the early voyageurs and Indians to halt there for their first drink of liquor."

WHITCHER.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the late W. F. Whitcher, Commissioner of Fisheries, 1868-83.

WHITE.—Cove, Strawberry Island, Manitoulin ; after the late Hon. Thomas White, Minister of the Interior, 1885-88.

WHITEAVES.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after late Dr. Joseph Frederick Whiteaves, Assistant Director, Geological Survey, 1883.

***WHITE CLOUD.**—Island, Bruce ; probably after an Indian, or translation of Indian name.

WICKSTEED.—Point, Algoma ; after G. W. Wicksteed, Law Clerk, Legislative Assembly, Province of Canada, 1841-67 ; Law Clerk, House of Commons, 1867-87.

WICKSTEED.—Rock, Key Harbour, Parry Sound ; after H. K. Wicksteed, Chief Engineer, Canadian Northern Railway.

WIKWEMIKONG.—Bay, Manitoulin ; Indian name meaning "beaver bay" ; at one time the beavers were numerous here ; sometimes called Smith Bay after a trader.

WILD GOOSE.—Island, Parry Sound ; "from . . . a sloping pine tree with a top branch resembling somewhat a goose on the wing, near the southern extremity."

WILFRID.—Island, North Channel, Algoma ; after the Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of Canada, 1896-1911.

***WILLIAM.**—Island, Manitoulin ; probably after Sir William Sidney Smith (q.v.).

WILLIAM.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Admiral Sir William E. Parry (q.v.).

***WILLIAM.**—Point, Grey ; after Commodore Sir Edward William Campbell Rich Owen (q.v.) ; name obsolete ; now Vail Point.

WILSON.—Channel and island, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Major Wilson, Indian Agent at Sault Ste. Marie.

WILSON.—Point, Croker Island, Algoma ; after christian name of John Wilson Croker (q.v.), Secretary to the Admiralty, 1809-30.

***WINGFIELD.**—Basin and point, Bruce ; after Lieut. David Wingfield, R.N. ; in command of the transport Beckwith on Lake Ontario, 1816 ; Oct. 16th, 1815, was Lieutenant commanding the Surprise on Lake Huron.

WISE.—Cove and point, Bedford Island, North Channel ; after the late Capt. Henry Ellison Wise, Scottish Rifles, A.D.C. to Major-General Middleton, 1884-90 ; graduate of Royal Military College, 1880.

WOLSELEY.—Rock, Parry Sound ; after late Lord Wolsley, Commander-in-chief of the British land forces.

WOLSEY.—Lake, Manitoulin ; named by Bayfield after himself—Henry Wolsey Bayfield.

WOLSTAN.—Point, Algoma ; after a son of late H. B. Small, Department of Agriculture.

WOODMAN.—Point, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after John Woodman, C.E., Winnipeg ; graduated from the Royal Military College, 1883.

WOODWARD.—Point, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after the schooner Mary Woodward.

WOORE.—Rocks, Muskoka ; after Francis Woore, Surgeon in the Victoria, sunk in collision with the Camperdown off Tripoli, 1893.

***WORSLEY.**—Bay, St. Joseph Island, Algoma ; named by Bayfield after Commander Miller Worsley, R.N., who, in October, 1815, was commander of H.M.S. Star (14), Lake Ontario.

WRECK.—Island, Parry Sound ; after the remains of the steamer Waubuno.

WRECK.—Point, Bruce ; descriptive ; (see China reef).

WURTELE.—Point, St. Joseph Channel, Algoma ; after Lt.-Col. E. F. Wurtele ; graduate of the Royal Military College, 1882.

***WYE.**—River, Simcoe ; after the Wye, an affluent of the Thames River, England.

***YARWOOD.**—Point, Simcoe ; named by Bayfield ; probably after Lieut. Thomas Yarwood, 1st Battalion, Montreal City Militia ; served during War of 1812-14.

*YEO.—Island, Manitoulin ; after Commodore Sir James Lucas Yeo (1782-1818) ; commanded the fleet on Lake Ontario, 1812-15.

††YEO.—Channel, Manitoulin.

††YEO ISLAND.—Spit, Manitoulin.

YOUNG.—Island, Parry Sound ; after Rt. Rev. Richard Young, Bishop of Athabaska.

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CONTENTS.



I. The Toon o' Maxwell—An Owen Settlement in Lambton County, Ont. THE REV. JOHN MORRISON, SARNIA	5
II. The U. E. Loyalists of the old Johnstown District. JUDGE H. S. MAC- DONALD, BROCKVILLE	13
III. The Local History of the Town of Brockville. LT. COL. W. H. COLE. BROCKVILLE	33
IV. The War of 1812-15. J. CASTELL HOPKINS, TORONTO	42
V. Reminiscences of the First Settlers in the County of Brant. CHARLES AND JAMES C. THOMAS, BRANTFORD	53
VI. The Past and Present Fortifications at Kingston, GEO. R. DOLAN, B. A.	72
VII. Reminiscences. MISS AUGUSTA I. GRANT GILKISON, BRANTFORD	81
VIII. Capt. Joseph Brant's Status, etc. MAJOR GORDON J. SMITH, BRANTFORD	89
IX. Chief Smoke Johnson. MISS EVELYN H. C. JOHNSON,	102
X. Influence of the War of 1812. LAWRENCE J. BURPER, OTTAWA	114
XI. History of the Hospital, Penetanguishene. DR. G. A. MACCALLUM	121
XII. The American Indians in Relation to Health. DR. P. H. BRYCE, OTTAWA	123
XIII. Feudalism in Upper Canada. MARJORIE J. F. FRASER, TORONTO	142
XIV. Bush Life in the Ottawa Valley. JOHN MAY, M. A., FRANKTOWN	153
XV. The Peter Perry Election. GEO. M. JONES, B. A., TORONTO	164
XVI. David Zeisberger and his Delaware Indians. REV. JOHN MORRISON, SARNIA	176
XVII. Tribal Divisions of the Indians of Ontario. THE LATE ALEX. F. CHAMBER- LAIN, M. A., Ph. D.	190
XVIII. Bear Customs of the Crees and other Indians. ALANSON SKINNER	203
XIX. An Introductory Enquiry in the Study of the Ojibwa Religion. PAUL RADIN	210
XX. A Noted Anthropologist (Dr. A. F. Chamberlain).	219

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I.

"THE TOON O' MAXWELL"—AN OWEN SETTLEMENT IN LAMBTON COUNTY, ONT.

BY THE REV. JOHN MORRISON, SARNIA

At many points in the world's history, men have stepped out from the ranks, having some ideal scheme for the reconstruction of society and the betterment of their fellow-men.

Plato, in his "Republic," declares "any ordinary city, however small, is in fact two cities, one the city of the poor, the other of the rich, at war with one another." It will be seen by this quotation, he was out of harmony with the social and economic tendencies of the age in which he lived. What was his proposal by which these should be changed? He proposed to alter the lives of the citizens of the state, from the day of birth. In fact, he proposed to go behind that, by declaring that marriage and the number of births, as well as the industrial occupations, were to be controlled by the guardians or heads of the state.

Of home life, as we understand it, there would be none. Theoretically he advocated "the emancipation of woman," and yet maintained that "the woman was part and parcel of the property of man," therefore, he advocates, "community of wives."

Children were to be taken away from their parents and reared under the supervision of the state. The old nursery tales, "the blasphemous nonsense (he calls them), with which mothers fool the manhood out of their children," was to be suppressed. There will be no rich and no poor, therefore no rivalry, for all are to be provided for by the state. He admits there are difficulties to be overcome, but adds by way of a stimulant to any wavering one, "nothing great is easy."

Sir Thomas More's "Utopia" has many of the characteristics of the "Republic," as community of goods and labor, and the forbidding the private use of money. He differs from Plato, however, in maintaining the sacredness of the family relation and fidelity to the marriage contract. There was to be no community of wives in Utopia. All meals were to be taken in common and to be rendered attractive by the accompaniment of sweet strains of music, while the air was to be filled by the most delicate of perfumes, thus adding to the enjoyment of life.

Robert Owen, an uncrowned king in the industrial world, philanthropist and founder of the Owen system of socialism, was born in the Village of Newtown, Montgomeryshire, North Wales, in 1771. At the age of nine years he had completed his school education, and at ten went to service in a draper's shop in Stamford, where he served three or four years. He then went to Manchester and entered the cotton mills. His industrial and executive ability are seen in that, at the age of nineteen years, he was made manager of a cotton mill employing five hundred hands, and speedily proved himself the first cotton spinner in England. A business trip to Glasgow brought him in contact with Mr. Dale, proprietor of the New Lanark mills, with whose daughter he promptly proceeded to fall in love and afterward marry. Owen induced his partners (for he was now part owner of the Chorlton Twist Company, Cotton Mills, Manchester), to buy out the New Lanark Mills, which they did, and he settled there as manager.

Here, with about two thousand people, one-quarter of that number being children, he began his plans for their betterment. He improved their houses, he opened a store where goods of undoubted quality could be purchased by his employees at little over cost price. The sale of drink was placed under the strictest supervision. Educational facilities were provided for the young. He was the founder of infant schools in Great Britain. He began to write essays advocating his social and community theories, and in 1817 presented his views, in form of a report, to the Committee of the House of Commons, on the Poor Law. The essays and report brought him into the eye of the people, not alone in Britain, but throughout Europe. Industrial leaders, social reformers, philanthropists, titled men, and even Royalty itself, visited New Lanark to see and learn. While thus leading a remarkable industrial reform movement, his business enterprises were not allowed to flag, and he proved that it paid to deal as he was doing with his work-people and their children, for from his business enterprises he amassed a fortune.

Like Plato and Sir Thomas More, whose disciple he undoubtedly was, imbibing some of the principles of each system, he outlined his ideal community. He recommended that communities of about twelve hundred persons each, should be settled on quantities of land, of from one thousand to fifteen hundred acres, all living in one large building in the form of a square, with public kitchen and dining room. Each family should have its own private apartments, and the entire care of the children till the age of three, after which they should be brought up by the community, their parents, however, having access to them at meals and all other proper times. Work and the employment of its results should

be in common. These communities might be established by individuals, parishes, counties or the state itself.

At this time he had gained the ear of the country, and one of his warmest friends and supporters was the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria. He had the prospect before him of becoming one of the greatest of social reformers and world benefactors, for in his personal character then, and to the end of his life, he was above reproach. Unfortunately, in the heyday of his grip of the national heart strings, he began to advocate a very lax view of marriage, which gave offense to many and alienated them from him. Also at a great gathering in London, where he was the lion of the hour, he deliberately went out of his way to declare his hostility to all the received forms of religion, and advocated a creed or religion of his own, the chief points of which were—"That man's character is made not by him, but for him. That it has been formed by circumstances over which he had no control. That he is not a proper subject either of praise or blame." In plain English, that man is not a responsible, but an irresponsible, being, wholly controlled and governed by circumstances and environment. From the moment of that pronouncement, Owen's theories were, in the popular mind, associated with infidelity, and the tide of popular public opinion turned against him. Particularly true was this among our dour Scotch, the descendants of the men who had opened their veins and with the ink of their own blood, subscribed to the solemn league and covenant. They could, and would, if need be, live on crowdie and oat meal bannocks in limited quantity, but perish the thought that they should follow a man of infidel tendencies. In the bitterness of his disappointment he cried out—"Lanark people, I meant you to have a taste of heaven below, but you would have none of the methods."

Owen died at his native village in 1858, aged eighty-seven years, but was buried at New Lanark, where most of his life was spent and his socialistic theories worked out. His body lies in a quiet corner back of the church of St. Kentigern.

Henry Jones, Esq., of Exeter, England, was a retired officer of the British navy, having held the office of purser. He met and heard Robert Owen when the latter was touring England and speaking before the public on his social and communistic theory. Jones became fascinated with Owen's scheme, and about 1825 went to New Lanark, Scotland, to attend Owen's lectures and study his theory, and also the practical workings of such portion of the scheme as he was there carrying out among his work people. His decision was soon made; he would visit the new land across the sea—Canada—make a selection of land, then

ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

return and gather together a sufficient number of families, bring them out and establish an "Owen settlement or community."

Mr. Jones proceeded to carry out his plan, bringing with him one Alexander Hamilton as his valet and travelling companion. The landing was made at New York; then by such modes of conveyance as offered in that day across the state, the newly opened Erie Canal to Buffalo being part of the route, then by the waters of Lake Erie, Detroit River, Lake and River St. Clair to Lake Huron, and having skirted the shores for some miles, being much impressed by the high, dry and heavily timbered shore line, the mouth of the River Aux Perches, then a considerable stream as it was the outlet of Lake Wawanash, a shallow body of water, in what is now Sarnia Township, of about two thousand acres and from four to six feet in depth. This river he found to be literally alive with wild duck, the marshy ground around Lake Wawanash being an ideal breeding ground for them. This settled the matter for Mr. Jones, as here was abundant opportunity for sport, while the land seemed to him an ideal location for his proposed colony.

Returning to the old country, Mr. Jones proceeded to the securing of the necessary land in what are now the Townships of Sarnia and Plympton, Lambton County, then an unsurveyed wilderness. From the Crown Lands Department of Ontario we quote the following: "The Township of Sarnia was surveyed partly by Deputy Surveyor Roswell Mount, under instructions from the Surveyor General, bearing date 8th of April, 1829, and partly by Deputy Surveyor Peter Carrol, under instructions from the Commissioner of Crown Lands, bearing date 23rd of April, 1835.

"The Township of Plympton was surveyed partly by Deputy Surveyor Charles Rankin, under instructions dated 5th June, 1829, and partly by Deputy Surveyor Peter Carrol, under instructions from the Surveyor General, of the 29th of May, 1832."

Be it well understood there was no Lambton then, but the unsurveyed portion, on which Mr. Jones had fixed his mind, formed a part of Kent, being the nineteenth county under the proclamation of John Graves Simcoe, dated 16th July, 1792, and which by the terms of that proclamation was to "comprehend all the country not being territories of the Indians, not already included in the several counties hereinbefore described, extending northward to the boundary line of Hudson's Bay."

John Collier Jones, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, was a brother of Henry Jones. He was married to a sister of Lady Colborne, wife of Sir John Colborne, who in 1829 was to become Governor of Upper Canada. Henry Jones was enabled by this matrimonial tie with

his family to induce Sir John Colborne to plead in his behalf at the Colonial Office, that he might be granted ten thousand acres on the shore of Lake Huron, where he might plant his community and work out his Utopian scheme along the lines laid down by Robert Owen. He was guaranteed the grant and then proceeded to carry out his plan.

Mr. Jones went to Scotland and began the gathering together of a goodly number of families who were willing to join in his scheme. With these he sailed for Canada. By what port he entered and by what route he came we do not know, but may presume, I think, that it would be by the same route he had previously pursued. Sometime, perhaps, some diary will be unearthed and discovered, musty with age, in which that trip was recorded. What a splendid bit of history it would be!

That band of pioneer men, women and children, in 1827, with a firmly seated conviction of bettering their condition, was led by a man of independent means, willing in behalf of his fellow-men to invest time, labor and wealth in this manner. Night after night they would pull up their boats on the shore and make their camp. Soon the camp-fire would blaze brightly, around which they would gather and prepare their evening meal, then roll up in their blankets, women and children in the boats, the men on the shore, and sleep and dream of the Arcadia they were going to establish in the wilderness of the new world.

Having reached their destination, they proceeded to establish themselves. Mr. Jones named his communistic colony "The Toon O' Maxwell"—Maxwell being the name of the residence at New Lanark, Scotland, of him whose follower he was—Robert Owen.

A member of the Jones family who began in 1831 (would that he had begun a few years earlier) a very comprehensive diary, gives the location of the community house as being on Lot fifteen, lake shore, Sarnia Township, and in 42 degrees, 58 min. N. Latitude, and 82 degrees, 30 min. W. Longitude.

The buildings erected were one storey high, of logs, and boards cut out with a whip-saw. The residence must have covered a considerable amount of ground, as a goodly number of families made their home within it. Each family had separate apartments, thus recognizing the family tie, but the cooking was done in one common kitchen, and they all met in one common dining-room for their meals. While the women thus worked in common together, in preparing the food, the men also went out together as a community to their daily toil in the new and strange work of clearing off the timber and cultivating the soil. Superannuated military stores had been drawn upon to help furnish the community for its backwoods life. Artillery harness, to which were at-

tached chains which once had done service on board the men-of-war, and these in turn hitched to ponderous carts brought by the community from Britain. The motive power was Indian ponies, the only representative of the equine race then found in those parts. A member of the Jones family of a later generation, and still living, has told us that in his boyhood days some of that ponderous equipment was still extant, and an Indian pony must have been almost hidden from sight by the harness, and had load enough in the cart without anything being added thereto. About fifty acres were cleared and got under cultivation. The fencing of their fields by those honest but innocent pioneers, was a weary and almost interminable task. What knew they about a Virginia snake-fence? Never had any of them seen, much less split, a rail, and so in a manner as though for a king's palace they hewed out posts, and with two-inch auger and chisel, cut a number of mortices right through them, Then setting them firmly in the ground, they proceeded to fit into them rails or bars hewn out with elaborate precision, with well made tenons which were fitted into the morticed posts. A hard day's toil by all the men would only construct a few rods of fence, built in that manner, while the same amount of labor expended in splitting rails out of the timber they were burning up, and building them into a regular rail fence, would have enclosed as many acres. But they did not know and ought not to be sneered at because of their ignorance.

At a little distance from the community dwelling house they erected a building to be used as a store, from which all supplies might be obtained. Another building was put up which was the school in which the children of the community were to receive an education, for scholastic training of the young was one of the strong features of the Owen philosophy.

Thus they toiled on in their isolated location, for, except a few French families on the River St. Clair front, where now the south side of Sarnia is situated, there were no other white people on Canadian soil nearer than Baldoon, Lord Selkirk's colony, on the Chenal Ecarte, near the south-west corner of the present county of Lambton.

In the "Life and Journals of Kah-ke-wa-quana-by," (Rev. Peter Jones), Indian Methodist missionary to his own people, now a very rare book, we find the only printed reference dating right back to the time of the colony, we have been able to find. We quote from the above work, page 244: "Saturday, Aug. 1st, 1829. Started for St. Clair this morning. Called a few minutes at Kettle Point, so called from a number of rocks or stones projecting from the precipice overhanging the waters, resembling iron pots of various sizes. In the afternoon we passed a new settlement

of white people eight or ten miles west (this is an evident typographical error, it should be east) of the mouth of the lake. This settlement was formed by a Mr. Jones, who tried to carry out what is called the **Owen system** of having all things common; but I was informed the thing did not work well here, as the colonists one after another left their leader." It is evident by this that the settlement was a short-lived one; only two years had gone by since its founding until the record was made in Rev. Peter Jones' journal, and already the community was showing a thinning of the ranks by desertion.

The complete failure of the attempt was all too evident, when a fire caught the community house and totally destroyed it. The date of this disaster we have been unable to place. A goodly number of the colony then left it, having learned by that time that each family could for a very small sum own a hundred acre farm for themselves; then why should they submerge their personality in a community in which they formed only a part? Two community houses were built after the fire for those who still remained true to the original idea, but on a much smaller scale than the former house. These were placed one on either side of the road they had made through their clearing. It was not very long, however, until Mr. Jones and his own family were left alone, as the exodus continued until all the others were gone.

During the period of its continuance as a community, the United States military post on the Michigan shore, ten miles away, Fort Gratiot, was their post office and point of contact with the outer world they had left behind them to establish a **Utopia** or **Arcadia** where the ordinary cares of humanity were not to be known, and by emancipation from them they were to be taught not to look back to the old life. The attempt ended, as most such have ended, in proving itself fruitless.

It was a costly experiment for the founder, Mr. Jones, who expended no less a sum than ten thousand pounds sterling, fifty thousand dollars, on the experiment, vindicating his singleness of purpose and sincerity of belief in the system, which he believed was to be a panacea for the ordinary troubles that commonly beset the path of the traveller in the journey of life.

After the extinction of the colony, objection being made in some quarters to Mr. Jones holding the large tract of land granted him by the Colonial Office and Provincial Government, now that his community was gone, he, with that high honor characteristic of the true Britisher, especially one of good family and birth, as he was, voluntarily relinquished nine-tenths of the grant, refusing to hold it, and retaining only the one thousand acres to which, as a retired officer of the navy of the rank

of purser, he was entitled. So ended one of the most striking settlement or colonization schemes ever attempted in our Province. Romantic in its beginnings, tragic and disastrous in its ending, was "The Toon O' Maxwell, the Owen settlement in Lambton County."

Among the number of those who composed the community we have been able to glean a few names only, as Alexander Hamilton (valet to the founder), Henry Young, Thomas Steen, John McFarlane and brother, the Burys and McPhedrars. Descendants of some of these are prominent in the life of the county at the present day.

John Hamilton, Esq., of Forest, grandson of Alexander Hamilton mentioned above, has a neat little article which links to that Owen settlement, a silver pencil-case about four and one-half inches long, with a seal on the end. The seal is seven-sixteenths of an inch across, having a quill pen and the word Truth upon it. This belonged to Henry Jones, Esq., founder of "The Toon O' Maxwell," and as his personal seal was highly prized by him, and was specifically left by will to him who had made the preliminary voyage and exploration tour with him to Canada, and then as one of the company, helped establish the settlement. Needless to say it is highly prized by his grandson, to whom it was left when the grandfather died, as a trinket linking itself to a rich bit of our early pioneer history.

Let it be clearly understood we consider this paper to be suggestive only, not by any means exhaustive, and hope that we, or some other person, from this preliminary base, may yet be able to gather from as yet undiscovered, and we will hope, somewhere hidden away records, an exhaustive store of historic detail regarding "The Toon O' Maxwell" to which this paper will prove but the A. B. C.

Alvinston, Lambton Co., Ont., 1909.

II.

THE U. E. LOYALISTS OF THE OLD JOHNSTOWN DISTRICT.

BY HIS HONOR JUDGE H. S. MACDONALD, BROCKVILLE

In June, 1884, at the meeting held in Adolphustown, Ontario, to celebrate the centennial of the first settlement of Upper Canada by the United Empire Loyalists, one of the speakers intimated that the celebration had been set on foot in order (to use the words of Dr. Ryerson) "to do, at least, a modicum of justice to the memory of a Canadian Ancestry, whose historic deeds and unswerving Christian patriotism, form a patent of nobility more to be valued by their descendants than the coronets of many a modern nobleman." Concurring as I do—as I trust you do—entirely in the truth of this tribute to those who may justly be called the forefathers of the great Province of Ontario, it is at once a pleasure and a privilege to speak of them, as I am to do in this paper.

It is impossible for us, at this remote period of time, to enter into the feelings and to appreciate the conduct and action of those who are known as the United Empire Loyalists. It has been so much the habit to have the virtue of true patriotism accorded to the American Revolutionists, and to hear the Loyalists, under the name of Tories, depicted as men who were false to their country, and cruel and cowardly in their actions, that many, even the descendants of the latter, have not known the truth of the matter. For this state of things United States writers have been largely responsible, and the thanks of the Canadian people are justly due to the late Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson, for having in his work entitled "The Loyalists of America and their Times," done justice to the Loyalists, and exposed the cruelty and injustice with which they were treated.

Mr. Lecky, the distinguished historian, says: "There were brave and honest men in America, who were proud of the great and free Empire to which they belonged, who had no desire to shrink from the burden of maintaining it, who remembered with gratitude the English blood which had been shed around Quebec and Montreal, and who, with nothing to hope for from the Crown, were prepared to face the most brutal mob violence, and the invective of a scurrilous press, to risk their fortunes, their reputations, and sometimes even their lives, to avert

civil war and ultimate separation. Most of them ended their days in poverty and exile, and as the supporters of a beaten cause, history has paid a scanty tribute to their memory; but they composed some of the best and ablest men America has ever produced, and they were contending for an ideal which was at least as worthy as that for which Washington fought. The maintenance of our free, industrial and pacific Empire, composing the whole of the English race, may have been a dream, but it was at least a noble one."

Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson says: "From the beginning the Loyalists were deprived of the freedom of the press, freedom of assemblage, and under an espionage universal, sleepless, malignant, subjecting the Loyalists to every species of insult, to arrest and imprisonment at any moment, and to the sacrifice and confiscation of their property. They were represented as 'the dregs of society,' as 'social outcasts,' as 'fiends in human shape opposed to all human liberty.'"

And again: "The Americans inaugurated their Declaration of Independence by enacting that all adherents to connection with the Mother Country were rebels and traitors; they followed the recognition of 'independence' by England by exiling such adherents from their territories. But while this wretched policy depleted the United States of many of their best blood, it laid the foundation of the settlement and institutions of the then almost unknown, and wilderness, provinces which have since become the widespread, free, and prosperous Dominion of Canada."

When the independence of the United States was recognized, and a treaty of peace came to be considered, one of the most difficult questions that faced the Commissioners was the treatment which should be accorded to the Loyalists. Lord Mahon says that it was "a main object with the British Government to obtain, if possible, some restitution to the men who, in punishment for their continued allegiance to the King, had found their property confiscated and their persons banished." The United States Commissioners said that they had no such power, nor had even Congress; that it rested with the individual States of the Union, that they (the Commissioners) were willing that Congress should, with certain modifications, recommend those indemnities to the several States, and it is said they to the last "continued to assert that the recommendation of Congress would have the effect" proposed. The 4th, 5th and 6th Articles of the Treaty made provision that Congress should earnestly recommend to the several Legislatures to provide for the restitution of all estates belonging to real British subjects who had not borne arms against them; that all other persons were to be at liberty to go to any of the Provinces, and to remain there for twelve months to wind up their

affairs, the Congress also recommending the restitution of the confiscated property, and the repayment of the sums for which they had been sold. No impediment was to be put in the way of recovering bona fide debts; no further prosecutions were to be commenced; no further confiscations made. Congress is said to have urged, in strong terms, the propriety of making restitution to the Loyalists, but be this as it may, it was not made, the citizens generally objecting to their return to their former places of residence and to the proposal for reimbursing their confiscated estates. In some sections Committees were formed to oppose their peaceable residence, and outrages were committed on their persons and property. The result was that the United States lost and Canada gained a population at once, hardy, intelligent, and possessed of high principles.

May I be allowed to quote here the following lines written by Mr. Kirby.

The U. E. Loyalists.

The war was over, seven red years of blood
Had scourged the land from mountain top to sea :
(So long it took to rend the mighty frame
Of England's empire in the western world.)
Rebellion won at last, and they who loved
The cause that lost, and who had kept their faith
To England's Crown, and scorned an alien name,
Passed into exile, leaving all behind
Except their honour, and the conscious pride
Of duty done to country and to King.

Broad lands, ancestral homes, the gathered wealth
Of patient toil and self-denying years,
Were confiscate and lost; for they had been
The salt and savour of the land; trained up
In honour, loyalty, and fear of God.
The wine upon the lees decanted, when
They left their native soil with sword belts drawn
The tighter; while the women only wept
At the thought of old fire-sides no longer theirs,
At household treasures reft, and all the land
Upset, and ruled by rebels to the King.

Not drooping like poor fugitives they came
In exodus to our Canadian wild,
But full of heart and hope, with heads erect

And fearless eyes, victorious in defeat.
With thousand toils they forced their devious way
Through the great wilderness of silent woods,
The gloomed o'er lake and stream, till higher rose
The northern star above the broad domain
Of half a continent still theirs to hold,
Defend and keep forever as their own,
Their own and England's to the end of time.

The virgin forests carpeted with leaves
Of many autumns fallen crisp and sear,
Put on their woodland state: while overhead
Green seas of foliage roared a welcome home
To the proud exiles, who for empire fought
And kept, though losing much, this northern land
A refuge and defence for all who love
The broader freedom of a commonwealth
That wears upon its head a kingly crown.

The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind surely and exceedingly small.

In 1812-13 the United States, finding Great Britain engaged in war single-handed against much of Europe, as Europe then was—Napoleon Bonaparte being as yet unconquered—declared war against her, and Canada was promptly invaded. To its defence there sprang to arms many of the survivors and sons of the United Empire Loyalists, and Lundy's Lane, Queenston Heights, Chrysler's Farm, and other well-fought fields were witness to their courage and prowess.

In 1788 Lord Dorchester divided Upper Canada into four districts. General Simcoe afterwards adopted a new division into districts, counties and townships, one of these being the district of Johnstown, which was formed by Act 38, George III., Chapter 5, passed in 1798. Originally it included territory somewhat in excess of that comprising the United Counties of Leeds and Grenville, but for the purpose of this paper the United Counties are taken as they now are. The County-town was Johnstown—two or three miles from Prescott. There is in existence a record of the names of Justices of the Peace—all of them, I doubt not, U. E. Loyalists, or sons of such, who were present at a Court of General Sessions of the Peace holden at Johnstown on the 14th October, 1800, George the Third then being King, and of the oaths which they subscribed and took. This is of special interest at the present moment, when the public mind in the United Kingdom and in the British Dominions

over the sea, is concerned with the oath to be taken at his Coronation, one hundred and ten years later, by His Majesty, George the Fifth, a great, great grandson of George the Third.

The record is as follows:

Province of Upper Canada, District of Johnstown.	{ At a Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, held at the Court House in the Town of Johnstown, the following oaths were administered to the subscribers, 14th October, 1800.
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Oath of Allegiance.

I do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty, King George. So help me God.

Oath of Supremacy.

I do swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical that damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or any authority of the See of Rome may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever; and I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power or superiority, preeminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual within this realm.

So help me God.

Oath of Abjuration.

I do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify and declare, in my conscience before God and the world, that our sovereign lord King George is lawful and rightful King of this realm and all other His Majesty's dominions and countries thereunto belonging. And I do solemnly and sincerely declare that I do believe in my conscience that not any of the descendants of the person who pretended to be Prince of Wales during the life of the late King James the Second, and since his decease pretended to be and took upon himself the stile and title of King of England by the name of James the Third, or of Scotland by the name of James the Eighth, or the stile and title of King of Great Britain, hath any right or title whatsoever to the Crown of this realm or any other the dominions thereunto belonging: and I do renounce, refuse and

abjure any allegiance or obedience to any of these: and I do swear that I will bear faithful and true allegiance to His Majesty King George, and him will defend to the utmost of my power against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall be made against his person, crown or dignity. And I will do my utmost endeavor to disclose and make known to His Majesty and his successors all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which I shall know to be against him or any of them. And I do faithfully promise to the utmost of my power to support, maintain and defend the succession of the crown against the descendants of the said late King James and against all other persons whatsoever, which succession by an Act entitled "An Act for the further limitation of the Crown and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject" is and stands limited to the Princess Sophia, electress and duchess dowager of Hanover and the heirs of her body being Protestants. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear according to these express words by me spoken and according to the plain common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition, acknowledgement, abjuration, renunciation and promise heartily, willingly and truly upon the true faith of a Christian.

So help me God.

Ye shall swear that as justice of the peace in the District of Johnstown in all articles in the King's Commission to you directed, you shall do equal right to the poor and to the rich after your cunning, wit, and power, and after the laws and customs of the realm and statutes thereof made. And ye shall not be of counsel of any quarrel hanging before you. And that ye hold your Sessions after the form of the Statutes thereof made. And the issues, fines and amerciaments that shall happen to be made and all forfeitures which shall fall before you, ye shall cause to be entered without any concealment (or embezzling) and truly send them to the King's exchequer. Ye shall not let, for gift or other cause, but well and truly ye shall do your office of justice of the peace in that behalf. And that you take nothing for your office of justice of the peace to be done, but of the King, and fees accustomed, and costs limited by Statute. And ye shall not direct nor cause to be directed any warrant, (by you to be made) to the parties, but ye shall direct them to the bailiff of the said District or other the King's officers or ministers or other indifferent persons to do execution thereof.

So help you God.

The justices who signed were:

WM. FRASER
SOLOMON JONES
JAMES BRECKENRIDGE
TRUMAN HICOCK
THOS. FRASER
SAML. WRIGHT
HUGH MUNROE
WILLIAM SOWLES

EPHM. JONES
EDWARD JESSUP
JOEL STONE
STEPHEN BURRITT
RICHARD ARNOLD
THOS. SMYTHE
HENRY ARNOLD

It may be mentioned that the oaths of office and of allegiance administered to Justices of the Peace at present are of a simple and wholly uncontroversial character. They read as follows:

Oath of Office.

I, A. B., of the _____ in the United Counties of
Leeds and Grenville, do swear that I will well and truly serve our
Sovereign Lord King George the Fifth in the Office of Justice of the
Peace, and I will do right to all manner of people after the laws and
usages of this Province without fear or favour, affection or ill-will.
So help me God.

Sworn before me at the

of United Counties of Leeds and Grenville, this day of A. D. 19 in the

Oath of Allegiance.

I, A. B., of the
in the United Counties of Leeds and Grenville,
do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true
allegiance to His Majesty King George the Fifth as lawful Sovereign
of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British
Dominions beyond the Seas, and that I will defend him to the utmost of
my power against all traitorous conspiracies or attempts whatever which
may be made against His Person, Crown and Dignity, and that I will do
my utmost endeavor to disclose and make known to His Majesty, his
Heirs or Successors, all treasons or traitorous conspiracies or attempts

which I may know to be against Him or any of them. And all this I do swear without any equivocation, mental evasion or secret reservation. So help me God.

Sworn before me at the Town
of Brockville in the said
United Counties this
day of A. D. 19

}

In 1810 Brockville became the county town. Above the Judge's bench in the present courtroom is the painted representation of the Royal Arms which was in place in the old Johnstown Court House more than a hundred years ago. It is said that a strong party in the eastern part of the District opposed to the removal to Brockville laboured under the impression that no legally constituted court could be held without the Royal Arms and determined to resist its removal by force. By some stratagem the coveted ensignia was secured by the Brockville representatives, and then followed a hand to hand struggle for its possession which terminated in a victory for those representing the new court house.

His Honor Judge Pringle (of Cornwall), in his interesting book concerning the United Counties of Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry—"The old Eastern District"—describes the system adopted in the allotment of lands to the Loyalists as follows:

They had their farms allotted to them on the lottery principle, i. e., each one would draw from a hat or box a slip of paper on which was marked the number of a lot, and of the lot so drawn he became the owner. Each soldier received a grant of 100 acres fronting on the river, and 200 at a point removed from it. As soon as possible after the division of the land was made, the owner took possession. As they landed in June, 1784, they had several months in which to make some preparation, rude though it might be, for the coming winter. Those on adjoining lots would join together to put up for each settler a log house as a shelter. These houses were small, the largest not more than 20 feet by 15, built of round logs notched at the corners, and laid one upon the other to a height of seven or eight feet. The roof was made of elm bark, an opening for a door and one for a window were cut; the floor was made of split logs, the hearth of flat stones, the chimney of field stone laid up with hard clay for mortar as high as the walls, above which it was made of small round sticks plastered with clay. The spaces between the logs were "chinked" with small pieces of wood and daubed

with clay, a blanket did duty as a door until a few boards could be cut with a whipsaw, the window was fitted in course of time with a rough sash and four lights of glass, seven and a half inches by eight and a half, and the log house would be complete. Bed and bedding the settlers in most cases brought with them, but chairs, tables and bedsteads had to be manufactured by each man for himself. Blocks of wood might serve for seats, the lid of a chest could do duty as a table, and a few poles could be put together to form a bedstead. Shelter having been provided, each family proceeded as best they might to clear a space of ground on which to raise a scanty crop the following year.

The Hungry Summer—In the year 1787, the universal cry that arose from Upper Canada was "bread! bread! bread!" though the height of the famine was not reached until the summer of 1788. The sad condition of the Province was brought about by a failure of the crops and by the government ceasing to grant the usual supplies to new settlers, who came into the country totally unprovided for, and, unable to raise crops, were reduced to the greatest straits, and in many instances experienced all the horrors of a famine. In the vicinity of Maitland there was raised a field of wheat which escaped the frost and came to maturity at an early period in the summer. The people flocked to the field in large numbers, even before the wheat ripened, taking the milk-like heads and boiling them into a kind of gruel. Half-starved children haunted the banks of the river, begging sea-biscuits from the passing boatmen. It is related that one gentleman who was en route from the Lower Province was so touched with the plaintive appeals that he gave up his last crust and had not a mouthful for himself for three days. Money was sent to Montreal and Quebec for flour, but the answer came back, "We have none to spare." Salt rose in some localities to the enormous price of one dollar a quart. Indian cabbage or kail, ground nuts, and even the young buds of trees were eagerly devoured. Fish and game, when caught, were frequently roasted in the woods, and eaten without pepper or salt. Families existed for months on oat porridge; beef bones were boiled again and again; boiled bran was a luxury; farms were offered for a few pounds of flour. Fish were caught with a hook made from the backbone of the pike, and speared in the small creeks with a crotched pole. In the Province, five individuals were found dead, including one poor woman with a live infant at her breast. The infant was carried away and protected.

"The following are the names of some of the early settlers: Joseph White, Asa Webster, David Kilborn, Reuben Mott, Henry Mott, Conrad Peterson, Jonathan Mills Church, Edward Leehy, Henry Elliott, Barth-

olomew Carley, Livius Wickwire, Jonathan Wickwire, William Buell, B. Buell, Jonathan Buell, Samuel Wright, William Wright, Abraham Elliott, Adam Cole, John Cole, Jonathan Fulford, Captain Joseph Jessup, Ensign Thos. Smith, Enoch Mallory, Elisha Mallory, Jos. Buck, Asa Landon, Alexander Bernard, Henry Manhard, Lieut. Jas. Breckenridge, Rugles Munsell, Matthew Howard, Stephen Howard, John Howard, Peter Freel, Terrence Smith, James Miller, Daniel McEathron, John McEathron, Daniel Shipman, Joseph McNish, Levi Hotchkiss, Robert Putnam, James Cooney, Henry McLean, Robert McLean, Allan Grant, Joseph White, Jr., William Clow, John Munroe, the Hecks, and Levi Comstock." Many members of Jessup's Corps, after being disbanded, also became settlers, and among these were: Thomas Sherwood, the Frasers, Solomon Snyder, Gideon Adams, Simon Coville, Benoni Wilton, the Jones, the Jessups, and other well known names, descendants of some of whom are still living in the United Counties. It is impossible within the limits of this paper to do more than refer to some of them.

The Sherwoods.—Thomas Sherwood, father of the late Adiel Sherwood, who settled in Elizabethtown, below Brockville, in 1784, is said to have been the first settler in the United Counties. He had been a subaltern officer in Major Jessup's Corps, and located lot number One in the First Concession of Elizabethtown, about the first of June, 1784, and continued to live there until his death in 1826. His son Adiel Sherwood was Sheriff of the United Counties, within my memory, and died between twenty-five and thirty-five years ago full of years. In a written memoir furnished by him to Dr. Canniff, of Toronto, he said:

After the first year, we raised a supply of Indian corn, but had no mill to grind it, and were therefore compelled to pound it in a large mortar, manufacturing what we call "Samp," which was made into the Indian bread called by the Dutch "suppawn." The mortar was constructed in the following manner: We cut a log from a large tree, say two and one-half feet in diameter, and six feet in length, planted it firmly in the ground, so that about two feet projected above the surface; then carefully burned the centre of the top so as to form a considerable cavity, which was then scraped clean. We generally selected an ironwood tree about six inches in diameter from which to make the pestle. Many a time I have pounded with one until the sweat ran merrily down my back. Although this simple contrivance did well enough for corn, it did not answer for grinding wheat. The Government, seeing this difficulty, built a mill back of Kingston, where the inhabitants, for seven miles below Brockville, got their grinding done. In our neighborhood they got along well enough in summer, by lashing two wooden canoes

together. Three persons would unite to manage the craft, each taking a grist. It generally took about a week to perform the journey. After horses were procured, kind Providence furnished a road on the ice until the road was passable by land. What is wonderful is that during the past fifty years it has not been practicable for horses and sleighs to traverse the ice from Brockville to Kingston, such a way having been provided, only when absolutely necessary, for the settlers.

The Buell Family.—Among the United Empire Loyalists who sought refuge in Canada were the original pioneers of the Buell family. From the hour when the first rude shanty was built on the site of Brockville, down to the present time, the descendants have been intimately associated with the control of public affairs, not only in the town, but also throughout the county.

Wm. Buell, Sr., was of English descent, both upon his father's and mother's side. He was the son of Timothy Buell, and his wife Mercy Peters, and was born at Hebron, in the then English Colony of Connecticut, on the 5th of October, 1751. His mother was a descendant of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Peters, who at the commencement of the American Revolution was the Bishop of Connecticut, and wrote a history of that colony which has recently been re-published under the editorship of his great-grandson, S. Jarvis McCormick, Esq.

When the war broke out, Mr. Buell remained loyal to the British Crown, and as soon as was practicable made his way through the wilderness to Montreal, where he received an ensign's commission in the "King's Rangers," subsequently becoming lieutenant. His service extended over a period of seven years, and during a portion of the time he acted as quarter-master. He was frequently detailed to carry important despatches from the authorities in Canada to the British Commander at New York, and on many occasions met with hair-breadth escapes. He was twice taken prisoner by the insurgents, but succeeded in effecting his escape, and was also present at the surrender of General Burgoyne.

On the 10th day of March, 1782, he was married at St. Johns, Lower Canada, to Martha Norton, whose father was an U. E. Loyalist who had removed to Canada from Farmington, Connecticut. A family of nine children was the result of this union.

After the termination of the revolutionary war, Mr. Buell, Sr., was placed upon the half-pay list, and retired from military service. In 1785, accompanied by his wife, he removed to Upper Canada, settling upon the present site of the Town of Brockville, then a wilderness. He

received a grant from the Crown of the land upon which the central portion of the town was subsequently built, where he settled and erected the first house.

About the year 1800 Mr. Buell, after a contest with Reuben Sherwood, a Provincial Land Surveyor, was elected a member of the House of Assembly for Upper Canada, for a term of four years.

Mr. Buell was upright and honest, and very kind to the poor. He was generous in his character, liberal in his politics, and highly respected. He died at Brockville on the 8th day of August, 1832, in the 81st year of his age. Of his children, William Buell the younger was a Lieutenant Colonel of the Militia, and held the medal with clasps for the Battle of Chrysler's Farm, 1813, and was one of the representatives for the County of Leeds in the Upper Canada Assembly from 1828 to 1836, (having been thrice elected).

His son, Lieutenant Colonel Jacob Dockstader Buell, was born in Brockville in 1827, and was called to the Bar of Upper Canada in 1854. He took a deep interest in Canadian military affairs, and was for several years Lieutenant Colonel of the 42nd Battalion, Brockville Infantry. He represented Brockville in the House of Commons of Canada for two Parliamentary terms, and was elected Mayor of Brockville for several terms. He died in 1895. His son, Mr. William Senkler Buell, of Brockville, Barrister, has been Mayor of Brockville. He has inherited the military instincts of his great-grandfather, grandfather, and father, and after service for some years as Adjutant of the 41st Battalion of Brockville Rifles, has recently, with the great goodwill of the officers and men, as well as of the community, become Colonel of that excellent Corps, whose traditions and honour could not be in safer hands than in his.

Joel Stone.—Joel Stone was the founder of the Town of Gananoque, which is beautifully situated on the banks of the River St. Lawrence, almost in the heart of the Thousand Islands.

In 1774 he was engaged in the business of a merchant, in Litchfield, Connecticut. He says, "I soon had the happiness to discover myself in the confidence and esteem of my neighbours, and the public in general. By dint of an unwearied diligence, and close application to trade, I found the number of my friends and customers daily increasing, and a fair prospect of long happiness rose to my sanguine mind, in one of the most desirable situations, beneath the best of laws, and the most excellent Government in the Universe.

"But alas, the most dreadful commotions that commenced about this period quickly involved that unhappy country in all the dreadful

horrors of an unnatural war, and filling the pleasant land with desolation and blood, removed all my fair prospects of future blessings; yet amidst all this anarchy and rage I was fixed in my resolve, rather to forego all I could call my property in the world, than flinch from my duty to the best Sovereign, sooner to perish in the general calamity than abet in the least degree the enemies of the British Constitution."

Entertaining such sentiments it may readily be supposed that his life soon became a disturbed one. In 1775, being suspected of unfriendliness to the provincial or continental party, he was cited to appear before a Committee, possibly a "Vigilance Committee," and was accused of having supplied those whom we would call Loyalists with sundry articles of provisions, and with having supported and assisted the British prisoners confined in Connecticut. It was with much difficulty that he at the time escaped a very severe examination at the hands of the emissaries of Congress. His aged father appears to have occupied much the same position as his son, for we are told that he was repeatedly imprisoned, threatened, and harassed "for his steady perseverance in maintaining with all his ability the true liberty of the country, and just cause of his rightful Sovereign."

At length, in 1776, Joel Stone discovered that it was impracticable for him any longer to conceal his sentiments. He was required to declare without further hesitation whether he would immediately take up arms himself against the British Government or procure a substitute. Having declined to do either the one or the other, a warrant was issued for his apprehension, and having been informed of it, and that men were actually on their way to his house, he took flight upon horseback, and the night being a dark one, he had the good fortune to elude those who were searching for him, and escaped. The party seeking him was attended by a mob, and his house was broken up, and all the property which could be got at was seized.

Mr. Stone made his way to New York, which was then in possession of the British, and here he resided for several years. He took up arms for his King and served him from 29th June, 1777, until the evacuation of New York. Having gone to Huntingdon, Long Island, to recruit men, he was surprised, while asleep, on the 12th of May, 1778, by a company of whale-boat men and carried to Fairfield, Connecticut, where he was committed to close custody upon a charge of treason. He escaped on the 23rd of July, 1778, from what he calls "that town of terrors," and with great difficulty made his way to Long Island. After the evacuation of New York by the British, and in or after July, 1783, Mr. Stone went to England, arriving there on 23rd December, 1783, after a long

and tedious voyage. In 1786 he sailed for Canada, and having first settled where the Town of Cornwall now stands, eventually, in 1792 or 1793, removed to the Gananoque River, and is said to have been the first white man who resided on the peninsula on the west side of that stream. Here he lived until his death, which took place on the 20th of November, 1833.

Justus Sherwood and His Descendants.—Justus Sherwood, who was a captain in the Colonial Militia on active service during the American war of independence, came into the Province of Quebec about the year 1777, and remained at St. John's for some time. His second son, the late Mr. Justice Sherwood, was born there. Justus Sherwood afterwards settled in the Township of Augusta, on a farm near where the old blue church was afterwards erected. He was one of the first members of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, that met at Newark, now the Town of Niagara. He had two sons, Samuel Sherwood, Esq., and Mr. Justice Sherwood, before mentioned, who were educated for and became members of the Bar of Upper Canada. Mr. Justice Sherwood was elected by the County of Leeds to the House of Assembly in 1822, and became Speaker of that body, and in 1825 was appointed a Puisne Judge of the Court of King's Bench for Upper Canada. He served in this capacity for a number of years and afterwards retired. In 1841, during the administration of Lord Sydenham, he was appointed Speaker of the Legislative Council of Canada. He died in 1850 leaving four sons and three daughters. Henry, the eldest son, at one time represented the Town of Brockville, and afterwards the City of Toronto, and held the offices of Solicitor and Attorney-General. George, his second son, represented Brockville for about twenty years. He held the offices of Receiver-General and Commissioner of Crown Lands, in the Cartier-McDonald Ministry, and retired from Parliament about the year 1863. He was, in 1865, appointed Judge of the County of Hastings. Samuel, his third son, was Registrar of the City of Toronto at the time of his death in 1867, and Edward, the fourth son, was, at the time of his death, 1877, Registrar of the County of Carleton.

The Jessups.—Edward Jessup, Major Commandant of a Colonial corps, which was known as the "Loyal American Regiment," was born in the parish of Stamford, in the County of Fairfield, State of Connecticut, in the year 1735. He was the son of Joseph Jessup who died in Montreal in 1779, and grandson of Edward Jessup, who emigrated from England at the close of the Seventeenth Century, and settled in the colony of New York. At the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, Major Jessup and his family resided at the City of Albany, New York.

A staunch Loyalist, Major Jessup promptly sacrificed his fortune by taking up arms for the King, and entering upon the struggle for the maintenance of the British supremacy in the revolting colonies. With his corps he joined the army under Burgoyne, who was then marching upon Ticonderoga (1777), and continued in the service until the close of hostilities.

After the defeat of Burgoyne, the major proceeded to Canada with his corps, which then became known as "Jessup's Rangers." They were first stationed at Isle aux Noix, and subsequently at St. Charles, St. Denis, River du Chene, Vercheres, and Sorel. When peace was declared in 1783, large tracts of land were granted by the Crown to the officers and men who, accompanied by their families, in the Spring of 1784, proceeded up the St. Lawrence in a brigade of boats, thus commencing the settlement of Leeds and Grenville, Addington and the Bay of Quinte.

After completing the location of his men, Major Jessup proceeded to England, where he remained for several years. When he returned to Canada, he settled in the Township of Augusta, County of Grenville, selecting lots numbers 1, 2 and 3 in the First Concession, they having been granted to him by the Crown.

In the year 1810 the Major had a town plot surveyed, on the front of lots numbers 2 and 3, in the 1st Concession, which he named Prescott, in honor of a distinguished British officer of the name.

Immediately after the survey had been completed, Major Jessup built a school house, and also a residence for the teacher. Previous to that date, the present site of Prescott contained only three houses, the residence of Major Jessup, the residence of his son, and a house which he had built for the manager of his farm.

He died at Prescott in February, 1816, at the advanced age of 81 years. His life was spent in the defence of Crown and country, in creating a new Empire, under the old flag, upon the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, in fostering British institutions, and carving out of the primeval forest homes for future generations.

Edward Jessup, only son of Major Jessup, was born in the City of Albany, Province of New York. He was a lieutenant in the Royal Rangers commanded by his father, and after the close of the Revolutionary War was placed on the half-pay list. He visited England with his father, and with him returned to Canada, settling on the present site of Prescott.

He was elected representative for the Eastern District in the Legislative Assembly of the Province. In January, 1800, he was appointed

by Lieutenant-Governor Hunter, Clerk of the Peace for the District of Johnstown. Lieutenant-Governor Gore issued a commission to him in 1809, as Lieutenant-Colonel of the first Regiment of Leeds Militia. Mr. Jessup died at Prescott in the year 1815, leaving a wife and seven children.

The Jones Family of Fort Edward.—At or about the commencement of the revolutionary struggle, there lived on the Rogers' Farm, opposite Fort Edward, on the Hudson River, a widow lady named Sarah Jones, the mother of seven sons, all of whom, but one, are said to have been officers in the royal army, one of whom lost his life and others their homes and property because of their loyalty to their King. His Honor Judge Pringle, in his book "Lunenburg, or the Old Eastern District," furnishes information showing that Jonathan Jones, David Jones, and Solomon Jones were respectively a Captain, a Lieutenant, and a Surgeon's mate in Jessup's Corps, having joined it on 4th November, 1776. Of five who survived the war, the eldest, Jonathan, settled in Nova Scotia, and the other four made their homes in the Johnstown District, Daniel drawing land in Elizabethtown, within the limits of the present Town of Brockville. He died in 1820, and his body lies in the family plot in the old cemetery on the banks of the St. Lawrence. His sons, David and Daniel, became barristers. David represented the County of Leeds and also the Town of Brockville, in the Upper Canada Legislature, and was for a time the Judge of the Eastern District Court at Cornwall. He was also for many years Registrar of the County of Leeds. The younger son, Daniel, was born in the year 1794, and died at Brockville in 1838. In 1835 he visited England, at which time he received the honour of Knighthood from His Majesty, King William IV., being the first native of the Province of Upper Canada who had received so distinguished a mark of royal favour.

Solomon Jones, one of the four brothers who sought refuge on the banks of the St. Lawrence, served with Burgoyne's army in the capacity of surgeon, to which profession he had been educated, and, effecting his escape at the time of the surrender at Saratoga, made his way to Canada, tendered his services to the Commander of the British forces, then having headquarters at Three Rivers, and continued to serve in Lower Canada until peace was declared.

Dr. Jones was a man of note in his locality and generation, and his memory is still cherished as that of a gentleman of high worth and marked capacity. His professional services were eagerly sought along the sparse settlements, all the way from Kingston to Cornwall. He was

a member of the first Parliament of Upper Canada, and Judge of the Johnstown District Court. He died in 1822. His great-grandson, Mr. Harold Jones, occupies the old homestead on the bank of the St. Lawrence, between Brockville and Prescott.

David, another of the four brothers, and the sixth son, was a lieutenant, and served in General Burgoyne's army. He had become affianced before the war commenced to Jane or Jean McCrea, who, according to one report, was the daughter of one who espoused the cause of the revolutionary party, and, according to another, was the daughter of the Rev. James McCrea, a New Jersey Loyalist. Supposing that the troubles would soon be ended, Mr. Jones and Miss McCrea decided not to be married until peace should have been made. It soon appearing that the war was likely to last longer than had been expected, it was agreed that the marriage should not be further delayed, and on the 27th day of July, 1777, Miss McCrea, in company with a lady friend, left her home at Fort Edward to go to General Burgoyne's headquarters, at which the marriage ceremony was to be performed by a clerk in holy orders—probably a chaplain to the forces. Between the American post at Fort Edward and the advanced English posts at or near Glen's Falls, or Sandy Hill, was a debatable ground over which it was necessary for Miss McCrea and her friend to pass. Scouting parties of Indians being then frequently out, Lieutenant Jones feared that one of these might meet Miss McCrea and cause her alarm, if not injury, and, owing to his anxiety, he engaged an Indian chief, in whose good faith and intelligence he had confidence, and to whom he told the object of her coming, to go out and keep watch over her, at such a distance, however, as not to alarm her, and yet near enough to render her assistance if needed. It so happened that she was taken prisoner by a party of Indians, who were returning from a marauding expedition, and the friendly chief, fearing for her safety, drew near to protect her.

At this time she met with her death—how will never be known. On the one side it is said that a dispute arose between the Indians as to who should have the honour of conducting Miss McCrea to the British headquarters, and that this waxed so fierce that a savage belonging to the party which had made her prisoner drew his tomahawk and killed her before the arm of the friendly chief could be raised in her behalf. On the other hand, the Indians who composed the scouting party contended that she was killed by a shot fired by one of a party of American soldiers then in pursuit of them for the purpose of avenging the death of an American officer whom they had surprised and killed that day, and that the shot intended for them, by mischance, killed Miss McCrea. Be

this as it may, the Indians took off her scalp, and, leaving her body where it was, made their way to the British camp. Here they told their story. Dr. Solomon Jones, the brother of David Jones, and surgeon in General Burgoyne's army, learning what had occurred, sought the be-reaved lover to inform him of the fate of his betrothed. But he found that his brother had seen the Indians coming into camp with the scalp, and knew but too well from whose head the beautiful tresses had been taken.

An investigation was held by General Burgoyne, or under his authority, but without result, so far as it is known. The body of the unfortunate girl was buried at or near the bank of the Hudson River, not far from Fort Edward. From this place it was removed to the old burying ground, and again removed to the union cemetery between Fort Edward and Sandy Hill, where it now rests.

Lieut. Jones was overcome by the shock caused by the tragic event, and was not known by his relatives or intimate friends ever afterwards to have smiled. Subsequently to the peace of 1783 he settled in Upper Canada, in the Township of Augusta, not far from where the Town of Prescott now stands, and made his home with his brother Solomon. He died suddenly in or about 1790, and his body was buried at the old blue church burying ground, near the bank of the River St. Lawrence, and not far from his Canadian home.

Another family of the name of Jones were emigrants from the Mohawk Valley, in the Colony of New York.

Ephraim Jones, a member of this family, during the Revolution, made his escape to Montreal. Two of his brothers at about the same time succeeded in reaching Nova Scotia. In 1790 Ephraim (better known as Commissary Jones, in consequence of his having charge of the supplies granted to the settlers by the British Government) arrived in Upper Canada. He received a grant of 300 acres of land in the Township of Augusta, and built a house on the farm now or lately owned by Thomas Murdock, situated a short distance east of Maitland. Returning to Montreal he married Miss Coursoll, of which family the late Judge Coursoll was a descendant. The fruit of the union was a family of four sons and four daughters.

Of the sons, Charles, born in 1781, afterwards the Honourable Charles Jones, was a merchant in Brockville and a mill owner, and for many years one of the most prominent men in public life in the eastern portion of the Province. Having been called to the Legislative Council, he held many offices of trust and emolument under several Administrations. He died in 1840.

Jonas, the third son, was educated, as were the others, by the late Bishop Strachan, at Cornwall. He studied law, and practiced many years at Brockville, being successful in his profession and attaining its highest honors. He served during the war of 1812 and was at the taking of Ogdensburg. He received the first Commission as Lieutenant of Cavalry, (attached to 1st Regiment Leeds Militia, Colonel Breckenridge), June 22nd, 1812—commission under seal of Sir Isaac Brock; his second commission as Colonel 3rd Regiment Leeds, June 18th, 1822. He was for some years Judge of the District Court of the then Bathurst District, and also of the Johnstown District. Subsequently, he was appointed one of Her Majesty's Judges of the Court of Queen's Bench, which required his removal to Toronto, A. D. 1837, where he died in 1848, aged 57 years. His great knowledge of the manners and ways of the people caused his decisions and judgments, both in the District Courts and in the Queen's Bench, to give great satisfaction. His manliness of character and honesty of purpose caused him to be much beloved by the people of the United Counties of Leeds and Grenville, and his removal from Brockville was much regretted by all classes.

But I must pass on to a conclusion.

What is the great lesson which we are to learn from these United Empire Loyalists—from their sufferings, their struggles, and their trials? Surely it is a lesson of loyalty. They labored, and we have entered into the fruits of their labors.

They passed unto us a heritage great and goodly, and by force of circumstances, and by virtue of geographical position, that heritage has become greater and more goodly. Of Great North Western Canada, and of the lands and waters beyond the Rockies they knew nothing. These have been added to that older Canada which was, when they came to it, a wilderness—a wilderness which they had done much to reclaim before they passed over to the great majority. And now we Canadians possess a land of immense resources, of immeasurable possibilities. On our eastern and western shores and seas, fisheries, the finest in the world; in the older Provinces, forests and water powers and mineral resources, the value of the last of which we are but beginning to know. In the newer portions, Manitoba and the North-West Territories, lands which are as a field which the Lord hath blessed—lands so rich, so fertile, "that they are covered with corn," and of them it may indeed be said, "they shout for joy, they also sing;" and in British Columbia, and the new lands beyond, a wealth in forests and minerals. To this land, to this Canada of ours, let us be loyal. To the great Empire of which it forms a part—a colony and something more—let us be loyal.

To the memory of these illustrious forefathers who, for loyalty's sake gave up their homes, and comforts, and wealth, who faced troubles and endured hardships, and who made mighty sacrifices, I say to their memory, let us be loyal, and may the good Hand of their God and ours be upon us as a people, and above all to Him may we be loyal in heart and purpose and service. "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people."

III.

THE LOCAL HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF BROCKVILLE.

BY LT. COL. W. H. COLE, BROCKVILLE

The inhabitants of Brockville have always been noted for their loyalty to Crown and Flag of England; they could not be otherwise; it was the call of their blood; a large number even now are descendants of the U. E. Loyalists or other soldiers of the Empire, who, after the expiration of their services, made this place their home.

The land now included within the Corporate limits of the Town are from lots Eight (8) to Fifteen (15) both inclusive from east to west, about two miles in extent; and from the international boundary line in front to the north line of the Corporation, nearly one and a half miles. The First Presbyterian Church is geographically the center of the Town.

There were no settlers in Ontario before 1783, except the few attached to the Military Posts at Frontenac, Niagara (Fort George) and Amherstburg (Fort Malden). To the advance guard of the U. E. Loyalists who came up the River in 1783, the silence of nature over the surface of the vast River must have been oppressive. No wonder they pressed on. But in 1784 a larger number came, forming quite a fleet of canoes and batteaux, and landing just where they pleased. Of those who landed in the vicinity of what is now Brockville were William Buell, Ephraim Jones, Daniel Jones, Thomas Sherwood, Seth and Adiel Sherwood (3 brothers), and many others; but we will only refer to a few of those who acquired the land now within the limits of Brockville, and who seemed to have the power of shaping its destiny. William Buell located upon and afterwards received the Patent or Government Deed of the West half of Lot Eleven and East half of Lot Twelve. The widow, two daughters and son of Lieutenant Peter McLaren received the Patent of Lot Ten and east half of Lot Eleven in March, 1805, which land was purchased from the McLarens by Charles Jones, the eldest son of Ephraim Jones. The west half of Lot Twelve and all of Lot Thirteen was patented to Daniel Jones. You will thus see that all that part of Brockville from Ford Street to a little west of Ann Street, was in possession of three men, Daniel Jones, William Buell and Charles Jones, the two latter being owners of what was the business portion.

In 1791, the Imperial Parliament passed an Act dividing Canada into two Provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, and Col. John G. Simcoe was appointed Lieutenant Governor in the Spring of 1792. He landed in Quebec and proceeded with his staff by canoes to ascend the River to Kingston, where he organized his Government on the 8th day of July, and on the 21st July they left for the place that had been selected for the capital of the new Province, called Newark, afterwards called Fort George and now known as Niagara-on-the-Lake. He issued instructions for the people to elect representatives to form the first parliament, which they did, and they were called together on the 17th September, 1792. The first person to represent the County of Leeds was John Booth. The House was again in session in 1793. During this year it was decided to remove the seat of Government farther from the frontiers, and York was selected, steps being taken to carry out that decision by erecting suitable buildings. In the meantime Governor Simcoe removed to York himself, and Parliament was to meet there in June of 1797; but before that time arrived the Governor was promoted to be Lieutenant-General and Governor of St. Domingo. Honourable Peter Russell was his successor. At the session of 1795, the Legislature passed the first Act making provision for registering all documents affecting land and the appointing of Registrars for the different Registry Divisions. In 1796, the first Patents for land were issued to the U. E. Loyalists in the County of Leeds. In 1797, Alexander Campbell was appointed the first Registrar for Leeds, Grenville and Dundas. Subsequently Dundas and Grenville were set off in separate divisions and also all land north of the Rideau River set off to Lanark and Carleton, leaving the County of Leeds as it is to-day. During the 113 years the County of Leeds has had six Registrars. Before leaving this part of my subject I will say that from the beginning we have had legislators who recognized the fact that the land was the basis of a nation's prosperity and wealth, that all laws, forms and documents affecting land should not only be plain and easily understood, but also so elastic that the legal transfer of the right to the land could be made the basis of the individual, as well as the National, credit. So with that end in view, our law makers have improved our land and registry laws from time to time, and I think Ontario to-day has the best Registry system and laws in the world.

In the year 1800, William Buell was elected to represent Leeds in the Legislative Assembly for four years.

The first administration of justice in its crude way was by Magistrates supposed to be appointed by the Governor under the authority of

what was called the Quebec Act, passed in 1774 by the Parliament of England. As the men first appointed lived adjacent to the first stopping place after passing the Rapids of the St. Lawrence, their Courts were then held in the Village of Johnstown, in the eastern part of the District of Johnstown. An effort was made about 1805 to have the Courts held in a more central part of the District, and by this time the Township of Elizabethtown was recognized as the place where the public business should be transacted. And as Charles Jones and William Buell were then the owners of the land forming the central part of the village, they (while opposed to each other in many other things) were a unit in endeavoring to carry forward this matter. Offers were made to give the land necessary for a Court House and Gaol on Lots 10, 11, or 12 in the First Concession, on the 16th March, 1808. An Act was passed for the building of a Court House and Gaol in the Township of Elizabethtown, in the District of Johnstown, the building to be erected on Lot Number 10, 11, or 12, in the First Concession. The land selected was that offered by William Buell. The deed was given on the 16th day of May, 1809, to our Sovereign Lord George the Third, whereby the said William Buell, in order to make a good and sufficient title to his Majesty "of the land hereinafter mentioned, for a site on which to erect a Gaol and Court House for the District of Johnstown." That deed included the land commencing on the North side of King Street, taking the land now called the Court House Avenue and Court House Square from the Bank of Montreal on the east to Court Terrace on the west, and as far north to within 40 feet of Gaol Street. This land comprised four acres, with a road sixty feet wide leading from the centre point of the said space to the River St. Lawrence, provided that "in case the said Gaol and Court House shall not be built according to the provisions of an Act in said Deed the said premises to revert to the said William Buell." On the first of June, 1833, Andrew N. Buell, the second son of William Buell, gave a deed to our Sovereign Lord King William the Fourth of the following lands for streets: what is now known as Wall Street, sixty feet in width, extending from the north-west corner of the Methodist Church to south limit of Pearl Street; also what is known as William Street, 60 feet wide, extending from the north-east corner of the Presbyterian Church lot to the southern limit of Pearl Street. This deed contains a gift of land eighty feet in width, running from William Street on the west to Wall Street on the east, the north forty feet for a street now known as Gaol Street, the south 40 feet to be added to the Court House Square and used for same purposes as Court House Square.

I find this further reference made to the Courts: Journals of House

of Assembly, Feb. 12th, 1811, there was read the petition of certain inhabitants of the District of Johnstown to the effect that an effort was being made to have the Courts sit alternately at Johnstown and Elizabethtown in that district, that the Court now sat by law at Elizabethtown, which is central, and a large Court House and Gaol had been lately erected at a great expense.

February 13th, 1811, motion for a Bill to hold the Quarter Sessions and District Courts alternately at the Town of Johnstown, in the County of Grenville, and in the Township of Elizabethtown, in the County of Leeds.

February 27th, 1812, a petition read respecting the public disadvantage of holding Courts of Justice for the District alternately at Elizabethtown and Johnstown, signed by Adiel Sherwood, Andrew Smith, William Buell and six hundred and sixty-four others. We find nothing further done to remove the holding of the Courts from Elizabethtown. This being the legal name of the Township, the people thought that the size and importance of the collection of residences and business buildings was worthy of a name distinct from the Township, and as the larger portion of the land still belonged to Charles Jones and William Buell, they were expected to settle on a name. Mr. Jones' friends wished to have it called Charlestown, and Mr. Buell's friends suggested Williamstown; and he had a plan made by Jeremiah McCarthy, a Surveyor for Upper Canada and signed Sept. 12, 1811. This plan was not registered.

The last deed registered in the Registry Office in which the name of Elizabethtown is used, prior to the word Brockville being used, as intimating it was the name agreed on, is as follows: Deed dated 1st June, 1812, and registered the 9th July, 1812, by Charles Jones, of Elizabethtown, to Henry Jones of the same place, being lots No. 3 and 42 on the west side of Bethune Street, from King Street to Pine Street.

The first intimation that we have that Brockville was settled as the future name of the pretty village is contained in a report made by Colonel Lethbridge to Major-General Brock, dated Kingston, August 10th, 1812. This report was to explain to General Brock why a vessel called the Julia had been allowed to escape from Ogdensburg. Col. Lethbridge had just returned (so his report shows) from Prescott and Brockville. The time of the change in name is thus brought down to within two months. We have no record of General Brock ever having been here, as we find his time fully taken up elsewhere after coming to Upper Canada up to the time of his death; and we do not know whether

any private correspondence had taken place between himself and Mr. Jones, Mr. Buell, or any other person with respect to the name, but it is gratifying to know that General Brock was made aware by the above mentioned report and by what he must have heard in Kingston (for he was there on the 4th Sept., 1812), that his name had been adopted as the designation of the town.

On 3rd December, 1812, Charles Jones gave a deed of gift to the Church Wardens of the Episcopal Church of a lot for Church purposes, being Lot 19, Block 10. A building was erected in which Mr. Denroche, the Rector, lived for many years, but it was sold by the Church Wardens of St. Peter's Church in 1854 for £500, and in 1852, Mary E. Jones, the widow of the late Honourable Jonas Jones, gave a deed of gift of Lot 67, Block 15, for a Rectory for St. Peter's Church, now used by them for that purpose. Also the estate of Charles Jones gave to St. Peter's Church what is now known as Victoria Park, on the east side of Park Street.

The above was the first gift of land in Brockville for Church purposes. On the 6th May, 1819, William Buell gave a deed to William Smart of the Lot on which the Presbyterian Manse or Parsonage now stands, in which deed he recites that "the eastern boundary is along the western line of the lot deeded to the said William Smart and Peter Purvis on which said Presbyterian Church is erected," and William Smart, on the 12th April, 1871, gave a deed to the Trustees of the Church of both the Church lot and the Parsonage lot, being Lots 42 and 43 in Block 31.

In the Public School Act of 1807, it says that the Public School for the District of Johnstown shall be opened and kept in the Township of Augusta. This does not appear ever to have been carried into effect. In the Act to repeal Public School Acts (passed in 1819) it says the Public School for the District of Johnstown shall be opened and kept in the Village of Brockville. In the year 1819, the Hon. Charles Jones appears to have given parts of Lots 82 and 86 on which a building was afterward erected for a Public School. These Public Schools were afterwards called Grammar Schools, and one was supposed to be in each district. This property was afterward transferred by the High School Board to the Public School Board of Brockville for \$4,500.00, and is that on which the Horton Public School is built.

Apparently the first Court House and Gaol erected under the Act of 1808 were not very substantial, evidently being wooden buildings. On the 19th January, 1824, an Act was passed including in its purpose

the building of a Court House and Gaol for the District of Johnstown, and to build the said Court House upon the ground allotted for that purpose in Brockville. The buildings were erected, the Court House of red brick, with the gaol in rear of the east part.

On the 21st March, 1826, William Buell gave to Alexander McDonnell, Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada, and others, a deed of the land on which to build a church for the use of the Catholic congregation in Brockville. This land is now Lot 31, Block 35; while on the same day David Jones and Daniel Jones, only sons and heirs of Daniel Jones, the Patentee, gave a deed to Alexander McDonnell, Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada, and others, for the use and benefit of the Roman Catholic Church in Brockville. This land is now Lot 30, in Block 35.

On February 23, 1828, at a meeting held by the Methodists of Elizabethtown, it was decided to build a church in Brockville. William Buell had intimated that he would give them the site. The first Methodist Church in Brockville was built and dedicated on the 14th February, 1830, Mr. Buell giving them the deed on the 18th August, 1830, for what is now Lot 61, in Block 31, in which he recites "the lot on which the Church is now built, lot 80 ft. x 140 ft."

On June 28th, 1832, an Act was passed to establish a body Corporate and Politic in fact and law by the name of the President and Board of Police of Brockville. The first members were Jonas Jones, Henry Sherwood, Samuel Pennovk and John Murphy, Daniel Jones being President.

On the 19th October, 1833, Charles Jones, as a free gift, gave the Market Square, from the south side of King Street to the River St. Lawrence, and from the Revere House on the west to the brick block on the east (being 240 ft. on King Street with a depth of 460 ft. to the River), on which a frame Market Building was built and used for many years until replaced by part of the present City Hall.

In 1836, an Act was passed to establish a Market in the West Ward of the Town of Brockville. On the 14th November of that year Pamela Jones, a daughter of the first Daniel Jones, deeded to the President and Board of Police of Brockville for £50 a site for a Market House on the corner of King Street and St. Paul Street. The Board of Police caused to be erected a stone building two stories high, the lower one for a market, the upper one for a Town Hall, used for the meeting of the Board and also as a school house and for all public meetings. The Methodist Episcopal Church for many years were allowed to use it for

Church and Sunday School purposes, and after Brockville bought its second fire engine, it was used as a fire station until the building was taken down to make room for the present brick building on the Lot.

As I have said before, the west half of Lot 12 and all of Lot 13 was patented to Daniel Jones (the first). One of the side roads running to the rear of the Concession was between Lots 12 and 13; but it was impossible at the time to get over the high rock where the stone school house was afterward built on Perth and George Streets, so Mr. Jones, as owner of all the land, opened the road which is now Perth Street, and afterward gave a deed of the road allowance. The first deed he gave of any part of this land was of a lot 200 feet square, in the year 1815, to Nehemiah Seaman, for £100, on which Mr. Seaman built the first stone house in Brockville, and it stands there to-day. The building has been used for many purposes—store, tavern, school-house and residence. A short time afterward he erected a frame house on the west end of this lot with veranda, and when finished he moved from his farm (which was part of Lot 16 in the first Concession, where the Park now is). In his frame house he lived until his death in 1830, and his widow for many years after. The property afterward came into my possession, and in 1895 I had the old building torn down to make room for the present brick building. The carpenter, on removing the roof, the partitions, and the floor of the second storey, found lying on top of one of the timbers under the floor, and the partition right over that, a copper coin or medal of 1806, evidently placed there when the building was erected and left undisturbed for nearly 80 years. I will just say here, before leaving this part of my subject, that the deed of this lot is the only deed given by Daniel Jones of any land on King Street west of Perth Street that defines where the street line is. Taken in connection with a map in the Registry Office, made by John Booth in 1824, it shows the north line of King Street from Perth Street to the Kingston bridge.

On the 6th March, 1838, an Act was passed to authorize the erection of a Court House and Gaol at Brockville on the site of the building used for that purpose, and giving power to the Magistrates of the District, in Quarter Sessions assembled, to levy a tax of one penny on the pound (as a special rate) each year until the buildings were paid for. Nothing was done by the Sessions for over two years. At the Sessions held on the 11th August, 1840, to 10th Nov., 1840, the question was considered, and preparation was made at the Session of 18th May, 1841, when a building committee was appointed to procure plans and take all necessary steps to have the work carried out. Paul Glassford,

Esquire, was appointed Chairman of the Committee; the plans were procured and submitted to the Commissioners appointed by virtue of an Act to regulate the future erection of Gaols in this Province and approved by them on 18th November, 1841; and on the 27th of December, 1841, the building committee entered into a contract with Benjamin Chaffey, Esquire, for the erection of a Court House and Gaol. The use of the Town Hall on the corner of King and St. Paul Streets was given by the President and Board of Police for the use of the Courts and for District purposes.

At the Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Province, held in the latter part of the year 1841, the first general Municipal Act was passed creating District Councils, the Government retaining the power of appointing the Warden or Chairman. The Hon. William Morris was the first Warden, and he called the District Council together on the 8th day of February, 1842. The work of organizing and settling the many things connected with Municipal Government in a large District occupied the attention of the Members of Council for some time before they were able to give the question of Court House and Gaol any attention; then they made some change in the Committee, but very wisely retained Paul Glassford, Esquire, as Chairman and financial head of the Committee, during the whole period of construction. The buildings were finished and occupied in the latter part of 1843, being about two years in construction. The accounts were all referred to a special finance committee, who reported on the 14th of August, 1844, that they "had examined the accounts and vouchers of the Chairman of the Building Committee, Paul Glassford, Esquire, and they appear to your committee clear and satisfactory." The total cost of the building appears to be £9262.3.4.

Mr. William Holmes, an architect and contractor, had been retained by the committee to give them a sketch of a figure of Justice, which he did, offering to complete the figure as proposed for £38; but should they not accept his proposal, his claim for services rendered would be £5. The figure of Justice was ordered, completed, and put for the ensuing year, making the total cost £9300.3.4.

The County Buildings have been greatly enlarged and improved since that time by the erection of a new building to the west of the Court House for meetings of the County Council, offices for some of the County Officers, and also by the erection of a residence for the Gaoler, and by all the latest improvements in the Gaol for the safety and care of the prisoners.

May the 30th, 1849, the Act establishing a President and Police

Board for Brockville was repealed, and the first Municipal Act governing the town was passed, enlarging the limits of Brockville, creating three Wards, electing three members each, who chose a Mayor from their number, Robert Peden being the first Mayor.

On the 2nd May, 1874, the Council made application to have the limits extended, and the town divided into five Wards, each electing two members, with a Mayor to be elected by the whole vote, and on 21st Aug., 1875, a proclamation issued to take effect on Jan. 3, 1876, and this form of Municipal Government has continued to the present time.

As I have said in the beginning of this paper, the two principal men who seemed to be in a position to largely control the future destiny of the town were men of large and liberal views. Where land was required for public or church purposes, they were prompt and liberal in their giving. Mr. Buell's gifts to the public were the Court House Square and Avenue, the land for the Presbyterian Church, the land on which the first Catholic Church was built, and the land on which the Wall Street Church was built. While the Hon. Charles Jones gave to the public the Market Square from King Street to the River, the lot for the site of St. Peter's Church and for the first Rectory, together with the gift to St. Peter's Church of what is now known as Victoria Park or Square; while the widow of the Hon. Jonas Jones gave the land on which the present rectory of St. Peter's Church now stands. Mr. Ephraim Jones, father of the Hon. Charles Jones, did not own land in Brockville, being a resident of, and large land owner in, the adjoining Township of Augusta, but did business in Brockville, and with his whole family was largely interested in its welfare. And I presume that his descendants, and those of William Buell, have filled as many, if not more, important positions of trust and responsibility than those of any other two men connected with the early history of the town, leaving behind them many tokens of their desire for the welfare of town, province and Empire.

IV.

THE WAR OF 1812-15.

BY J. CASTELL HOPKINS, TORONTO

The aggressive war through which the United States, in the early years of the century expressed in active form its hostility toward Great Britain had a more important effect upon the development and the history of British North America than is generally supposed. It meant more than the mere details of skirmishes, battles and the rout of invading armies. It involved considerations greater than may be seen in any ordinary record of campaigns in which Canadian militia and British regulars were able to hold British territory intact upon this continent during a period of over two and a half years of struggle. That a population of 500,000 people, scattered over widely-sundered areas, should be able, almost unaided for a long time, to successfully oppose the invasions of an organized Republic of six millions, was an extraordinary military performance, and it is only natural, and, indeed, inevitable, that in considering the result, it should have been regarded chiefly from the military standpoint.

In the upbuilding of Canada, however, this struggle holds a place similar in national import to that of the Revolution in American history. It consolidated the British sentiment of the whole population from the shores of Lake Huron to the coasts of the Atlantic. It eliminated much of a disloyal element which was beginning to eat into the vitals of Provincial life in Upper Canada, and it modified in some measure the force of the American spirit which remained in the hearts of some sections of the settlers. It checked the growth of republicanism amongst the French of Lower Canada and prevented the Rebellion of 1837 in that Province from being the rising of a whole people united in political sympathies with the great population to the south. It made the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church in the same part of the country feel once more as they did when the Continental Congress of 1775 attacked the Quebec Act, that the only visible danger to what they considered the sacred rights and privileges of their faith came from the other side of the international line. It, for a time, brought Canadians of French and

British and American extraction together in defence of their hearths and homes, and laid in this way an almost invisible foundation for that seemingly vain vision—the permanent Federal union of British America for purposes of common interest, defence and government. It effected religious organizations which were becoming dependent on American pulpits, supplies, and polity. It influenced social life and customs by drawing a more distinct line against innovations from the other side of the border. Finally, it greatly affected political development and assured the ultimate success of those who strove honestly, though often unsuccessfully and mistakenly in detail, to preserve and promote the permanent acceptance of British as opposed to American principles of government upon the northern half of the continent.

It was an unjust, unnecessary, and, to both the United States and Great Britain, an unsatisfactory war. To the British settlements and French colonists of the present Dominion it proved, however, a blessing in disguise, and produced a page of glorious history which few would now like to see eliminated and which all patriotic Canadians treasure as one of their dearest national possessions. The nominal causes of the struggle were simple and yet world-wide in their environment. During many years Great Britain had been facing the perils of Napoleon's stormy progress over Europe. One great Power after another had been shattered by his military genius, and always before the eyes of his towering ambition was the recognized and steady policy of ultimately subjugating the British Isles. The British had fought him on the ocean from the earliest days of his sweeping career, and with a success which his proud spirit found it hard to brook. She had subsidized his opponents with enormous sums of money, and on the sands of Egypt, the plains of Hindostan and the fields of the Iberian Peninsula had presented her thin red line of armed men as the great preservative of European liberty. On November 1st, 1806, Napoleon had issued from Berlin, where he was newly installed as the victor of Jena and Austerlitz, the "Decree" by which he proclaimed the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and merchandise from Britain to be a prize of war. He, at the same time, arrogantly commanded the cessation of all intercourse with Great Britain by neutral nations. Great Britain naturally retaliated, and early in the following year her Orders-in-Council proclaimed a blockade of the coasts of Europe from Brest to the Elbe, and declared all traffic with France in neutral vessels to be contraband and the vessels and cargoes liable to seizure.

These proceedings affected greatly the large carrying trade of the

United States, and, as Great Britain practically controlled the seas, it was from her privateers and men-of-war that the American shipping interests suffered the most. Hence the "Non-Intercourse Act" of Congress in 1808, by which all commerce with either France or Great Britain was prohibited until the obnoxious regulations were repealed. Another point in dispute was the claim made by Great Britain to search ships upon the high sea, suspected of having deserters from the British Navy amongst their crews, and to remove such as might be found. It was a claim which had for centuries been enforced as a right. Its assertion at this time was rendered necessary not only by the enormous expansion in the number of British ships but also by the fact that in 1805 it was estimated that at least 2,500 deserters of this kind—chiefly from merchant vessels—were in the American service. The practice was naturally unpleasant to a highstrung nation such as the people of the United States, but had there been any real desire to smooth over difficulties forced upon Great Britain by her strenuous struggle with France, a means of returning deserters to their legitimate service might easily have been found. A minor cause of trouble was the publication of some unimportant correspondence between Sir James Craig, Governor-General of British America, and an adventurer named Henry who had been sent by the former, rather unwisely, though not unreasonably, to ascertain the condition of public feeling in the States. Henry reported a disposition on the part of New England to secede from the Union, and then—finding himself unable to force money from the authorities at Quebec—had sold the letters for \$50,000 to the American Government.

These were the nominal causes of the war. They sufficed to inflame the smouldering embers of pre-revolutionary dislike and distrust and enabled President Madison, when an opportune moment of apparent British weakness arose, to accept the dictum of the war party in the Republic and to receive the Democratic nomination for a second Presidential term upon the pledge that a conflict should be precipitated. That the New England States were averse to the policy; that a Convention held in Albany, N. Y., in September, 1812, composed of delegates from various counties in the State, denounced the action of the Administration in this respect; that the best element in the general population was opposed to it; that the British Orders-in-Council were revoked five days before the declaration of war—did not affect the carrying out of the hostile policy on Madison's triumphant re-election to the supreme place in the national councils. That such was the case is due to the avowed reasons for the war not having been the real ones.

The truth is, that despite the lack of consideration shown to the

United States in many directions by Napoleon, and despite his creation of an arbitrary system of government, which was absolutely the antipodes of democracy, there had been during all these years a feeling of sympathy towards France in the minds of the mass of the American people, which arose, perhaps naturally, from the cherished memories of Lafayette and of French assistance at the most critical juncture of their war for independence. Added to this was an admiration for the military achievements of the Emperor which in later days has resulted in a sort of literary deification of his career. Still more to the point was a feeling of continuous irritation against Great Britain arising out of internal discontent and the lack of material progress; increased by the dominating influence of British manufactures and goods in the local markets and a consequent depression in local industries; inflamed by the voice of demagogues who exaggerated every issue and incident into handles for personal popularity and political power. Back of all, and influencing all, was the partially concealed, but none the less strong, desire of the leaders of the day to round off the Republic by the possession of northern America.

When war was declared by the American President on the 18th of June, 1812, the action afforded an exultant moment of anticipation to the American Republic, an added depression to greatly-burdened Great Britain, and proffered many tragic possibilities to the little British population scattered along the 1,800 miles of the United States frontier. Never in her prolonged struggle with Napoleon had public opinion in Great Britain been so depressed. She stood absolutely alone in Europe. The French Emperor was the practically acknowledged master of Prussia and the minor States of Germany as well as of Switzerland, Italy, Austria, and Spain; and with an immense army had begun a march into Russia which promised to be a final triumph before the realization of his intention to combine the forces of the conquered continent in a supreme attack upon British power. No wonder if thoughtful men in the British Isles drew their breath in doubt when the announcement came that the United States had thrown its weight into the scale against their country, and wondered how long the titanic struggle could be maintained by their population of eighteen millions.

Little wonder, also, if Americans thought that their time had come, as well as that of the French, for the complete subjugation of a continent. As to Canada, it was not believed that she could offer anything but a nominal resistance. Jefferson declared the expulsion of Great Britain from the continent to be "a mere matter of marching." Eustis, Secretary of War, announced that "we can take Canada without

soldiers." Henry Clay thought the Canadas "as much under our command as she (Great Britain) has the ocean." Part of this impression had, no doubt, been created by the false reports of American settlers in Upper Canada as to the existence of internal disloyalty; part by the fact that there were only 4,450 regular British troops in the whole country; part by the tremendous disparity in population and strength between the Republic and the Provinces; part by the belief that France would practically keep Great Britain out of the struggle.

Two factors had, however, been overlooked. One was the indomitable spirit of a people fighting in a just cause for their homes, their institutions, and their country. The other was the presence in their midst of a soldier possessed of magnetic personal qualities, combined with a real, though unknown, genius for war. Major-General Isaac Brock was forty-three years old when the struggle began—he had been born in the same year as Wellington and Napoleon—and had served in Holland and at Copenhagen before he came to Canada with the 49th Regiment in 1802. He had held command of the troops in Upper Canada since 1806 and had also assumed the Administration of the Provincial Government in 1811. He had done his best to prepare for the war which to his mind was inevitable—as it had also appeared to Simcoe away back in 1794—and to meet the undisguised gathering of American troops and militia in New York and other border States. But the British Government naturally hoped against hope to avert this additional burden upon the overstrained resources of its people, and really seems to have believed that the arbitrament of war might be avoided. In February, 1812, Brock had opened the Upper Canada Legislature with a patriotic speech in which he expressed the desire to adopt "such measures as will best secure the internal peace of the country and defeat every hostile aggression." His difficulties, however, were very great. Arms and equipment were exceedingly scarce. A certain proportion of the militia was cold and even disloyal, and there was a distinctly American party in the House of Assembly led by a man named Wilcocks, who afterwards fled to the United States and was killed fighting as an American officer. Through his influence the House actually refused to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act so as to enable the Government to deal peremptorily with the disaffected element in the population.

Under such circumstances, when the news of the declaration of war reached Brock through a private source, he knew that everything would depend upon swift and sweeping action. He promptly sent some reg-

ulars to try and hold the Niagara frontier, summoned the Legislature, called out the militia and made such preparations as he could pending the receipt of official information regarding the action of the United States. It did not come, but on July 12th General Hull crossed the River from Detroit to Sandwich with 2,000 men and issued a brag-gadocio proclamation announcing protection to all non-combatants, declaring the certainty of conquest and of relief from British "tyranny and oppression," and stating that if the British Government accepted assistance from its Indian subjects in resisting his invasion "instant destruction" would be the lot of all who might be captured fighting beside an Indian contingent. Brock replied with a most eloquent, dignified and patriotic manifesto, and, on July 27th, met the Legislature with an address which was a model in sentiment and expression.

By the 8th of August, Hull had returned again to Detroit on hearing of the capture of the important American position at Michilimackinac, by Captain Roberts in pursuance of orders from his chief. One week later, Brock, with 320 regulars and 400 militia from York and Lincoln, assisted by the gallant Indian chief Tecumseh and some six hundred followers, was crossing the St. Clair in pursuit of his enemy. Hull had been startled, first by a summons to surrender and then by seeing the little British army crossing the River—General Brock, "erect in his canoe, leading the way to battle," as Tecumseh, in graphic Indian style, afterwards described the event. Before an assault could be made, however, Hull and his entire force of 2,500 men, including the 4th United States Regiment and its colours, surrendered. With the capitulation went the entire Territory of Michigan; the town and port of Detroit, which had practically commanded the whole of Western Canada; the Adams war brig; many stands of arms, a large quantity of much-needed stores, 33 pieces of cannon and the military chest. It had been a bold and venturesome action on the part of Brock and the result affected almost the entire struggle. It inspired the militia from end to end of the Provinces; it showed many of those having disloyal tendencies that it might be safer to at least appear loyal; it electrified the masses with vigour and fresh determination.

Following this all-important success, Brock turned to meet greater difficulties than were presented by the enemy in the field. He had to encounter the weakness and vacillation of Sir George Prevost, who, as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, was directing affairs from Quebec in the spirit of one who believed hostilities would soon cease and knew that the Ministry at home was anxious to do noth-

ing that would intensify difficulties in that connection. An armistice arranged by Prevost neutralised many of the benefits of the capture of Detroit; orders from the same source prevented Brock from destroying American shipping on the Lakes which was in course of building and which he foresaw might endanger the control of that most vital part of the situation; commands were actually issued for the evacuation of Detroit, though they were fortunately capable of evasion; while the very documents and general orders written by Prevost were dispiriting and unfortunate in terms. But Brock turned to his militia, and, though refused the right of aggressive action, which might have changed the whole tide of events, proceeded with a system of organisation which soon made his volunteer force as effective in health, drill, condition and spirit as well-equipped regular troops. And, through the summary measures of imprisonment or practical banishment accorded to those who showed an overt inclination to the American side—coupled with the magnetic influence of his own character and strong personal confidence in the result of the struggle—he obtained full control over the population of Upper Canada as well as the Legislature. He made every effort to give the volunteers an opportunity for getting in their crops, and all over the Province the women themselves helped by working in the fields. Throughout this conflict, indeed, the signal devotion of noble women was continuously added to a record of determined defence of their country by the men, and the incident of Laura Secord walking many miles through a rough and gloomy forest region to give a British force warning of the enemy's approach, was by no means an isolated case of devotion.

On the 18th of September, while his preparations were still in progress, Brock wrote to his brother that in a short time he would hear of a decisive action, and added: "If I should be beaten the Province is lost." This reference to the gathering of 8,000 American troops upon the border for invasion, by way of Niagara, illustrates the tremendous importance of the ensuing conflict at Queenston Heights. Their intention was to take and hold this strong position as a fortified camp and from thence over-run the Province with troops brought over at leisure from the large reserves behind. At the same time General Dearborn, with a considerable force, was to menace Montreal from New York State by way of Lake Champlain; General Harrison was to invade the Upper Province from Michigan with 6,000 men, and Commodore Chauncey was to take a force across Lake Ontario. The first part of the programme commenced on October 13th with an attempted movement of 1,500 regulars and 2,500 militia across the Niagara River. About

eleven hundred troops, slowly followed by other detachments, succeeded in getting over and climbed the Heights at Queenston in the face of what slight resistance could be offered by a small British outpost. If the Americans could have held this position the result was certain and would no doubt have been much in line with their expectations.

Meantime, Sir Isaac Brock—unknown to himself he had been gazetted an extra Knight of the Bath one week before as a recognition of his victory at Detroit—had arrived from the post at Fort George from which he had been watching events. But before he could do anything further than show himself to his troops, size up the situation and shout an order to “Push on the York Volunteers!” in resistance of an American contingent which was making its way up the Heights, he fell with a ball in his breast, and only had time to request that his death be concealed from the soldiers. The event was amply avenged. Reinforcements under Major-General Sheaffe, which had been ordered to the front, arrived shortly afterwards, and with 800 men in hand a bayonet charge was made upon the enemy which forced them over the Heights down towards the shore—many in their headlong retreat being dashed to pieces amidst the rocks, or drowned in attempting to cross the waters of the Niagara. The survivors surrendered to the total of 960 men, and included Major-General Wadsworth, six colonels and 56 other officers, together with Winfield Scott, afterwards celebrated in the Mexican contest. The British loss was trifling in numbers.

Although the victory was great and its result exceedingly important to Upper Canada, nothing could counterbalance the mournful death of the hero of the war. The inspiration of his memory remained, it is true, and was lasting in its effects, but the presence of his fertile intellect, his powers of rapid movement, his genius for military organization, were forever lost. Had he lived his name would have been a great one in the annals of the British army and the world. As it is, although his place is secure in the web and woof of Canadian history and in the hearts of the people, it has in too many British and American records of war been relegated to the position held by myriads of gallant officers who simply did their duty and died in some obscure outpost skirmish. The vast import of the issues and influences decided by these first events of the struggle have in such cases been disregarded or unknown.

Winter was now at hand, and, after a futile invasion from Buffalo under General Smyth, which was repulsed by a few troops commanded by Colonel Bishop, the scene of the conflict moved for a brief moment to Lower Canada. Prevost had his difficulties there, as well as Brock in

the other Province, but he was without the latter's vigour and determination. He had succeeded to the troubles of Sir James Craig's Administration, and found a community violently stirred by frothy agitations and by influences which had been developing from peculiar conditions during some years past. So great was the apparent discord that it had helped the war party in the States to spread the belief that the passive French-Canadians of 1776 were now at last active in their antagonism to British rule. When war was once declared, however, the local Legislature showed no hesitation in supporting the Government—and in this proved superior in its loyalty to the little Assembly at York which had allowed Wilcocks and his followers to momentarily block procedure. The Governor-General was authorized to levy and equip 2,000 men, and, in case of invasion, to arm the whole militia of the Province.

The members voted £32,000 for purposes of defence and at the next session granted £15,000 a year for five years in order to pay interest on the issue of army bills. It may be stated here that the Upper Canada Legislature had in February, 1812, also recognized the immediate need of money by authorising General Brock to issue army bills to the extent of £500,000 currency—two million dollars. The payment of the interest was guaranteed, and in January, 1814, the authorised amount of issue was increased to £1,500,000 currency, or six million dollars. The total circulation of these bills does not appear to have ever exceeded \$4,820,000. The financial arrangements in both Provinces were excellently made. No public officer was allowed to profit by the use of the notes, and the payment of the interest was carefully attended to. In December, 1815, it may be added, the bills were called in and redeemed by Sir Gordon Drummond, then Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, on behalf of the Imperial Government. Meanwhile some ten thousand men, under General Dearborn, had threatened the Lower Province from near Lake Champlain, but, after a brief demonstration, which was checked by the Montreal militia under command of Major de Salaberry, the American forces all along the line retired into winter quarters and the Canadas found that they had come through the first campaign of war without a defeat or the loss of a foot of ground, although some progress was made by the Americans in obtaining that command of the Lakes which Brock had been so wisely anxious to avert.

The campaign of 1813 was not quite so pleasant an experience. It opened successfully for the British and Canadian forces. On January 19th Colonel Procter with 500 British regulars and 800 Indians under the Wyandot Chief Roundhead crossed the frozen Detroit and three

days later attacked General Winchester who had about an equal number of men under him. After a severe battle, in which he lost by death or wounds 182 men, Procter won a decisive victory and took 495 prisoners. The loss to the enemy in killed was between three and four hundred men. It was a dearly purchased success, however, as it won for Procter a reputation which he sadly failed to live up to. Colonel McDonell, who had raised a strong regiment amongst the Highland Catholics of the Glengarry settlement, on February 23rd attacked Ogdensburg in New York State—from which some predatory excursion had come during the winter—and captured eleven guns, a large quantity of ordnance and military stores and two armed schooners. Four officers and 70 privates were taken prisoners. In April there was a change. Commodore Chauncey with a fleet of fourteen ships and 1,700 troops sailed from Sackett's Harbour on the New York coast of Lake Ontario for York (Toronto), which was then a small town of some 800 population, containing the Government buildings of the Province. Under the immediate command of Brigadier-General Pike the American forces landed on April 27th, but were for a short time held in check by the determined resistance of two companies of the 8th Regiment and about 200 Canadian militia. The Fort, situated at some distance from the little town, was finally captured, after an accidental explosion in which Pike and 260 of his men were killed. As the advance was continued, General Sheaffe with his small force of regulars withdrew and retreated to Kingston. The town then surrendered with about 250 militia, and, despite the terms of capitulation, was freely pillaged and all its public buildings burned. Even the church was robbed of its plate and the Legislative Library looted. In this latter connection Chauncey expressed indignation and made a personal effort to restore some of the stolen books.

Incidents of importance now came swiftly one upon the other. On May 27, Fort George, on the British side of the Niagara River, was captured by the Americans, and two days later Sir George Prevost was repulsed in an attack upon Sackett's Harbour on Lake Ontario. Early in June two American gunboats were captured on Lake Champlain, and on the 5th of the same month Colonel Harvey—a soldier with some of Brock's brilliant qualities, and afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick—attacked in the night a large force of at least 3,500 Americans encamped at Burlington Heights, near the Hamilton of later days, and captured a number of guns, two general officers, and over a hundred other officers and men. On the 24th of June, Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, of the 49th Regiment, by a clever concealment of his number, obtained the

surrender of 544 American soldiers under Colonel Boerstler, not far from Fort George and Queenston. He had only 66 troops and 250 Indians in his command. During the next two months the British captured Black Rock, where they lost the gallant Colonel Bishop and Fort Schlosser—both on the Niagara Frontier. Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain, was captured and the public buildings burned in memory of York. The latter place was taken a second time by the Americans. Then came the disastrous British defeat on Lake Erie, where Captain Barclay, with six vessels and 300 seamen, was taken by Commodore Perry with nine vessels and more than 600 men. Not only disastrous, but disgraceful, was the ensuing defeat of General Procter, near Moraviantown, by General Harrison, who had driven him from Detroit and Amherstburg. Procter was retreating steadily with about 400 troops and 800 Indians, under Tecumseh, pursued by the American force of 4,000 men. The battle was fought on October 5th and the natural result followed, with the important loss of Tecumseh. The disgrace of Procter, who fled early in the day and who was afterwards court-martialled, censured, and deprived of all command for six months, was not in defeat under such circumstances, but in the utter lack of all proper military precautions either at the time of the conflict or during his previous retreat. The death of the great Indian chief was one of the severest blows to the Canadian cause in the whole campaign. It was more important even than the fact that this victory placed the entire western part of the Province in the hands of the Americans. The territory might be won back; the leader never. Tecumseh was a savage of heroic mould—one who inspired victory, and who, when acting with men like Brock or Harvey, was almost invincible. His Indians would do anything for him—even refrain from massacre or cruelty.

The next two months saw some events of brighter import, and attention must now be transferred to Lower Canada. The French-Canadians earnestly and enthusiastically showed their love for the land of their birth and home by turning out in large numbers. By October an army of 8,000 men had been collected at Sackett's Harbour, N. Y., under Generals Wilkinson and Boyd for a descent upon Montreal by way of the St. Lawrence. As these forces descended the river they were followed by a small and compact body of British troops under Colonels Pearson, Harvey, Morrison and Plenderleath, accompanied by eight gunboats and three field-pieces, which did much damage to the enemy. On Nov. 11th, Wilkinson and his main army were with the flotilla near Prescott and on their way to effect a junction with an army under General Hampton which was to meet them at the mouth of the Chateaugay.

General Boyd, with 2,500 men, was marching along the shore, followed by 800 British troops under Colonel Morrison, who had resolved to attack the enemy at a place called Chrystler's farm. The result was one of the most complete victories of the war—the Americans leaving many prisoners besides 339 officers and men killed or wounded. The British loss was 181. Boyd immediately retired to the boats and joined Wilkinson. They then proceeded to the place at which the junction with Hampton was to be made and whence they were to advance upon Montreal.

Meanwhile Hampton had marched from Lake Champlain with 7,000 men toward the mouth of the Chateaugay. At this point, and amidst the natural difficulties of forest surroundings, he was met on the night of October 25th by Colonel de Salaberry in command of 300 French-Canadian militia and a few Indians, supported by Colonel McDonell with another French-Canadian contingent of 600 men, who had made the most rapid forced march in Canadian history and had reached Chateaugay the day before the battle. The Americans advanced upon the first line with 4,000 men, but, on driving it back, they met the second line under Colonel McDonell and here encountered the stratagem of buglers placed at great distances from each other and sounding their instruments so as to give the impression of large numbers, while at the same time the bewildering yells and war-cries of some fifty scattered Indians greatly increased the tumult. The immediate result was the defeat of the American forces, their retreat on the next day and consequent failure to meet Wilkinson. The latter result was the collapse of the attempted invasion of Lower-Canada—the defeat of an elaborate campaign made by some 15,000 men through the timely gallantry and clever leadership of less than 2,000. An unpleasant incident was the manner in which Prevost endeavoured, in his despatches, to take the whole credit of this victory for himself. Despite this the facts became known in some measure and at the end of the war McDonell and De Salaberry were each decorated with the C. B.

In Upper Canada during this period there had been another glaring evidence of Prevost's incapacity. Frightened by the apparent results of Procter's defeat near Moraviantown, he had ordered the British Commander at Burlington and York (General Vincent) to abandon all his posts and retire upon Kingston. Had this been done the Upper Province would have been practically in American hands. Instead of doing so, however, Vincent maintained his ground, and Colonel Murray, with some 378 regulars and a few volunteers and Indians was given permission some weeks later to advance upon the enemy, who, with

2,700 men under General McClure, was holding Fort George. On December 10th the latter evacuated the Fort, but before doing so wantonly burned to the ground the neighboring village of Newark (now Niagara). It was a cold winter's night, and the beautiful village contained chiefly women and children—as the men were either away at the front or had been sent as prisoners across the river. The unfortunate inhabitants were turned out in the snow without shelter and in many cases very scantily clothed. British retribution was swift. The American Fort Niagara, just across the river, was promptly stormed and held till the end of the war and the neighboring villages of Lewiston, Youngstown, Manchester and Tuscarora were burned. Fort Schlosser was destroyed, and Buffalo captured and burned. These events closed the campaign of 1813, at the end of which the Americans only held possession of Amherstburg on the frontier of Upper Canada, and, besides losing all the benefits of Harrison's success against the incapable Procter, had also lost Fort Niagara on the American side, and with it the control of the frontier in that direction.

General Sir Gordon Drummond, a brave and able officer, had meanwhile become Administrator and Commander in Upper Canada, and this fact had much to do with the succeeding successes of 1814. This campaign commenced with another advance from Lake Champlain by 4,000 Americans under General Wilkinson. It was checked and, eventually, repulsed on March 30th by a gallant handful of some three hundred men commanded by Major Handcock at Lacolle's Mill—a small stone building on the Lacolle River and about a third of the way between Plattsburg and Montreal. Wilkinson retired again to the former place. A little later Michilimackinac was relieved by Colonel McDonell, and in May Sir Gordon Drummond and Sir James Yeo, the new naval commander, captured Fort Oswego on the New York side of Lake Ontario, together with some valuable naval stores. Meantime some minor defeats had been encountered by British detachments, and early in July Major-General Brown with 5,000 troops, backed by 4,000 New York militia which had been ordered out and authorised for the war, invaded Upper Canada from Buffalo. To meet this attack Drummond had about 4,000 effective regulars, depleted, however, by the necessity of garrisoning a number of important posts. His difficulties in meeting this invasion had been increased by the seeming impossibility of making Prevost understand the situation and the need of reinforcements. The latter could only see the menace offered to Lower Canada by the massed forces at Lake Champlain.

Fort Erie surrendered to the Americans on July 3rd and General

Riall was defeated at Chippewa two days later with the loss of 511 men killed and wounded. The victorious American advance was checked, however, at Lundy's Lane, where Sir Gordon Drummond, who had come up from Kingston with about 800 men, assumed command and fought on July 25th, within sound of the roar of Niagara Falls and in the most beautiful part of a fertile region, the fiercest battle of the whole war, and one which continued during the greater part of a dark night. The victory is variously claimed, but the bare facts are that, after trying for six hours with 5,000 men to force a British position held by half that number, Brown had to retire to Chippewa with a loss of 930 men as against Drummond's loss of 870. On the 26th he retreated to Fort Erie, and was there, shortly after, attacked unsuccessfully by the British with a loss to the latter of 500 men. Here, until September, he was blockaded within the walls of the Fort.

Meanwhile, the struggle with Napoleon in Europe being temporarily over, 16,000 trained and experienced British soldiers had landed at Quebec. Prevost advanced with a force of 12,000 of these troops to Plattsburg, where he was to meet and co-operate with the British fleet on Lake Champlain. The latter was defeated, however, and the British General, with an army which under Brock might have threatened New York City itself, ignominiously retreated in the face of two or three thousand American soldiers. So far as the Canadas were concerned, territorially, this practically ended the war. Despite Prevost's disgrace at Plattsburg the campaign for the year had terminated with the British in control of Lake Ontario—although the Americans were masters of Lake Erie—and with their possession of several forts on American soil, to say nothing of the border portion of the State of Maine. In the Maritime Provinces the struggle had not been severely felt. Major-General Sir John Cope Sherbrooke was Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, and through the vicinity of the British fleet at Halifax and the presence of a sufficient number of regulars, he was able, in 1814, to make a series of attacks upon the coast of Maine until the whole region from the Penobscot to the Ste. Croix was in British hands. At the same time Sherbrooke had kept sending troops up to Canada whenever possible, and the march of the 104th Regiment in February, 1813, through hundreds of miles of frozen wilderness, was of special interest as well as importance. Elsewhere on sea and land the war had been equally varied. A number of naval victories had been won by the United States as well as by Great Britain, but, excluding the actions fought in Canadian waters, there seems in every case of American success to have been great superiority in men, guns and tonnage. The purely British

part of the campaign of 1814 included the capture of the City of Washington and the burning of its public buildings in revenge for the previous harrying of the Niagara frontier and the burnings at York and Newark. An unsuccessful attempt was also made upon Baltimore. Early in 1815 General Pakenham was defeated in an attempt to capture New Orleans. The terrible bloodshed of this last struggle of the war—over 2,000 British troops having been reported killed, wounded, or missing—was the result of ignorance of the fact that on December 24th, 1814, a treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent.

The ultimate result of this war upon the destinies of Canada have been briefly indicated. Its immediate effects upon the various countries concerned were more clear. The Americans obtained not a foot of British territory and not a solitary sentimental advantage by the struggle. Their seaboard was insulted and injured, their capital city partially destroyed and three thousand of their vessels captured. The immense gain to their carrying trade which had accrued to them as a result of Great Britain's conflict with Napoleon, was neutralised, while their annual exports were reduced to almost nothing and their commercial classes nearly ruined. A vast war-tax was incurred and New England was rendered disaffected for many years to come. The twin questions of right of search and the position of neutrals in time of war, which had been the nominal causes of the conflict, were not even mentioned in the Treaty of Ghent. Some military and naval glory was won, but the odds were in favour of the United States throughout the struggle, and, when Great Britain's hands were finally freed by Wellington's march upon Paris, the war ceased. In many of these conflicts, however, both on sea and land—notably in the famous duel of the Chesapeake and the Shannon, when Sir Provo Wallis, of Nova Scotian birth, laid the foundation of fame and fortune—United States soldiers and seamen showed all the courage and skill of the race from which they had sprung. To Great Britain the war was only one more military and naval burden. It added to her difficulties in fighting France, subsidising Europe and holding the seas against the sweeping ambitions of Napoleon. But her struggle for life and death had been so prolonged in this connection, and the shadows of its wings so dark and menacing, that the conflict in Canada did not then, and has not since, attracted the attention it deserved.

While this was natural enough at that period, the time has now come when the position should be changed, and the memories of Brock and De Salaberry, Morrison and McDonell, Harvey and Drummond, be given their place in the historic pantheon of Empire. Canadian difficulties in

this struggle should be understood, the courage of its people comprehended, the results of the conflict appreciated. Out of their tiny population over five thousand militiamen in Upper Canada and twenty-three thousand in Lower Canada were under arms during some portion of the period, and to these Provinces many and many a vacant seat at the fireside, many a ruined home and shattered fortune, many a broken life and constitution, remained after peace had been long proclaimed. Few had hoped for success in the struggle, still fewer had expected to gain by it. Through the influx of money from Britain, and by the good fortune of holding the greater part of the country free from conquest, there was a degree of prosperity prevalent during the last two years of the war. But it was the fleeting result of partial successes, and with the termination of the conflict came reaction and a realisation of the stern bed-rock of misery which all invasions must cause the population of the country attacked. And that suffering was sufficient to finally build into Canadian life and Canadian institutions a sentiment which has made independence of the United States absolute and has helped to make unity with Great Britain the great factor in the history of Canada in these early years of another century.

V.

REMINISCENCES OF THE FIRST SETTLERS IN THE COUNTY OF BRANT.

BY CHARLES AND JAMES C. THOMAS, BRANTFORD

While reading the papers written for the Brant Historical Society, which were published in the daily newspapers, it struck us very forcibly that some statements therein contained were not altogether in accordance with the facts as we understood them. Consequently we thought it proper to place before the Society a synopsis of the contents of the books, documents and other papers left by our great-grandfather and grandfather, and which were inherited by us on father's demise.

Great Britain, by signing the Treaty of Paris, in April, 1783, acknowledged the independence of the thirteen rebel colonies, and the Revolutionary war was at an end.

In consideration of the early attachment to the King's cause manifested by the Six Nations Indians, and of the loss of their settlements which they thereby sustained, the British, through Sir Frederick Haldimand, then Governor and Commissioner-in-Chief of the Province of Quebec and territories depending thereon, etc., by an instrument in writing by him subscribed with his seal-at-arms annexed dated the twentieth day of March, 1784, assigned to them, through their agent, Capt. Joseph Brant, a tract of land extending six miles on each side of the River Ouse, or Grand River, at the mouth and extending in proportion to the head of the river. This document Capt. Brant journeyed to Quebec city by canoe and on foot to receive at the hands of the Governor.

Capt. Brant persuaded John Smith (great grandfather) and John Thomas, merchant, (grandfather) to come with them to their new home. The children of John Smith, who journeyed with him to the Grand River, were: William Kennedy Smith; Joseph Smith; Eleanor Smith, who married John Thomas; Mary Smith, who married Benjamin Wintermute, of Fort Erie; Harriet Smith, who married Mr. Macklem, of Chipewas; and John Smith, jun. Taking these up in chronological order—Wm. K. Smith married a sister of Capt. Jos. Brant and had two chil-

dren—Abram Kennedy Smith, and Margaret, who subsequently married William Kerby, sen., who for a great many years ran a grist mill which was located nearly opposite Kerby's Island. He was the father of James Kerby who built the Kerby House. To A. K. Smith and Margaret Kerby the Six Nations Indians granted the Smith and Kerby tract containing 1100 acres of land, which in addition to the 200 acres previously granted to Wm. K. Smith made a total of 1300 acres of land, the site of the present City of Brantford. Joseph Smith married Charlotte Douglas of Blenheim Township, and had three sons, viz., John Smith, first Sheriff of the County, Joseph and Absalom, and several daughters, whose Christian names we have failed to obtain, with the exception of Harriet, who married Absalom Griffin, of Waterdown, and Mary, first wife of George Keachie, first governor of the gaol, who had four children, two girls and two boys. His second wife was Miss Yardington, daughter of the late Henry Yardington.

The Old Bible.—This is a quarto edition, bound in full calf, and bearing the imprint—

Edinburgh:

Printed by Mark and Charles Kerr,

His Majesty's Printers,

MDCCLXXXIX.

In addition to the copies of the Old and New Testaments, it contains an index to the Holy Bible in which time is divided into seven ages, an alphabetical table of proper names, with the meaning of those words in their original language, tables of weights and measures, of money, of offices and conditions of men, of kindred and affinity, and of time, together with the Psalms of David in metre. In the family Bible we find recorded John Thomas and Eleanor Smith, his wife, were married on the 2nd April, 1791, Sunday.

John Smith Thomas was born 19th October, 1798, 5 o'clock p. m., Friday.

Joseph Thomas was born January 23rd, 1801, 12 o'clock, Friday.

William Thomas was born December 23rd, 1804, 6 o'clock p. m., Friday.

Eleanor Thomas was born 22nd July, 1809, 2 o'clock a. m., Saturday.

John S. Thomas and William died when comparatively young men (between 20 and 30 years of age).

Many facts were told us by father, the late Joseph Thomas, J. P. (1801-88), when in a conversational and reminiscent mood, which was more especially the case when one or more of his boyhood friends visited him. Having heard these statements, not once only, but repeatedly, they are indelibly impressed on our memories; such facts as the Christian names of the children of the late John Smith, sen., the names of the persons to whom they were afterwards married; that all the members of the family were regular attendants at the Mohawk Church (which was erected in the year 1786), when service was held therein; that in this church they had been baptized by itinerant clergymen from the frontier, Rev. Robert Addison, and Revds. Ralph and Wm. Leeming, for this church had no regular pastor until the advent of the Rev. Mr. Luggar, who was sent here from England by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and that these transient ministers were their guests during their stay.

Grandfather was married in 1791, and father, his second son, was born 23rd January, 1801, in the two-storied frame house erected by the Smiths and John Thomas, for John Smith, jun., was a carpenter by trade, and had brought his chest of tools with him from the States. Some of these tools, at the present date, are in a good state of preservation, and are used by us when needed. They must have been located on the lot for some time previous to the erection of this house, as most of the lumber used in its construction had to be whip-sawed, i. e., by one man under the log and another above it. This house was located on a 200 acre lot fronting at where the village of Cainsville is now, on part of which lot the Methodist Church stands. To be more explicit, the house was built a little to the west of the church. The bricks for the chimneys of this house were made by mixing the wetted clay and tramping it with oxen, and, when at the proper consistence, placing it in moulds, hand-pressing and sun-drying until they had enough for a kiln.

This lot of land was in all probability the first lot of land covered by a Brant lease, for Brant was about to issue deeds when he was told by our great-grandfather that as he (Brant) had no deed, he could not issue deeds, but would advise him to grant leases for a term of years. Brant took his advice and leases were issued for 999 years at a rental of one dung-hill fowl per year if the same be asked for and demanded. One reason for considering this lot as being covered by the first Brant lease issued is that the starting point given in the lease is the "village or church on the river." Another reason (and the two taken together are irrefutable), is that when the Government of

Upper Canada recalled all the Brant leases, a corner stone with the initials J. T. chiseled on one side thereof was placed at the south-east corner of the lot in the exact place where the stake had been planted that is referred to in the Brant lease, and the government surveyors in running the lines for adjoining lots used this stone as a starting point.

John Smith, Sen.—From the papers and documents in our possession and from what father told us, it appears great-grandfather was a tall man, over six feet, and physically strong in proportion—a great pedestrian, which is evident from his repeated trips to Bertie, Fort Erie, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Toronto, and other distant points. These trips were made on foot, there being no wagon roads of any great length in those days, so that the only means of locomotion was on foot or on horseback. He despised the latter means as being too effeminate for a man of his standing and condition of life. (It may be interesting to state here that the saddle which we used in our boyhood days had silver-plated staples inserted in its front edge, one on each side of the pommel, for strapping fast the saddle bags or any other article.) That he was a man of integrity and great business tact in his dealings with his fellow-man is shown not only by his handwriting and letters, but is also proven by the large number of Powers of Attorney which we have in our possession, not only from his immediate friends and neighbours, but also from settlers extending from east of Hamilton, as far west as London, south to Long Point, and north to the northern boundaries of Blenheim.

Parchment Deeds.—These are formidable documents 22x14½ in., and the seal attached thereto of goodly size, being 4½ in. in diameter and one-half inch in thickness, composed of beeswax with white paper on each side, one side being stamped in relief with the British coat-of-arms and surrounding it the usual Latin inscription. On the other side, in relief also, is stamped what seems to be the Naval coat-of-arms, as it contains the Union Jack, crown, shield, mace, anchor, halberd, two cornucopias, etc. In the edge of the seal are inserted two strips of parchment by which it was attached to the deed.

The Mohawk Church.—After the close of the Revolutionary war, Capt. Joseph Brant went to England, and while there collected money to build a church. On his return to the Grand River he caused to be erected the first Protestant Episcopal Church in Upper Canada. This Church was completed in 1786 and a bell hung in its tower. We learn from a memoir of the late Bishop Mountain, first Bishop of the Canadas, “that he arrived in Quebec City on November 1st, 1793, and found that there was no church there nor in Montreal; but there were six clergy-

men in the Province and but three in the whole of Upper Canada." This memoir also contains the statement "that the Mohawks upon the Grand River have a church, and, what many of the English churches are without, a bell."

The War of 1812-15.—War was declared by Congress under President Madison on the 18th June, 1812. Among the earliest to turn out in defence of their homes and firesides were the Six Nations Indians, under the command of Capt. Jacobs and Capt. John Brant, son of the late Chief, upon whose shoulders the mantle of his father seemed to have fallen. "The affray at Beaver Dam," says Thos. Cross in "The Iroquois," "is said to have been planned and executed by this intrepid young man, eighteen years old, which resulted in the capture of Col. Boerstler and six hundred men."

In 1810, father was sent to school at Fort Erie, and he told us that he well remembered the fact that, in the summer of 1812, the late James Cummings, J. P., of Chippewa, rode into Fort Erie crying aloud, "There is war; war is declared between the King and the Congress." In consequence of this event he had to be brought home to the Grand River, but the family were not allowed to remain in peaceable possession of their home, as the British Government required the house, barn, and other out-buildings for His Majesty's stores and other military purposes. Upon the premises a regiment was stationed, probably the 37th Fusiliers, for we remember that a door of the house which was incorporated in the dwelling erected in later years having "37th Fusiliers" cut into it with a knife. The officers took up their quarters in the house, while the barn (36x50) served as barracks for the privates. The family retreated to the backwoods of Blenheim (known as the "Queen's Bush" at a later period), taking such portions of their furniture as they could conveniently convey. Amongst the articles left in the custody of the new-comers was a fall-leaf table of walnut, the leaves and top of which we have had placed on an extension dining-table. An officer, in want of a candlestick, dropped some of the melted tallow on the table and stood the candle thereon. He allowed it to burn so low that it burnt a hole in the table, still visible.

Capt. John Smith, our great uncle, was gazetted a Captain, and, as he has often told us, had captains serving under him as privates. He went through the war without receiving a wound, although in active service at Queenston Heights, Lundy's Lane, and other engagements in that neighborhood. When we were boys he made his home at father's, and having become almost entirely blind from the growth of cataracts

on his eyes, one of us used to have to lead him when he wished to go on the road. Should any mention of the war be made, uncle would state, in language more forcible than elegant, though very expressive of his feelings at the time, how they had driven the enemy over the Heights at the point of the "bagonet"—these old settlers having mistaken the "y" in the word bayonet for a "g"—and that some of their bodies were in view, hanging in the shrubs and undergrowth, for two or three days. He was not married.

Mother's elder brother, the late John Ramsay, sen., of West Flamboro, served also during the war and escaped without a wound, but near the close of the war was, with an Indian, taken prisoner. They were marched to Greenbush, on the Hudson, and, as their guard were mounted, they were obliged to do some very fast walking to keep ahead of those in charge. On their arrival they were placed in the guard-house, but, when they found their guards dozing off, made their escape, ran the sentries at the outposts, and made their way back as far as Buffalo. Having no means of crossing the river at their disposal, they were recaptured and marched back to prison. They would have been shot had not the war been brought to a close by the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent on Dec. 24th, 1814. Thus the enemy did not have the opportunity to try them by court-martial on the charge of being prisoners of war who had attempted to escape.

Mrs. Joseph Thomas, mother of the compilers of this paper, whose maiden name was Deborah Ramsay, was born at Chippewa previous to the outbreak of the war of 1812, but all records of that event were destroyed when the U. S. troops burned the church as well as the houses of the inhabitants, in consequence of which she never knew her age. While living at Chippewa she saw the Falls run dry so that people walked out to the centre of the Horseshoe Falls, and one plucky young lady, Miss Ensign, planted a Union Jack in a fissure of the rocks, where it remained for nearly twenty-four hours.

Close of the War.—After the close of the war, the family returned from the place of their retreat, the backwoods of Blenheim, and found their homestead in a very delapidated condition, far different from what it was when they left it, in 1812. At that time they had forty acres cleared and under cultivation, well fenced with rails, staked and ridged; but on their return they found the house with panes of glass out and boards off here and there from all the buildings. The planks used for approaches to the barn doors were gone, as well as many from the floor; the rails used in fencing the cleared land had disappeared,

as if by magic, for it seems the soldiers stationed here soon learned that the well-seasoned fence-rails were more combustible and portable than the standing timber near by. So when they had ascertained the sad condition of affairs, and to a certain extent realized the losses they had sustained by the occupation of the premises by the British and Indians, they made out a claim. This document bears the date of 20th Sep., 1815; and the following is certified as being a true copy:

“Amount of losses sustained by Eleanor Thomas in the late war, in consequence of His Majesty’s troops and Indians being stationed at the Grand River, and buildings occupied for His Majesty’s stores and other military purposes:

1813 Oct.	One and one-half tons of hay on Gen. Proctor’s retreat	£ 4	10	0
	30 bus. potatoes	5	12	6
	5 hogs	5	12	0
1814	By the troops and Indians, and at the time Gen. Me-Arthur (U.S.) came through from Detroit to the Grand River	35	0	0
	4,800 rails in fences.			
1814-15	The loss of the use of the farm by the destruction of the fences	40	0	0
		£91	2	6

It will be noticed that no price is put upon the 4,800 fence rails consumed. Father explained it in this way: The officer who was left in charge of the premises, and who was also empowered to settle the claim for damages, thought he could book the rails as oven wood, and consequently the family would get a higher price therefor than they otherwise would. But his plan failed to materialize, for the officer, after a very careful examination of the books of the commissariat department, failed to find any item establishing the fact that bread had been baked on the premises. Although the officer was well aware that bread had been baked here, yet, as there was no entry in the books of the commissariat department to that effect, the British Government would not pay the claim if inserted, so the rails had to go as fire-wood, and a lump sum for them and 900 ft. of planks to repair the barn floor, etc., was agreed upon, making the total amount of the claim £115, which was paid.

About the middle of September, 1815, three wagons, loaded with kegs filled with sovereigns, half-sovereigns, etc., arrived at the Grand River to pay the soldiers. When one of us in a bantering way asked

father why he didn't take a few gold pieces, he replied: "Leaving honesty out of the question, one would have had little chance of so doing, for each wagon was guarded by fifty soldiers, their muskets loaded with ball cartridge, and bayonets fixed, and those on guard being aware of the fact that if they should allow this money to be despoiled they might have to wait a long time for their pay.

During the war of 1812 an epidemic of typhoid broke out at Kingston, which was attributed to the impurity of the water. Dr. Dunlop, a surgeon belonging to one of the regiments stationed at that town, and a newcomer to the place, having complained of a slight indisposition, when he was told by a sympathizing friend that it was owing to the water, earnestly replied: "It's no the water wi' me, for I aye tak' it weel diluted wi' brandy."

As the Six Nations Indians had commenced to locate themselves on this Grand River tract as soon as the war closed, April, 1783, and as great-grandfather with his family came in with them, the Township of Brantford must have been the first municipality in the County of Brant to be settled by people of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The Mohawk Church was erected soon after that date, probably in 1786. The two-storied frame house erected on the Cainsville lot was the first frame dwelling erected in the County.

The village or church on the River is used as the starting point for the first Brant lease issued to a white man, for the Lot is described as "being on the northerly part of the great bend below the village or Church on said river, beginning at a stake standing by the fence at the South-east angle of said tract," etc., etc.

From the words "a stake standing by the fence" we deduce the fact that the family must have been in actual possession of this lot of 200 acres for some time or they would not have had fences erected.

In these papers there are also recorded transfers of tracts of land from one person to another.

Father, in his boyhood days, and until he was 10 or 11 years old, had none but Indian children to play with, in consequence of which he could speak the Mohawk language as fluently as English. Even in his older days when he chanced to meet one of that race he invariably addressed him in the Indian tongue.

A Summerless Year.—The year 1816 was a memorable one for those living at that time. It was usually referred to by the old-timers as the year without a summer, for there was frost during every month

of the year except the month of August. This, following the close of the war, made itself severely felt by the settlers, for the little grain they had on hand did not suffice till they gathered the next harvest, and many people were reduced to a state of semi-starvation. The first man to secure some ripened sheaves of rye, flailed out the grain and shared it with his less fortunate neighbours.

The Indians suffered also, but in all probability in a lesser degree, for game was plentiful. One of the younger Indians having found a bee-tree was voraciously devouring the honey, but was stopped by one of his race of more mature years and told that by eating it thus it was likely to produce colic. He got some dry wood, and after cutting it as small as possible, pounded it in a mortar (home-made) until it looked like sawdust. The honey was then mixed with it and partaken of with safety. On being questioned as to why he mixed the wood with the honey, he replied "that he knew of but one reason, and that was that the belly must be filled."

Father having mentioned that in his youth he had often loaded his wooden cannons so heavily that they exploded, we were anxious to know how he obtained his powder, as we were aware that money was not very plentiful then. "Oh," he replied, "just give an Indian hunter a piece of bread and at the same time let him know that you are out of powder, and he will take off his powder-horn and pour out enough to last you two or more days."

Post-Offices.—In 1809 there were few post-offices in Upper Canada, and no exchange of mail matter between our P. O. department and that of Uncle Sam. So if a person wished to mail a letter from any part of the U. S. to this Province he was compelled in the first place to seek some one who was journeying northward and get him to put the letter in the nearest P. O. in the Province after he arrived in it.

In a letter written at Hopkins' Court House, Tennessee, dated Dec. 11th, 1809, we find that John Thomas, the writer, had gone there on business, but found great difficulty in getting a settlement, as he states, "I am afraid of a war with the U. S., as the people are much exasperated at the conduct of the English in general, and Jackson in particular. Should this be the case, business done or not, you may expect my immediate return before any stroke can be made on either side. Goods begin to sell very high here. I fear I shall not be able to get a bill on New York as business begins to slacken and merchants are distrustful of a war and its consequences." As envelopes had not been invented at the time of writing, the letter had to be folded in such a manner that

one side could be tucked into the other, and then, to secure it there, it was sealed with wax. It is addressed to Mrs. Eleanor Thomas, Grand River, Upper Canada, care of Capt. Brant to Niagara, and marked 2 S. postage to convey it to Ancaster.

Slaves in Upper Canada.—It is probable that it was on his return home from this trip that grandfather brought with him two slaves, a negro and his wife. They lived in a log house on the lot at Cainsville until their death, working for, and being cared for by grandfather. The woman died first and was interred by her husband close to the east side line of the lot, where he planted a seedling apple tree and a hickory tree at the head of the grave to mark its location. Subsequently the negro died and was buried beside his wife. In due course of time the Hamilton and Brantford Electric Railway was laid out, and its course ran directly over the spot where these two trees had been planted. The men engaged in grading the line found the skull of the negro to be still pretty solid, but the remainder of the bones had returned to mother earth.

Father told us that the only time in his life he was very strongly tempted to steal was in his boyhood days. His mother had sent him and a hired man, each mounted on a horse, and having a bag of wheat in front of him, to Malcolm's mill in Oakland, via Brant's ford, and along a footpath through the dense forest, now traversed by the serpentine Mt. Pleasant Road. Grandmother had entrusted the man with money for their dinners, as well as for provender for the horses, but he spent it for rum en route, so there must have been dram-shops in Brantford even as early as this. When they arrived at their destination it was time for dinner, but they had nothing to eat and the money spent. On seeing through a window some loaves of bread and plates overladen with newly-baked cakes, father said he was strongly tempted to steal some of them to satiate his appetite, but resisted the temptation. Mrs. Malcolm, wife of the miller, on questioning him, ascertained the plight in which he was placed, and took him in to dinner to his great delight, for which he was very thankful.

Grandfather Thomas was a member of the A. F. and A. M., No. 6, Barton Lodge. This lodge held meetings periodically in an upper chamber of the two-storied house on the lot at Cainsville. After the close of the War of 1812, John Thomas journeyed southward to Virginia and Tennessee to get his business settled, but was accidentally drowned while fording a river in that country, and his body could not be traced, although many efforts were made with that purpose in view.

Strange to say, no record can be found of the death of great-grandfather (John Smith, sen.). But we have his last will and testament, dated 13th Sept., 1827, and on comparing his signature thereto with that of other documents, we have concluded that he did not live many years after signing his will. From father we learned that on his demise his corpse was interred in the Mohawk Church graveyard, his body being that of the first white man interred therein.

Which of us, with our much vaunted Collegiate education, could go into the dense forest, having no other instrument than a surveyor's chain and a compass, and strike a line a mile and a half in length, so nearly due north and south that the Government surveyors, in making the surveys of the land contained in the old Brant leases, declared that the East line of the lot at Cainsville deviated so slightly from absolute north and south that they deemed it unnecessary to make any alteration thereof! Yet that was done by great-grandfather in 1801.

Education in Brant.—It has been already stated that father was at school at Fort Erie in 1812 when war was declared by the U. S. Congress, that he was hurried home, and that soon after his arrival the family were induced by circumstances over which they had no control to remove to the backwoods of Blenheim and take up their abode in a shack in which there was found but one corner dry enough to place a bed. Here they remained till the close of the war in Sept., 1815, father being then 14 years old.

About this time a schoolhouse was erected on the site of the one in what is now known as School Section No. 16, but at the time we are speaking of was called, at least by the pupils, Bunnell's schoolhouse, because the site was taken from a lot of land afterwards deeded by the Crown to Mr. Bunnell, grandfather of A. K. Bunnell, Treasurer of the City of Brantford. The first teacher was a Yankee adventurer named Forsyth, who, with many others, had followed the army. The text-books he introduced were Mavor's Spelling-book, the English Reader, Morse's Geography, and Daboll's Arithmetic—all works of Yankee origin.

The spelling-book opened up with the alphabet and gradually advanced; a few illustrations of the commonest of our domestic animals were given, with a brief descriptive article of each. These were interspersed nearly to the end, where were found columns of words of five or more syllables, the first being "abominableness." The so-called English Reader was almost entirely made up of extracts from the best English authors, but it also contained extracts from speeches made by

Ben. Franklin, Patrick Henry, etc. The geography seemed to be made up especially to extol and enlarge the U. S. at the expense of Canada. To give an instance: the little State of Rhode Island was allotted more space in that work than could be spared for Canada, although the latter consisted of two Provinces. The Arithmetic proved to be the best of the books, and was a work of decided merit. After the war father became a pupil of this school, and frequently referred to his schoolmates—the late Malachi File, the late John J. File, etc., the last mentioned being the father of Levi File of the Township of Brantford, and also grandfather of Mrs. John D. McEwen of Mt. Pleasant Road. It was not long after the advent of the Rev. Jas. C. Usher, the founder and first rector of Grace Church, Brantford, before he held Divine service in the school-house on Sunday afternoons. These services were heartily welcomed by the settlers who signified their appreciation by the regularity of their attendance.

[In 1834 the Rev. James C. Usher served Barton and the village of Hamilton. Mr. Usher was obliged to take the long journey to Quebec to be ordained in 1834. On his return he was preferred to Grace Church, Brantford.—From Wentworth Historical Transactions, 1902, p. 64.]

Means of Cooking.—Our “foremothers” had no such conveniences as “cookstoves,” with the numberless utensils accompanying them, but were forced to do their cooking by means of the old-fashioned fireplace, with its crane and pot-hooks of various lengths for hanging the pot and tea kettle on. Those who had not brick ovens, when they wished to roast meat or bake bread, used a reflector made of bright tin, in shape somewhat like an open shed. When in use this was set upon a frame of iron with four legs, the open side towards the fire, and the frame filled with live coals. It is scarcely necessary to state that the food to be cooked was placed inside the reflector. The frying pan had long legs and a long handle for convenience. The smoothing irons (sad irons) were heated by standing them on end in proximity to the red-hot coals, and consequently required to have the ashes removed from their faces before using. They also provided themselves with a sheet-iron round pan, with an iron handle about six feet in length, for baking short cakes and pancakes of buckwheat, corn meal or wheat flour. To prevent themselves from getting overheated they improvised a jack made of iron, about five feet in height, and having notches at intervals of about six inches apart to rest the handle at such a height as would keep the pan level. Some bakers became so proficient in its use that they were enabled to grasp the handle with both hands, give it a toss

and turn its contents (one cake) upside down, when cooked sufficiently on the lower side, and catch it in the pan.

Stoves and Ovens.—Some time about the year 1830, a man, J. Van-norman by name, started a foundry at Long Point. Its chief products were "The Farmer's Cook Stove," with its attendant furniture, and box stoves for heating purposes. The castings in these stoves were much thicker than those in use nowadays, and rods for holding the stove together were not used, so one had to be very careful in putting in wood or he might knock the back plate out on the floor. Many farmers, as soon as bricks could be obtained, erected brick ovens at a short distance from the kitchen, and thus were enabled to bake a batch of bread that would last the family eight or ten days. We have several pots made at Long Point and occasionally make use of them.

Clothing.—Our ancestors had not the opportunity to buy at Saturday bargains "\$7.50 suits reduced to \$4.98," but were compelled, owing to circumstances over which they had no control, to raise sheep, whose wool was taken to the nearest carding mill, where it was made into rolls. These were taken home and spun into skeins of yarn; thence it was taken to the weaver to be made into cloth, which was given to itinerant tailors to make into suits befitting the various members of the family. In a similar manner with regard to footwear, the farmer traded the pelts of animals to the tanner for leather, which was fashioned into boots and shoes by shoemakers who travelled from house to house with their kits of tools on their backs.

As reference was made to the "Stone Age" in a paper read before the Society, we not only believe that there was a people inhabiting this continent before the advent of the Indians, but have some proof thereof, for on the lot at Cainsville we, in our boyhood days, found a stone axe, which is of better shape, and in a better state of preservation, than any specimen on exhibition in the public museums of the Province.

About 12 years before Brant County was separated from the united Counties of Wentworth, Halton and Brant, father and the late William Holmes, J. P. (from whom we get the name Holmedale) were gazetted commissioners of the Court of Request, a court of equity as well as law. They continued to hold sessions of this court periodically until the establishment of County and Division Courts.

If it were possible for the late Capt. Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea, to rise from the tomb, and standing upon some elevated spot of land, say Tutela Heights, view the city lying beneath him, with its railroads,

steam and electric, its telegraph, telephone and trolley lines, its public buildings, its extensive and numerous manufacturies, private dwellings, and parks, its bridges, etc., he would be likely to exclaim in his native tongue the words of the Latin poet Horace: "I have reared to myself a monument more enduring than brass" (bronze), or he might select the words engraven by Sir Christopher Wren, architect of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, England, on that edifice, Si monumentum quaeris, circumspice—"If you seek my monument, look around."

The memory of the red man,
How can it pass away,
While their names of music linger
On each town, and stream, and bay.—Anon.

VI.

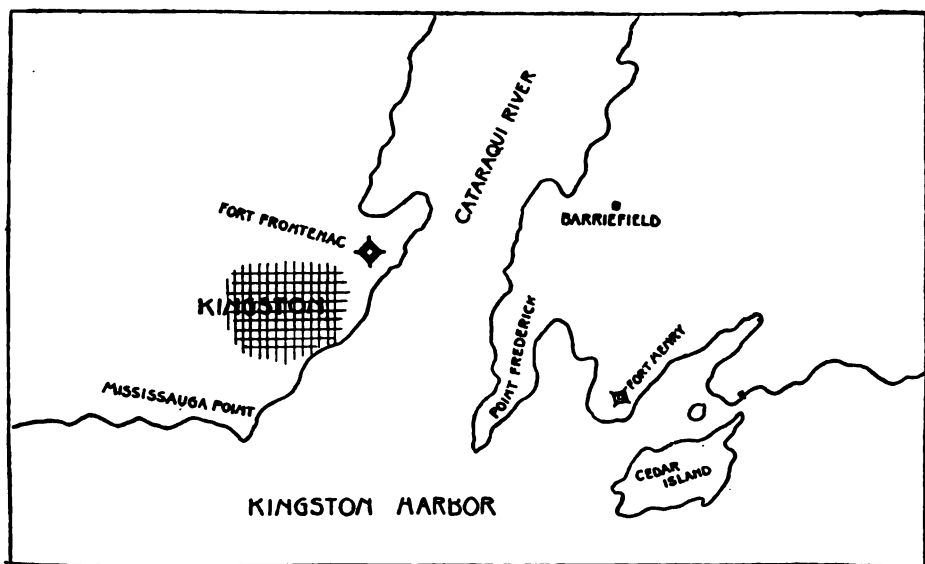
THE PAST AND PRESENT FORTIFICATIONS AT KINGSTON.

BY GEORGE R. DOLAN, CALGARY, ALTA.

The busy Canadian of to-day knows Kingston only as the home of the penitentiary, or the seat of Queen's University, or perhaps as a stagnant looking community. Its appearance of stagnation is due to the numerous small frame dwellings in the older wards, the crumbling walls of the various forts, and their grim looking towers. Its past growth and historic traditions have been due in a great measure to the erection of these military works, and to the probability that upon two occasions it was likely to be chosen as the provincial capital. This paper deals especially with the various fortifications of Kingston, and the two threatened attacks during the War of 1812.

The importance of the city during the war lay in its intermediate location between Montreal and the Niagara district, its selection as the depot of supplies for the troops in Upper Canada, and in the dockyard being located in its neighborhood.

From the year 1759 until 1784 the land about old Fort Frontenac had been entirely abandoned by English settlers, as well as soldiers. But in the latter year, Capt. Grass, who, though a German, had served in the British Army during the Seven Years War, and had been held a prisoner in Fort Frontenac in 1757, landed with a few U. E. Loyalist families on Mississauga Point, the land now occupied by the Canadian Locomotive Works. Their selection apparently was quite favorable, for many families followed them during the ensuing years, and in 1792, when Lt.-Governor Simcoe held his first government council in a log house, still standing on Queen St., there were about 120 houses, almost all of wood, scattered along the shore for a few hundred rods back, north-east of the present West Street. Among the earlier settlers were the Macaulays, Cartwrights, Fergusons and MacLeans, many of whom held commissions during the war. During the struggle the village made remarkable progress, and in 1821 had a population of 5,000, of all classes. Its progress at that time was due to its freedom from attack during the war, the settlement of many of the regulars in the neighborhood having naturally attracted many of the immigrants, whom they had known in



OUTLINE MAP OF ENVIRONS OF KINGSTON HARBOR.

the motherland. Then the Imperial Government had spent large sums in the purchase of provisions and clothing, and in the construction of the vessels of the Navy on Lake Ontario. Probably in the histories of this war we have been rather narrow-minded in the praise of our own militia. But we must not forget the great sacrifices the mother country had undertaken in sending out thousands of soldiers, sailors and marines, and practically paying almost all the expenses of the war, even when she was struggling for her commercial existence against the insatiable hatred and ambition of Napoleon.

Bad feeling existed between the mother country and the newly separated states from 1783 till 1791, on account of the treatment accorded to the U. E. Loyalists. Great Britain retained a few posts in American territory, and war clouds began to gather. So, upon the advice of the War Department, Lord Dorchester, the Governor-General at that time, ordered Surveyor John Collins in 1788 to make a survey of all the harbors in the inland lakes. He selected Carleton Island, south of Wolfe Island, as possessing most advantages in shelter, water and defence. Lt.-Governor Simcoe, after a personal inspection, supported Collins' choice against the views of Carleton, who had picked upon Kingston. In his report, Collins claimed that Kingston was open to attack from the rear; the old French fort was useless as a source of defence,

and the harbor was exposed to the prevailing south-west wind. There is no doubt of the truth of the first two objections. The authorities in 1812 ran a palisade wall along West to Sydenham St., across Princess, or Store St., to Raglan Road, thence north-east to the site on the Cataraqui River of the cotton mill. This line was strengthened by the erection of two log blockhouses, one on Princess Street, and one on Montreal Street, but no traces of wall or blockhouses can be found to-day. Later, in 1845, five modern blockhouses were constructed to guard the various roads, and many may remember the one on Sydenham Street, which unfortunately was sold a few years ago. About the same year, to complete the fortifications at Fort Henry and Point Frederick, Martello towers were erected at Macdonald Park, and on the shoal near the Kingston and Pembroke Railway. The upper storey of these was constructed with movable sides, so that the artillery, mounted upon travelling carriages, could sweep both land and water. The average cost of these was about £8500. On Cedar Island, guarding the St. Lawrence, was the famous bomb-proof tower. Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, who was then living in Kingston, worked as a mason upon the construction of this in 1846.

Many have read in the shorter histories of Canada that LaSalle built Fort Frontenac, and later it was reconstructed as a western post of defence by Frontenac. But both of these men were essentially traders, and the location on level ground at the mouth of the Cataraqui River rendered it an excellent post for barter with the Indians. In an ancient map is marked an Indian store on the shore near the fort, which must have plied a busy trade as late as 1812. Like all other military works near Kingston, this fort passed through three distinct changes. The first fort planned by LaSalle was oblong in shape, each side being 250 feet long, with projecting bastions at each angle. It was constructed of upright logs, or palisades, with earth and stone packed between. There were log buildings erected inside and also near the fort to accommodate the garrison and traders. In 1689, during the terror-stricken rule of the weak Denonville, the fort was abandoned, and soon destroyed by the revengeful Iroquois. In 1695, Frontenac, during his second term as Governor, with a great retinue, re-visited the spot, and rebuilt it of stone, using simpler plans than before. Later, in 1720, a wooden gallery connected each bastion, so that the defenders would always be under cover. The walls were loopholed for musketry, but there was no surrounding ditch or terrace. The fort was taken without much difficulty by Gen. Bradstreet in 1758. He planted his cannon upon the site of the present market place, and in a few hours had battered the walls down.

For almost twenty-five years the spot was untouched by the British, till the coming of Capt. Grass in 1784. Five years later Kingston was chosen as the chief military depot, and wooden barracks were constructed for the men, with one storey houses for the officers, within the curtains of the fort. According to the prevailing custom, a stockade was constructed to surround the enclosure. The old French tower in the north-east angle was used as a magazine, and was torn down in 1832. The British Government never regarded the spot as of much defensive value, for in 1819 they permitted the local military authorities to tear down the fort to permit the extension of Ontario Street. The present barracks, called Tete-du-Pont, were erected with quarters for officers and men from 1831 till 1842. This is now occupied by B. Battery of the Royal Canadian Artillery.

In the selection of Navy Bay for the site of the proposed dockyard, a compromise was really effected between the opposing views of Collins and Lord Dorchester. Kingston harbour was passed over, and the bay enclosed by Points Frederick and Henry was chosen. The stores were to be kept on the narrow tongue of land now occupied by the Royal Military College. This spot must have possessed a decided superiority over the neighboring harbor, as the land was practically a wilderness; the forest must be cleared, and cottages, storehouses and docks constructed. There was no bridge crossing the mouth of the Cataraqui. A ferry, connected with a wire cable, carried the farmers and their wagons across. Later the marines used a scow rowed with long sweeps to cross the harbor, which at the points of crossing was about one-third of a mile. But the supplies and heavier equipment could be brought directly to this point by the Gananoque Road. A glance at the plan will show that the whole bay was sheltered from the objectionable south-west wind by Point Frederick. The water was sufficiently deep for any draught of sailing vessel, and the gradually receding shore permitted the construction of docks and ways.

The shape of Point Frederick, and its location almost surrounded by water, rendered its defence comparatively easy of solution. The narrow isthmus near the head of Navy Bay could easily be protected by the guns of the ships patrolling on either flank, so that it could easily be defended from a land attack in the rear. The waterfront was guarded by three strong batteries. On Mississauga Point a battery of six twenty-four pounders was erected, protected by a log casement and earthworks. Bouchette, who commanded the dockyard in 1792, describes a furnace erected here to heat the balls, so as to set fire to hostile ships.

In searching among the old stores in Fort Henry, I discovered a portable iron furnace, probably used in 1839 for a similar purpose. On the opposite shore at Point Frederick was a similar battery mounted upon earthworks. Surrounding this, close to the water's edge, was a line of *cheveaux du frise*, or a palisade fence with sharp iron spikes, pointing outward. Inside of this was a blockhouse, commanding a survey of both bays, mounted with heavy artillery.

So strong was this point considered that in 1842, the home Government constructed the present fort, which is rather oblong in shape, to suit the outlines of the shore. It is about 600 ft. deep by 750 ft. wide, and on the water side consists of thick walls twenty feet high, banked by earthworks twenty-five feet thick, mounted with heavy rifle guns, and carronades on revolving platforms. A few of the heavy guns used in 1812 are strewn about the fort. Among the interesting features of this structure are the sally ports, 25 feet long by 7 feet high and five feet wide, arched and gased with stone, which tunnel the walls on the water-side. By these the garrison could rush out upon an attacking or retreating force. In the centre was a very strong stone tower, mounted with heavy cannon, with a stone cased moat surrounding, so that even if the enemy should scale the walls, this deep and wide moat must be crossed before the garrison could be captured. Even now such walls, banked with thick mounds of earth, could offer a serious resistance to heavy artillery. I have been unable to find any historical incident connected with this battery.

On the eastern side of this point, within a stone-throw of the Royal Military College, is the site of the busy dockyard of 1812. A few posts still mark this historic spot, which was probably the busiest centre in Canada during the whole war. Here about 200 carpenters, 300 helpers, and 800 marines and sailors, from the Atlantic ships, were stationed during 1813 and 1814. During the winter of 1812-13 six warships were constructed, from 125 to 200 feet in length, most of them sloop rigged, and carried from the twelve guns of the "Beresford" to the 23 of the "Wolfe." In the following winter two larger ships, the "Princess Regent" and "Princess Charlotte," were built; while in 1814, the "St. Lawrence," the giant of the fleet, 300 feet long and carrying 100 guns, was launched. Many accounts have been written about this vessel, but there is the strongest evidence that she never took part in any fight, was drawn up again on the ways, where she remained roofed over for many years. Later she was sold, and while being towed to Amherst Island a storm drove her ashore. An oak chair, made from her huge stern posts, is now in the possession of the present member for Kingston, Mr.

W. F. Nickle. One of these ships, the schooner "Psyche," furnishes an interesting story of the conduct of the war office. She was first constructed in England, every single piece numbered and described; then she was taken apart, placed on board a transport ship, and carried to Montreal. Thence all the parts were carried by wagon or batteaux up the St. Lawrence, and refitted at the dockyard. All these exertions went for naught, as the ratification of peace cut off her active career. The records also show that four large casks to hold fresh water, and an apparatus for distilling the briny water of Lake Ontario were sent out to be used on board the navy. This paternal red tape spirit of the War Office is also shown in the official correspondence of five letters which passed back and forth, about the simple matter of a useless thirty cent lock on the door of an officer's room.

These vessels, though made of green elm and oak, were very well constructed, and show the difference between the English and American workmen. They were well shaped, with smooth sides, braced with copper and iron fastenings. There was not a great disparity in their weight of metal, nor in their sailing qualities. The American authorities at Sackett's Harbor rushed their ships together, regardless of finish, speed or size of guns. Thus, Sir James Yeo, with fewer ships, and carrying far less metal, with smaller crews, was on the whole able to keep control of Lake Ontario. In 1818 the famous Rush-Bagot Treaty was signed, restricting armed vessels on the lakes. So all the ships, including two captured American vessels, were sold to junk dealers, who, after stripping them of their copper, iron, and everything moveable, towed them a short distance from the shores and set them on fire. Their blackened timbers lie beneath the waters of Navy Bay, where they may still be seen on a calm day.

The only building still standing which had any connection with the War of 1812 was the large stone structure near the old dockyard, now used as a dormitory by the cadets. It was erected in 1816 to store the sails, ropes and guns of the ships. It was used as a storehouse till 1838, when Capt. Sandom and a force of marines were sent to reopen the dockyard. As the cottages for the soldiers and officers, used in 1812 had been sold, the old storehouse was cleared out, each floor fitted up as in a warship, hence its name—the stone frigate. After the Rebellion of 1837 a few steam gunboats were constructed, the most noted being the "Experiment."

The entrance to Navy Bay on the eastern side is at present guarded by the well known Fort Henry, which stands on a rising elevation at

the entrance to the St. Lawrence. Here in the year 1813, a battery of six twenty-four pounders was erected, protected by logs and earth-works. A blockhouse was also constructed and all the surrounding woods cut down to permit the enemy landing and masking their guns. A captain of the Voltigeurs, who was stationed here in 1813, speaks with the most abject disgust of the forlorn looking stumps, rocks and shrubs, which were infested with mosquitoes, gnats and reptiles. Later in the same year officers' quarters, stone magazines and an armory were erected. The position was considered so advantageously situated that two strong towers of rubble stone were erected and surrounded by a palisade. A stone building about 80 feet long, used for officers' quarters, was erected. In 1818 the garrison must have been increased, as stone barracks 230 feet long, and two others 80 feet long, were built; so that a considerable permanent force was maintained there from 1818 till 1860.

The present fort, shown on the sketch, was erected in 1832, and with the advanced battery was not finished till 1842. It is erected on the crest of the hill, about 100 feet above the lake level. Unlike the first fort, built by the Royal Engineers, this was built by contract by Messrs. McAdoo, Duff and Noble. The late Sheriff Ferguson of Kingston had the contract of cutting the stone. Immense quantities of limestone were used, which was procured in the neighborhood, as the many nearby quarries show. A great many of those working on its construction perished from the cholera epidemic. The fort from rear to front towards the lake is about 800 feet long, and 500 feet broad. The walls of the inner fort are from 10 to 12 feet thick of solid masonry, and 20 to 25 feet high. Heavy rifle guns and carronades, a few marked 1811 and 12, are mounted on carriages, travelling on semi-circular tracks cemented into the rocky foundations. These guns, having a range from 800 to 1500 yards, all, of course, muzzle loaders, commanded the Gananoque Road and the St. Lawrence. Lining the inner walls are the stone quarters for officers and men. An interesting sight in many of the rooms is the brick fire-place, while in others furnaces were used. As these thick walls were continuously sweating, heat would be necessary during the warm months, and stalactites may be seen in almost all of the former mess-rooms. In the north wall was the cook-house, with fire boxes built in the brickwork, with huge iron pans for making soup or boiling meat. Some of these iron doors must have been used in the first fort, as they are stamped 1812. In another damp, mouldy room is a great quantity of hammers, files, tongs, scissors, cannon wads, rammers, cant hooks, bellows, meat saws, powder buckets of 1812 fame, all of which must have been used at various times by the

garrison. If this Society is able in the near future to erect a suitable building, sufficient material alone could be furnished by the discarded stores at this fort to fill a military museum. Unfortunately most of these relics are being destroyed by rust, and judging from past experiences, the Militia Department might give an order for these weapons and tools to be sold as old iron. So that the least the Society might do is to notify the Department that if these are to be disposed of, it should be given the first selection.

The fort is tunneled under its walls and moat. The powder was kept below ground, and could be flooded at a moment's notice. The quarters for men and officers were ranged close to, and forming part of, the wall, to give greater protection and more room for parade grounds in the centre. Even the windows are strongly barred, so that if the enemy scaled the walls the garrison would still have a shelter. The advanced battery upon the water side, built about 1842, was a serious military blunder. The walls facing the lake are only about four feet thick, and not sufficiently high. A hostile fleet could see within the enclosure, train its guns upon the soldiers' quarters, without the wall offering any obstruction. Many have heard of the story of the engineer in charge of the work, discovering this serious mistake, after its completion, then in despair shooting or drowning himself. But the facts are that the mistake was made by Col. Wright, who had charge of the work. He was recalled to England and cashiered out of the army. The work was completed by Sir Richard Bonnycastle who had charge of the fortifications at Penetanguishene as well as Navy Bay.

The walls were surrounded by a moat 24 feet wide and twenty feet deep, with perpendicular stone sides. These were crossed by drawbridges, which were specially defended by heavy cannons. By underground passages the garrison could fire from both sides of the moat, so that even if an enemy scaled the hill they would be subject to a deadly fire from both sides of the moat. By means of open sally ports the garrison could descend to the water under cover. At the shore the mouths of the sally ports were protected by strong towers, mounted with heavy cannon, and loopholed for rifle fire. These were used in case of retreat, or for the temporary confinement of prisoners who were taken in a rush. The guns not only commanded the waterfront, but could be trained upon a land force, so that an attack from the rear was exposed to fire from three sides.

There have been many interesting incidents in connection with this strong fort, but I shall relate three in connection with the Rebellion

of 1837. In February, 1838, a plan was formed by an American Confederate, Van Rensselaer, to attack Fort Henry. It was known that it was garrisoned by civilians, and among these a traitor had agreed to spike the guns, and even to open the gates upon the approach of the "Patriots." The plan leaked out, and 1600 militia were placed in the enclosure. An American force, which had collected at French Creek, near Clayton, to the number of 1800 men, took possession of Hickory Island, near Gananoque. But VanRensselaer proved to be a low fellow, and the force melted away.

In the dungeons during part of the month of November was confined the misguided Von Schultz, or Van Shultz, who, urged on by the notorious Bill Johnson, led about 500 men across the river to Prescott, and after four days' fighting was captured by Col. Dundas of Kingston. He was tried by court-martial, and was hanged at the north-west corner of the fort, just outside the walls. His body was claimed by a Kingston sympathizer, John Cicolari, and was buried in St Mary's cemetery, beside his friend Capt. Woodruff, who met the same sad end.

Here also were confined John Montgomery, and several others, who were captured after the skirmish at Montgomery's Tavern, sentenced to death, which was afterwards commuted to banishment to Van Dieman's Land. While being taken to Fort Henry for safe keeping, they formed a plot on board the "Sir Robert Peel" to overpower the guard and seize the vessel, but the plan was abandoned. They were then confined to Fort Henry for a few days. They planned their escape by means of information secretly conveyed to them. Their plan succeeded, except that Parker, a resident of Kingston, deserted them, and Montgomery broke his leg by a fall in the sally port. But after terrible suffering and starvation for five days, all except Watson and Parker, who were taken, reached Cape Vincent, where they were given a public dinner and every kindness shown them.

As these forts would furnish good material for a museum collection, so the stirring incidents connected with them, and the weed-covered charred hulls at the bottom of Navy Bay, open up a boundless field for historical and romantic story, which has hitherto been scarcely touched.

VII.

REMINISCENCES OF EARLIER YEARS IN BRANT.

BY MISS AUGUSTA I. GRANT GILKISON, BRANTFORD

The Brant Historical Society, which was organized at the Conservatory of Music on Nelson Street, May 11, 1908, welcomes you to this historical city of Brantford, renowned as being named after the great warrior, Thayendanagea, Capt. Joseph Brant, who was a captain in the British army. This part of the country was first inhabited by the Ojibways or Mississagas, the government buying part of their land for the Six Nations, through which the River Ouse, now the Grand River, ran.

When Brant arrived here in 1783, he settled at the bend of the river where the old Mohawk Church now stands, which was to be the Indian Village and his home for the future; and there he built his double log house, known as "Mohawk Castle," on the south side of the church. While living there he became an influential British subject, much honored and admired by all classes.

His portrait was painted by Romney, the English artist, in London, in 1776. Brant had neither the aquiline nose nor the copper complexion, nor the coarse jet black hair of the Indian race. His only Indian feature was the prominent cheek bone. This is true of the whole family of Brants, from Joseph Brant's grandfather, who visited England with Peter Schuyler early in the reign of Queen Anne. In the London Magazine for July, 1776, there is a sketch of Capt. Joseph Brant, in which it is stated that he was the grandson of one of the five Sachems who had visited England in 1710. Three of the latter were Mohawks, one of whom was Joseph Brant, Chief of the Canajoharie clan. These Sachems, or Indian "Kings," as they were called, had been taken to England by Col. Schuyler, and they created a great sensation, people following them wherever they went. The chiefs were dressed in black clothes after English manner, and instead of a blanket they each had a scarlet ingrain cloth mantle edged with gold lace, thrown over their other clothes. These court dresses were given them by Queen Anne, a more than ordinary solemnity having attended the audience they had of Her Majesty.

They were conducted to St. James' Palace in two royal coaches, and introduced into the royal presence by the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Chamberlain. The speech delivered by them was preserved by Oldmixon, the historian. Sir Richard Steele mentions these chiefs in the *Tattler* of March 13th, 1710, and Addison in the *Spectator* of the same week devotes a special article to the five Indian "kings" from North America.

Capt. Joseph Brant was a great letter-writer—wrote many letters on business, and on private or domestic concerns. His fame was co-extensive with England and the United States. In one of his letters to Thos. Eddy he says: "I was born of Indian parents, lived while a child among those whom you please to call savages. I was afterwards sent to live among the white people and educated at one of your schools, since which period I have been honored much beyond my deserts."

The saintly Rev. Robt.* Addison of Niagara visited the Mohawks and baptized about a hundred and fifty of them. He and other missionaries were greatly assisted by Capt. Brant. When Lieut. Gov. Simcoe arrived at Niagara in 1792 he brought a letter from the Duke of Northumberland to the Mohawk Chief, Thayendanagea. This Duke had served in the Revolutionary War as Lord Percy and had been adopted by the Mohawks with the name Toughwegeri, or the "Evergreen Brake." Lieut.-Governor Simcoe delivered a brace of pistols to Brant from the Duke, and in a letter his Grace added: "I preserve with great care your picture which is hung up in the Duchess' own room." A close intimacy was thereupon formed between Lieut.-Gov. Simcoe and Capt. Brant.

George Washington also recognized the great influence of Capt. Brant over all the Indian tribes. He invited Brant to attend the great Council held at Philadelphia, the seat of Government, in the winter of 1792, and on May 23rd of that year the newspapers announced: "On Monday last arrived in this city from the settlement on the Grand River, Capt. Joseph Brant of the British Army, the famous Mohawk Chief who so eminently distinguished himself during the late war as military leader of the Six Nation Indians. We are informed that he will pay his respects to the President of the United States." The United States offered him a thousand guineas down and half pay pension, the reward he received from the British Government doubled, if he would endeavor to bring about peace with the tribes, but Brant refused as he thought it would be detrimental to the British interests, as also to the advantage and credit of the Indian Nations until the Americans should make the necessary concessions.

Brant sailed for England in 1786. He was well received and his society courted by gentlemen of rank and station, statesmen, scholars and divines. He was dressed in European clothes, but had a splendid Indian dress of his own nation. He was a great favorite with the Royal family. He proudly refused to kiss the King's hand, but he remarked with gallantry and address that he would gladly kiss the hand of the Queen. King George III. smiled, as he loved his Queen too well to be offended. Brant was accompanied about England by two negro servants.

Thayendanagea is described as having been a man of animal courage and as having the noble qualities of a brave soldier. He was tall, erect and majestic, with the air of one born to command, and his name was a tower of strength among the warriors of North America. He translated the gospels, prayers and psalms into the Mohawk language. His last words were: "Have pity on the poor Indian if you can get any influence with the great, endeavor to do them all the good you can. Oh, my Father, my Father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof."

No people are more painstaking in paying honor to their dead than the Indians. The funerals are marked with deep and affectionate solemnity. When Brant's remains were removed in 1850 from Wellington Square to the Mohawk Church, the old bell (the first bell that was rung to call the people to the house of God in Upper Canada), tolled for 24 hours, until the body, which had been carried on the shoulders of relays of six warriors at a time, walking through the forest until they reached the old Mohawk Church, was laid, with that of his son, Capt. John Brant, in the tomb erected to their memory. The removal of their remains and the erection of the beautiful monument is due to the untiring energies of Mr. Allen Cleghorn, who was an honored and beloved friend of the Six Nations.

Among the many persons who knew Brant from 1792 to the day of his death, Nov. 24th, 1807, were the first Gov.-Gen. Lord Dorchester, Gen. Amherst, Commodore Alex. Grant of Grosse Pointe near Detroit, Father Macdonell (who afterward was the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Kingston), Col. Thos. Talbot, Sir Isaac Brock, Capt. William Jarvis (Provincial Secretary), Wm. Osgoode, Jas. Baby, Chief-Justice Powell, Duparon Baby, Alex. McKee, Wm. Robertson, Major John Richardson, Peter Burprea, Bishop Strachan, Tecumseh, and many others.

In 1884 there were only three warriors living who had fought with Brant: John Smoke Johnson, 94 years; Jacob Warner, 93; John Tutela,

92. John Smoke Johnson's last appearance in public was at the laying of the corner-stone of Brant's monument; he died shortly afterwards.

Mohawk Village, also known as Brant's Ford, was, in the earliest years of this province, the only inhabited place between the village of Niagara and Detroit. Gov. Simcoe, after having settled in Niagara, thought it was his duty to know the land over which he had been made governor, so he started with Capt. Wm. Jarvis and suite in Feb., 1792, marching through forests where towns and cities are now built, including Hamilton and others, until he came to the Mohawk Village, extending to where Cainsville stands and around the Mohawk Church. Brant received Gov. Simcoe and suite, entertained them for three days, accompanied them on their journey to Detroit many miles through the forest, and supplied them with food and horses. On arriving at Detroit he was received by Commodore Grant, who was then in command of the British fleet on the Upper Lakes. Gov. Simcoe returned in March, 1793, and was again the guest of Brant at the Indian Village, and was entertained with the usual dances, the calumet, buffalo, feather and war dances, the visitors being also given Indian names. On the 13th Feb., 1793, Mrs. Wm. Jarvis entertained Brant at dinner in her log house at Niagara.

Among the first persons who settled in Brantford were John Stealts, Enos Burnnell, Arnah Huntington, John A. Wilkes and others. Wm. Richardson was the first post-master and also Indian Superintendent after the death of Capt. John Brant. He was also Lieut.-Col. of the 10th Gore Regiment in 1837-38, had married Jane Cameron Grant, 11th daughter of Commodore Grant, in 1824, at Chippewa, and resided in Brantford until his death in the fifties.

Brantford is known as the "Telephone City," the telephone having been invented by Dr. Graham Bell at his residence on Tutela Heights. It once had a palisade in the early days; this passed the corner of Market and Colborne streets of the present time, with a high embankment, surmounted by fifteen-foot pickets. This place was divided into town lots in 1830, and it was then that it was called Brantford. An interesting account is given by Adam Ferguson, of Wood-Hill, Scotland, who visited Brantford with Mr. Wm. Dickson from Galt. They rode on horseback from Galt, May 15th, 1831. (Mr. Ferguson's Notes of his tour are reprinted in the Transactions of the Brant Historical Society.)

Mrs. Joseph Brant returned to her old log house next to the Mohawk Church after Brant died, and was seen every Sunday in the Church, dressed in a black velvet skirt, black silk over-dress, a black cloth blank-

et and black velvet cap with a fur band. Her two daughters lived with her, Mrs. John and Mrs. Powless. Brant was married three times. His first wife, Margaret, left issue, Isaac and Christina. Christina married Chief Joseph Sawyer of the Mississagas, a venerable chief. The second wife, Susannah, died shortly after they were married. His third wife, Katharine, had issue, Joseph, Jacob, John, Margaret, Katharine, Mary and Elizabeth. Margaret married Powless and had several children. Katharine married Peter John and had three children. Mary married Seth Hill and had one child. Elizabeth married Wm. Johnson Kerr and had four children.

The corner-stone of the Brant Memorial was laid Aug. 11th, 1886, by Chief Clench, and unveiled the 13th Oct., 1886, by the Hon. J. B. Robinson, Lieut.-Gov. of Ontario. There were present at the unveiling seven North-West Indian Chiefs, Blackfeet and Crees—Red-crow, Chief of the Blood Blackfeet; North-Axe, Chief of the Piegan Blackfeet; One Spot, pipe-bearer of Crowfoot, who was too ill to be present; Ah-tah-ta-coop, or Star Blanket, Cree Chief; Mist-ta-was-sis, or Big Child; Kah-kee-wis-ta-haw, or Flying in a Circle, Cree Chief from Crooked Lake; Osoap, or Back Fat, from Crooked Lake, a great grandson of Thayendanagea. He said he was glad to come and see his great-grandfather, Thayandagea, with his braves around him. He got short notice and could not dress himself like the other chiefs. He was ploughing when he was told to come. He at once handed the plough to his son and told him to go on, and started off. Had he notice he might have brought a dress which he could have left with his friends.

I must refer to Brant's enemy, Red-jacket, Sa-go-ye-wat-ha, Keeper Awake, a Seneca Chief, whose remains were reinterred by the Buffalo Historical Society in Forest Lawn Cemetery on October 9th, 1884, with those of five other Seneca chiefs, and Capt. Pollard. At this re-interment were thirteen chiefs of the Six Nations Indians of the Grand River, accompanied by their superintendent, Col. Gilkison. These chiefs, with Chief John Buck, the hereditary keeper of the Wampum Belts and also Fire-keeper, performed the funeral Indian dirge over the graves of Red-jacket and the other chiefs. Among those present were Miss Jessie Osborne, great-grand-daughter of Capt. Brant, Misses Evelyn H. and Pauline Johnson, daughters of Chief Geo. H. M. Johnson; the present writer, and many delegates from the Indian Reserves of the United States. Red-jacket was most intellectual, and well posted in Indian affairs. His word was bond; he was a great orator and the faithful friend of the missionaries. His last words, with his loving family around his bed, were: "Where is the missionary?"—and clasping his

beloved little step-daughter, Ruth Stevenson, to his bosom, he passed away to his long rest.

Mrs. Catherine John died at Wellington Square, Feb. 8th, 1867. Latterly she had lived in the house of her childhood, Wellington Square. Her remains were brought to the Mohawk Church and buried beside those of her father, Capt. Brant. The service was read by the venerable Rev. Abraham Nelles. At the funeral were present Simcoe Kerr, Jacob Lewis, Mr. Osborne, her nephews, Chief Smoke Johnson, Geo. H. M. Johnson and many others, old and young, of the Six Nations. The pall-bearers were Mr. Allen Cleghorn, Honorary Chief, Dr. Dee, Mr. Gilkison, and Mr. Matthews.. Mrs. John in her old age, being over eighty, was tall, handsome and of queenly bearing. No one could look at the aged lady without being impressed with feelings of respect and admiration.

On July 31st, 1868, service and a picnic were held in the old Mohawk Church for the purpose of raising funds to restore the old church. It was beautifully decorated and crowded with Indians and white people. Prayers were read by the Rev. Mr. Elliot, of Tuscarora, many years missionary to the Six Nations, in the Indian tongue, followed by Rev. Mr. Roberts, Canon Ussher, Rev. Dr. Townley, Rev. Dr. Reid, Rev. Mr. Duane, Rev. Mr. Clotsworthy, all of whom took part in the service, Ven. Archdeacon Nelles preaching an excellent sermon. Chants and psalms were sung by the union choir, accompanied on the melodeon by Mrs. Dr. Dee, and a handsome collection was taken up. After service the people adjourned to the Indian Institute where the Indian boys and girls were educated, and there they enjoyed a feast of good things. Again Mr. Allen Cleghorn was the principal mover in this good work in restoring the old church for Sunday service. Addresses were given by him, explaining his views, Dr. Bown, M. P., and the Rev. Dr. Reid, of Grimsby. Chief Smoke Johnson, speaker of the Council, also gave an eloquent address. There were addresses too by Rev. Mr. Duane and other clergymen, and by Mr. Gilkison, Chief Seneca Johnson, Wm. Jacobs, John Buck, John A. Beaver, Rev. Isaac Barefoot, Chief Geo. H. M. Johnson.

On the 26th of March, 1869, a most interesting ceremony took place at the Indian church, Onondaga, when the fine old Indian chief, Seneca Johnson, and his wife (who were pagans) were baptized and received into the church by the Rev. Mr. Nelles, and afterwards united in the holy bonds of matrimony. The sponsors were Mr. Gilkison, Chief J. Smoke Johnson, Mrs. David Carpenter and Miss Johnson (Indian women). After an excellent discourse from the Rev. Mr. Roberts,

Chief Seneca Johnson rose and addressed the congregation, some of whom were pagans, saying: "My dear friends, I wish to thank you kindly, all of you who are present to witness this change I have made. This may be all new to you, but it is not the case with me. I have carefully observed for some years the different churches, and I have learned to understand and come to the conclusion to be baptized and join the Church of England, and that church I only acknowledge. I now wish to say to you all, my Indian friends, let us try and set a good example to our young, and to you white people—teach us and lead us in the right way. I cannot read the Bible; if your example be good and kind, our little children will follow and profit by it and grow up good people. Your presence here to-day assures me that you are all kind and friendly to me. It is said I have left my tribe and people; I have not left my people. I shall now take even more interest in them with better feeling than ever." The chief (now known as John Seneca Johnson) was dressed in a deer-skin coat, and looked extremely well, wearing his Prince of Wales medal. He and his wife shook hands with many, receiving congratulations in the most cheerful and happy manner. The ceremony was most impressive. There were from time to time during the ministry of the Rev. Adam Elliot, missionary at Tuscarora, about 170 pagan adults baptized by him. At one time a pagan Cayuga chief and his whole family were baptized by him and they continued exemplary members of the church.

Lieut.-Col. J. T. Gilkison met the chiefs in council for the first time at Middleport, May 23rd, 1862, and was honored with the Indian name that was given to their former superintendent, Col. Claus, Shaonwen-jow-nach, meaning "United Lands." The Mississagas also gave Col. Gilkison the name Pis-kah-yausk, the Sea-gull.

A pleasing event took place at the Indian Council House, Oshweken, on Dec. 6th, 1887, when the chief warriors and Indian women presented their superintendent with an address of congratulation upon the completion of his 25th year of service to them, accompanied by an Indian sash of honor which was placed across his breast, and also a copy of the Holy Bible. (That Bible is now placed in the new Church of England at its opening at Oshweken by his daughter, the present writer.) Mr. Gilkison, on rising, was sensibly affected, and spoke in terms of affection, referring to his pleasure in the performance of his various duties in behalf of the people. Individually, he would prize the gifts, and especially, pointing to the Bible, that guide to all. The sash he would wear on all occasions when with the Six Nations. The chiefs,

warriors and Indian women filed past him and warmly shook him by the hand.

Shortly after one of the early Indian raids into Ohio and Kentucky, Mrs. Alex. Grant of Grosse Pointe heard that a band of savages had camped at Belle Isle, five miles up the river (now Detroit's beautiful Island Park). The Indians were going to hold a Pow-wow to celebrate their exploits and to torture and burn a young white boy, whose mother they had killed. The Commodore was away at York (now Toronto), but his wife's motherly instincts were aroused, and knowing the love and esteem of the Indians for her family, she determined to make an effort to save the boy from so terrible a fate. She was rowed in a canoe to Belle Isle and made her way to the camp, and asked the amount of the ransom for the child. The Indians, who were making preparations for their horrible feast, would not at first listen to her. The courageous woman was not to be baffled, and at last, partly by presents, and by threats that the black gown (priest) would bring calamity on them, she succeeded in her mission. The little boy was brought home and adopted by his humane deliverer, who already had a large family of twelve children. She gave him the name of John Grant. The grandchild of that boy, John, still lives and remembers his mother's account of Mrs. Grant's trip to the Island. This lady was Theresa Barthe, who married the Honorable Commodore Alex. Grant, 1774, and died Nov., 1810, aged 53, her remains being buried in Detroit. Commodore Grant was one of the first members of Parliament called by Lieut.-Gov. Simcoe, and was President of Upper Canada in 1805-6. He died at Grosse Pointe May 11, 1813, aged 79 years, and was buried in St. John's churchyard, Sandwich.

There died in Windsor on Monday, May 15th, 1911, Mrs. Emilie Veronique Labadie Jacob, who resided her life of 87 years in that vicinity. The deceased was born on the old Labadie homestead, Sandwich East, March 27th, 1824. She married Geo. Alex. Jacob, a grandson of Commodore Grant, in 1844. Mr. Jacob was a member of the first Michigan Cavalry, and was killed in the battle of Wilderness. The deceased was a direct descendent of Des-comptes Labadie, prominent in the early history of Detroit.

VIII.

CAPT. JOSEPH BRANT'S STATUS AS A CHIEF, AND SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS.

BY MAJOR GORDON J. SMITH, BRANTFORD
Superintendent Six Nations

His Status as a Chief.—In recent years the status of Joseph Brant amongst his own people has been the subject of much interest. Historians of his own and later times cannot agree, and there has always been an expression of doubt, or rather, it has never been said with absolute certainty, that Joseph Brant was an hereditary chief of the Six Nations. That he was a great man, a leader of his people, and the greatest Indian ever produced by the Six Nations, has not been denied. His force of character, strength of intellect, and physical prowess brought him to the front and proclaimed him the leader of the Six Nations, or of such of them as remained loyal to the British flag during the Revolutionary War. His shrewdness enabled him to secure a satisfactory home for himself and his people upon the conclusion of that war upon the Grand River Reserve in Upper Canada, now the Province of Ontario, and he led them forth into their new home and acted as their business adviser and plenipotentiary until the time of his death, in 1807.

The word "Chief" can be, and is, used in many senses.

1. Civil Chief—Rohaner.

The League of the Iroquois was founded about the middle of the fifteenth century, but as there is nothing but tradition to guide us it is not possible to fix the exact date. The object of this League was not warlike; on the contrary, it anticipated the Hague Tribunal and the International Peace Commission by several centuries in banding the various tribes of the Iroquois into a confederation having for its object peace amongst its members. Thus was formed the Great League of the Five Nations—Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca. The government of this League was placed in the hands of fifty sachems or royaners, divided amongst the tribes as follows: Mohawks, nine; Oneidas, nine; Onondagas, fourteen; Cayugas, ten; and Senecas, eight. To each

sachemship was given an appropriate name, and this name was assumed by each sachem upon his appointment, and borne until his death, resignation or deposition. The same names have been used by successive generations of sachems down to the present day, and are hereditary in the several tribes to which they belong, passing through the female line. There was absolute equality of rights, privileges and powers among this body of rulers. There was no principal, or head chief. Their jurisdiction was entirely of a civil character and confined by their organic laws to the affairs of peace. They constitute the aristocracy of the Six Nations. Their line of descent is claimed to be unbroken, save in a few instances, from the foundation of the League to the present day, and unless a man belonged to the royal branch of his clan, through his mother, he could never expect to be a sachem.

2. Assistant Chief, or Messenger.

Each sachem was entitled to an assistant, raised up in the same manner and from the same line of descent as his principal.

3. War Chief.

A war chief became such through his martial ardor, physical strength, or force of character. He was the creation of circumstances. When war occurred, Indians grouped themselves into independent bands and followed one of their members, who, from his character and disposition, showed the qualities of a leader, and thus became a so-called war chief.

But only two war chiefs were officially recognized. They were assigned to the Senecas; all others were independent and without status.

4. Pine Tree Chief.

On occasion a man, through his native ability, zeal for the public good and general high standing, is elected by the Six Nations Council to the office of Pine Tree Chief, but his office is not hereditary, it dies with him. Originally he had a voice but no vote in the council, but now he has a vote.

5. Chief. With the partial disruption of the Six Nations Confederacy during the troublous period of the revolutionary war, the civil power of the Six Nations was largely usurped by their military leaders, and these leaders by their force of character and ability practically constituted themselves the ruling body of the Confederacy. In the sense that they were leaders they were chiefs, in the same sense as a successful merchant is designated a merchant prince, a successful stock-broker a Napoleon of finance, or a Rockefeller an oil king.

A chief in this sense does not inherit the title nor is he elected to it, but has it given to him as a courtesy title, or else assumes it.

Behind all these sachems, assistant sachems, war chiefs, and chiefs, were the warriors.

The object of this paper is to review all the evidence obtainable, and from it ascertain to which class Thayendanegea, Capt. Joseph Brant, belonged.

Brant's parentage is not a matter of absolute certainty. He was born on the banks of the Ohio in 1742. His father, according to Stone in his *Life of Brant*, published in 1838, was a full blooded Mohawk Chief, referred to by Sir William Johnson, the first superintendent of the Six Nations, as "Old Nickus," or "Old Brant," but his mother's name was not mentioned. Sir William Johnson in his will, published in the second volume of Stone's *Life of Johnson*, refers to Brant as "that half-breed Joseph Brant." The author of this work is the son of the author of the *Life of Brant*.

A book entitled "Travels in the interior of the uninhabited parts of North America in the years 1791 and 1792," published by John Guthrie, Edinburgh, states that "This renowned warrior (Brant) is not of any royal or conspicuous blood."

The English historian, Weld, in his "Travels through the States of North America during the years 1795, 1796 and 1797," states that "here he (Brant) distinguished himself by valor in many different engagements, and was soon raised not only to the rank of war chief, but also to that of a war chief in His Majesty's service."

The Rev. Dr. Strachan, afterwards Bishop Strachan, published a brief account of Brant's life in the *Christian Register* of 1819, in Kingston, in which he says that "nothing was known of Brant's father among the Mohawks." He does not refer to his mother.

Thos. L. McKinney of the Indian Department, Washington, and James Hall of Cincinnati, in 1841 published in Philadelphia a *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, in which they state that Joseph Brant was not a chief by birth, but that in 1776 he was appointed principal war chief of the Six Nations, it being an ancient usage to confer that dignity on a Mohawk.

Lewis H. Morgan, probably the most accurate and authentic writer on the Six Nations, states that there were but two war chiefs created to take general supervision of the affairs of war when the nations were

prosecuting a common war. As the Senecas were the door-keepers of the Long House, these chieftaincies were assigned to them. Morgan further says: "During the Revolution Thayendanegea, Joseph Brant, commanded the war parties of the Mohawks, and from his conspicuous position and the high confidence imposed in him rather than from any claim advanced by himself, the title of military chieftain of the League has been conceded to him by some writers. But this is entirely a mistake, or rather a false assertion, which is expressly contradicted by all of the Iroquois nations, including the Mohawks themselves." (See his "League of the Iroquois," 1851.)

From these historic records, some made during Brant's life and some made at various times down to thirty-five years after his death, when means were available for obtaining authentic information, we must come to the conclusion that Thayendanegea was not born of distinguished parents, that he was a half breed, and therefore, if his father was a full blooded Mohawk, as Stone says he was, his mother could not have been an Indian, and therefore her son, according to the laws of the League, could not inherit a sachemship. In any event his mother was of so little importance that she received no notice from the historians. Had she been of the royal line the presumption is that mention would have been made of it and her name or clan given.

That he was not an authorized war chief is proved by the fact that he was a Mohawk. Only Senecas could be representative war chiefs.

Evidence from Official Documents.—In addition to what has been written by historians and travellers in regard to Brant we will examine a few documents which are on the official files of Canada and the United States.

In 1788 a deed of territory along the Mohawk River was executed by sixty-five chiefs and witnessed by Colonel John Butler and Joseph Brant. Had Brant been a chief he would have signed as such and not as a mere witness.

In 1798 a deed of surrender was executed by Captain Brant as Attorney for the Six Nations beginning as follows: "I, Captain Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea Sachem and Chief Warrior of the five nations."

On the 20th of May, 1796, at the Mohawk Village on the Grand River a conveyance of 2000 acres in the Township of Brantford to Nancy Kerr and Mary Margaret Kerr, grandchildren of Mary Brant, Joseph's sister, was executed by "the Sachems, War Chiefs and Principal Women." In this deed Captain Brant's name does not appear, although he was then

living at his Mohawk Village. Had he been a Sachem and Chief Warrior, as he described himself in the Deed of Surrender of 1798 above referred to, he would undoubtedly have been a party to the deed.

In 1804 "The Sachems and Chiefs of the Mohawks and others of the Six Nations of Confederate Indians residing on the Grand River, or River Ouse. do make, constitute and appoint our beloved brother and Principal Chief Captain Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) our true and lawful attorney, representative and Agent." The wording of this Power of Attorney implies a difference between sachems and chief. Both sachems and chiefs signed this document, and amongst the signatures many of the hereditary names of the Sachems appear. Brant is described as "our beloved brother and principal chief." Had he been a sachem he would have been properly described as such, and he would have naturally taken steps to insure that he was so described.

Local Evidence.—Upon Brant's tomb at the Mohawk Church near Brantford is the following inscription:

"This Tomb is erected to the memory of Thayendanegea, or Capt. Joseph Brant, principal Chief and Warrior of the Six Nations Indians, by his fellow subjects, admirers of his fidelity and attachment to the British Crown. Born on the Banks of the Ohio River, 1742; Died at Wellington Square, U. C., 1807.

"It also contains the remains of his son Ahyouwaighs, or Capt. John Brant, who succeeded his father as Tekarihogea and distinguished himself in the war of 1812 and 15. Born at the Mohawk Village, U. C., 1795, Died at the same place 1832. Erected 1850."

This epitaph, written in 1850, appears at first sight a strong argument in favour of the contention that Joseph Brant was a chief, but when we read that John Brant succeeded his father as Tekarihogea we must at once conclude that the author of the epitaph either wilfully intended to deceive or did not know anything about the Six Nations Confederacy. It is as impossible for a son to succeed his father as a chief as it is for water to run up hill. At his father's death John was only thirteen years of age, too young to be made a chief. Later on he was made a chief, as his mother Catharine was of the Turtle clan, and through her he attained that dignity, not through his father. As the second paragraph is so manifestly incorrect little credence can be placed in the accuracy of the first paragraph.

The following is a portion of the inscription upon that beautiful and artistic monument erected to the memory of Captain Joseph Brant in Victoria Park, Brantford, in 1886.

"This National Monument erected by the Brant Memorial Association—Incorporated 41 Vic. Cap. 62, to

Thayendanegaa

Captain Joseph Brant, born 1742, died 1807, interred at Mohawk Church, and to the Six Nations Indians, for their long and faithful services on behalf of the British Crown and their observance of Treaties. Contributed to by the Six Nations Indians, the Chippewas, The Dominion of Canada, The Province of Ontario, The City of Brantford, The Counties of Brant and Bruce, and private subscriptions. The British Government presented bronze cannon for the statues.

• • • •

Chiefs.

Ska-na-wa-dih

Ah-wen-in-neh

Ska-ko-ka-nyes

Ken-eh-da-geh-ka-non Kwe-yo-teh

A. G. Smith, Interpreter."

It will be noticed that Brant is no where in this inscription mentioned as a chief. His highest title, that of Captain in the Army, is used. Towards this monument the Six Nations subscribed \$5000.00, and consequently they were made parties to its erection and consulted in all details. Chief John Smoke Johnson, a Mohawk and a veteran of the war of 1812, was present at the laying of the corner stone of the monument. He was then in his ninety-fourth year and the only living Indian who had known and remembered the great Thayendanegaa. If Brant had been a Chief and recognized as a Chief by the Six Nations, Chief Johnson and those Indians associated with him in the erection of this monument would not have allowed Brant's name to have appeared without all the honours to which he was entitled, and to an Indian the title of chief is a much greater one than that of a captain.

Miss Evelyn H. C. Johnson, a daughter and a grand-daughter of Chiefs (John Smoke Johnson above mentioned being her grandfather), and a diligent student of Indian history, in a paper recently presented before the Brant Historical Society, says: "A born leader of men, Brant became a leader of leaders of the Six Nations. A commander of the Six Nations he was not. The constitution of their government prohibited any one head of the whole Confederacy. Nowhere has the writer been able to learn of Brant leading as a chief in the deliberations of the great councils of the Six Nations. That assembly of inflexible legislators would never permit it. True he was present at their councils; so were

other warriors. That he frequently spoke in council was his right. That he of course called a council is without question. His position as Interpreter and as deputy of the Superintendent and finally leader in war, would give him the right, and with Indians, as with all other nations, they glorified their great leaders who excelled in war and followed them to death and the grave.

That Brant in his day was the Chief man of the Six Nations is indisputable. It may be said of him that he was born to fame. He acquired fame, and fame was thrust upon him. He was not a hereditary Chief. There is no hereditary chieftainship in the Brant family in the Six Nations Reserve, as any chief to-day will affirm. He was not a Pine Tree Chief. On the contrary, the Six Nations themselves do yet and always have denied absolutely that Brant was a Chief.

The writer has not been able to find any person on the Six Nations Reserve, either among the Chiefs or old men, who will affirm positively that Brant was a Chief.

This investigation was begun with a mind predisposed to find Joseph Brant a Chief; but the historical, documentary, and local evidence leads but to one conclusion, and that is that Captain Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea, was not of the royal line, and was not a Chief, not a Royaner. The name Thayendanegea was his private given name, and is not the name of any hereditary sachem.

That he was not an assistant chief or messenger is equally conclusive, as he was not of the royal line.

That he was not an official war chief is established by the fact that he was of Mohawk and not of Seneca descent.

That he was not a Pine Tree Chief is not so clearly established as the other contentions; but in view of the fact that he has nowhere been designated a Pine Tree Chief, that he never officially executed any Six Nations documents, and that he was not given the title of Chief on the monument is evidence sufficient to deprive him of this title.

That he was a chief by courtesy—a leader of leaders, a great warrior, a great Indian—no one will deny. There are to-day many leading Indians on the Six Nations Reserve who are called chiefs by white men and by the press because they think that being prominent Indians they must be chiefs; but the Indian never makes that mistake, nor will he ever give that great title to any one who is not entitled to it.

Brantford, June 2nd, 1911.

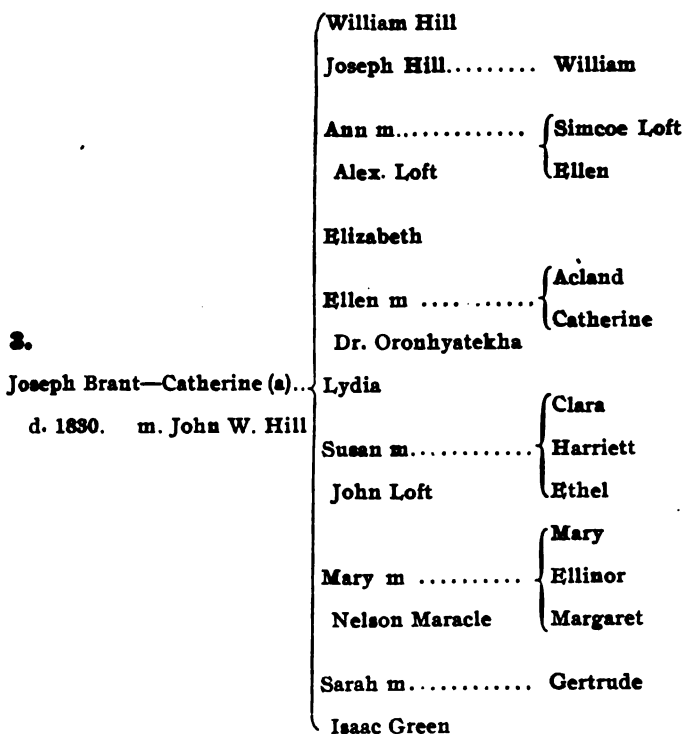
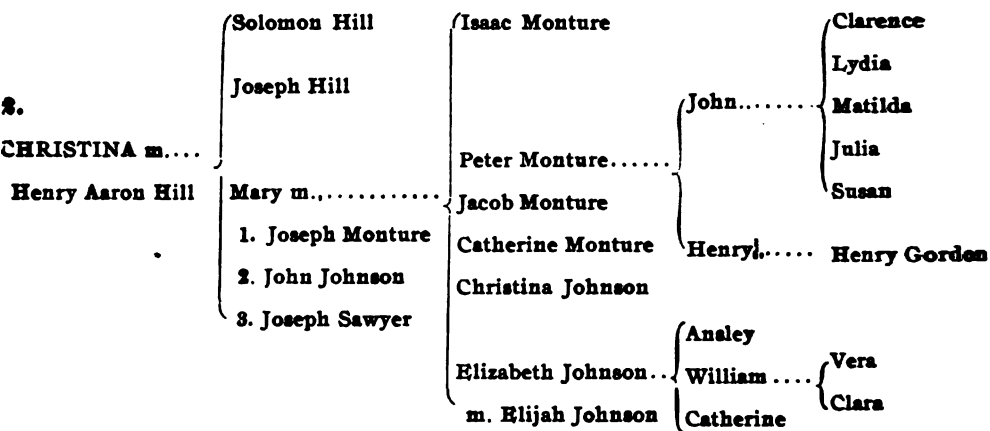
Captain Joseph Brant
Died 1807.

His Children and Descendants.

1. Isaac, died 1795—had issue.
2. Christina, married Aaron Hill—had issue.
3. Joseph died 1830—had issue.
4. Jacob, died 1846—had issue.
5. John, died 1832—had no issue.
6. Margaret, married Powless Powless—had issue.
7. Catherine, married Peter John—had issue.
8. Mary, married Seth Hill—had issue.
9. Elizabeth, married Wm. Johnson Kerr—had issue.

ISAAC
d. 1795

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a) Catherine's descendants are members of the Bay of Quinte Reserve.

4.

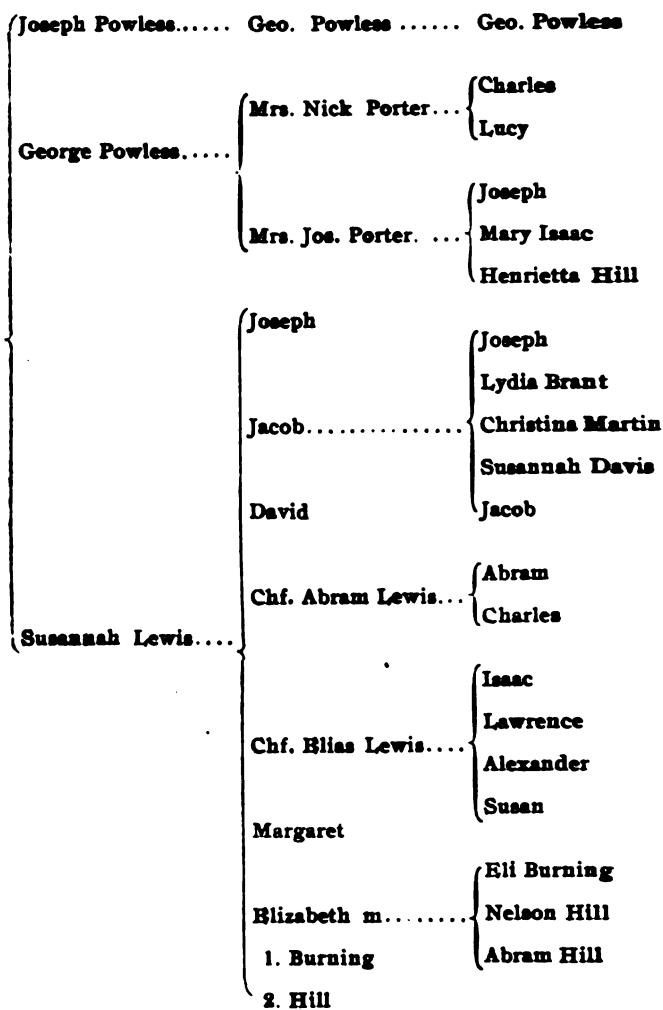
JACOB BRANT

d. 1846

Jacob	Mrs. Herkimer	
	John R.	
	Henry.....	{ Peter H.
	Joseph	{ Lizzie Kelso
	Jacob	{ Elias E.
		{ Maggie Thompson
John.....		{ Alice
		{ Marion Herkimer
		{ Cameron
Squire	Robert	{ Ethel
		{ John
		{ Robert
		{ Effie
		{ Jos. Alex.
Peter		{ Edith Elliott
		{ Edna Elliott
	Sidney	{ Irene
	Margt. Crane	{ Austin
		{ Hazel
		{ Elgin
Christina Jones	Henry Jones	
	Elizabeth	
	Anna Foster	
	Ella	{ Frank
		{ Arthur
		{ Peter H.
	Peter M	{ David
	Alexander	{ Reginald
		{ Huron
		{ William
		{ Fannie
Charlotte Smith	Elizabeth m... ..	{ Kate Von Buskirk
	Robt Dee, M.D.	{ Fanny
	(white)	
	Mary m	{ Frank
	Frank Dee, (white)	{ Elizabeth
	Charlotte	

C.

MARGARET m ...
Powless Powless



IX.

CHIEF JOHN SMOKE JOHNSON.

Sakayengwaraton—"Disappearing of the Indian Summer Mist."

BY MISS EVELYN H. C. JOHNSON

Chief John Sakayengwaraton Johnson, more familiarly known in the Six Nations' Reserve as "Smoke" Johnson, was of pure Mohawk blood. His Mohawk name, Sakayengwaraton, signifies "Disappearing of the Indian Summer Mist," or "the haze that rises from the ground in an autumn morning and vanishes as the day advances." The Indians call this haze or mist "smoke," as the supposition is that it is caused by burning brush-wood; hence, this poetical Mohawk name was curtailed in English to "Smoke," and so widely did this grand old Indian chief become known by this name alone, that, as he advanced in years he was referred to simply as "Smoke," and all of his descendants bearing his name at the present day are known in the reserve as the "Smoke-Johnsons." So affectionately was he regarded by the Six Nations that he might well have been called the "Grand Old Man" of the Reserve.

John "Smoke" Johnson was the first of the family to be known and recognized by the English name Johnson, although his father, Jacob Johnson—Tekahionwake—was the first to bear the name. He was, however, always known by his Mohawk name Tekahionwake, which is the family name of this particular family of Johnsons, the English meaning of which is "Double Wampum," or "Double Wampum belts;" and, as there is a history in connection with this English name Johnson, and how it was derived, it will be traced here, as it is the earnest wish of the writer to refute the statements of some historians that this family are descendants of Sir William Johnson.

In reference to this subject, therefore, some years ago I entered into correspondence with that eminent philologist, Mr. Horatio Hale, for the purpose of having him make a correction of his explanation in the Iroquois Book of Rites of how this particular family derived their English name Johnson, which Mr. Hale claims is "from no less distinguished an ancestor than Sir William Johnson." In his letter of

reply, Mr. Hale said he had never heard the story of how this English family name Johnson originated, and before the question could be adjusted and the correction made, Mr. Hale's death took place.

At the time the Six Nations Indians occupied their original territory along the Mohawk River, the country was one vast forest slowly being opened up by the white settlers, with here and there a small town. Indian trails intersected the forest, and wherever possible the water route, great or small, was utilized. Lakes, rivers and streams were the great highways of travel by canoe, practically every man possessing his individual canoe, whether for the purpose of pleasure or as a means of conveyance for his family, and altogether apart from the great war-canoes of the nations, which were their man-of-war ships.

It is doubtful if any Indian nation north of Mexico was ignorant of the great Falls of Niagara and the inland seas which empty their huge bulk of fresh water over the great cataract. "Niagara" is a Mohawk word meaning a "great fall of water," and without doubt it was the capital of the forest and the centre of meeting places for all the Indian nations in the vicinity of the great lakes and south-eastward to the Atlantic.

The early missionaries made Niagara their place of appointment for meetings with the Indians, and as travel through the forest as well as by water was slow and difficult, the missionaries were accustomed to periodically visit certain sections of the country to instruct the Indians in the Christian religion, baptize the children, and hold services in the forests for the benefit of the people. As all of the Indians knew the Falls of Niagara, it is but natural that Niagara became the leading place for these gatherings. The Indians came from far and near, no doubt for many reasons other than for the purpose of attending the missionary meetings. It is not unlikely that presents were given to them by their instructors, and that the opportunity was taken to hold councils with other nations. Regiments of British soldiers were stationed at Niagara, which helped to enliven the proceedings, and the people were always sure of meeting their friends from distant places.

The missionaries were earnest workers. All of the nations had their own marriage ceremonies and general rites, but they naturally enough knew nothing of Christian baptism. At regular intervals of two or three years, perhaps even a longer time, the missionaries made their rounds, and the children were brought to them to be baptized. It was at one of these periodical gatherings that the grandparents of John "Smoke" Johnson brought their son, Jacob, to be baptized. It must have

been a special and noteworthy gathering, as the British Superintendent General of Indian affairs, Sir William Johnson, was present. Johnson Hall, the residence of Sir William, was situated in the vicinity of the source of the Mohawk River, among the Upper Mohawks. There were present for baptism some of the Lower Mohawks who came from a long distance, at the outlet of the river, to Niagara.

The Mohawk Nation is divided into two great sections, the Upper and Lower Mohawks, the upper being those of the nation whose homes were nearest the source of the Mohawk River, and the Lower being those who lived nearest the mouth of the river, where it empties into the Hudson. After the Six Nations removed to Canada and settled in the Grand River Reserve, the Mohawks retained their distinctive appellation, and are so known at the present day, even on the books of the Department of Indian Affairs, the designation being merely the same as Upper and Lower Canada, the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland. Tekahionwake and his wife were Lower Mohawks. They had brought their son to Niagara to be baptized, and had already selected the name Jacob, but they were anxious to give the child a second name. There was some delay over the decision of a second name for the child, and learning the cause, their Superintendent-General, Sir William Johnson, came forward and said, "Name him Johnson after me." This was immediately done, and the boy was baptized Jacob Johnson.

Chief William Smith says his mother declared that Sir William Johnson stood godfather for this child, who was a lad some years old, not an infant in arms. Be that however as it may, my father, Chief G. H. M. Johnson, whose father was Chief John "Smoke" Johnson, told the same story of how the English family name Johnson was derived. My aunt, Mrs. Margaret Elliot, now in her ninetieth year, also tells the same story; and Mrs Mary Johnson-Davis, whose father was Aaron Johnson, a brother of Chief John "Smoke" Johnson, and a son of this infant boy, also tells the same story. This boy, Jacob Johnson Tekahionwake, had a sister Mary, two years his senior. Their father died when they were quite young, and his wife, the mother of these two children, married a second time to a Wyandot. In the Iroquois Book of Rites, Mr. Horatio Hale refers to the Wyandots as follows: "The Wyandots resided in ancient times near the present site of Montreal, in close vicinity to the Iroquois; this being recorded as a well remembered portion of their history. They emigrated to the Indian territory, a remnant of the tribe dwelling near Amherstburg in Canada." A few Wyandots remained living near the Six Nations and then removed to a great distance, these two children accompanying their mother and step-father

to this distant country, which some of the Six Nations say was Kansas. It is altogether probable that this remnant re-joined their nation in the Indian Territory. Be that however as it may, their mother did not live long after her second marriage. After her death the Wyandots sent word to the Six Nations that these two children had lost their mother and that they were there friendless and alone, and they asked the Six Nations to send for them. After the receipt of this news the matter was discussed by the Six Nations, and a distant relative offered to go for the children. This woman set out on horseback and travelled many days. Chief William Smith says his mother told him that this woman called her pony "Spotty," but whether this name was in Mohawk or English does not appear. In the course of her travels she came to a great river; she selected a place to cross and made her horse swim the river with her on his back. After travelling still further she at last reached the country of the Wyandots, where, after resting, she prepared for her return journey. She set out with the two children on horseback; one sat in front and one behind her. When she reached the river she had crossed on her way to the Wyandots' Country, she left one of the children on the bank, and taking the other with her she made her horse swim the river as before. Leaving this child on the opposite shore she returned for the other one, and thus brought them safely across the river, and continuing her journey finally reached her home and people in the Mohawk Valley.

When the war clouds of the Revolution were darkening the sky, these children were orphans, and they were in care of the Six Nations. Sir William Johnson, as Superintendent, or else as god-father, said to Joseph Thayendanegea (Brant), "Here, you look after these children; you can take care of them better than I can." Joseph Brant then sent them on horseback, in care of two chosen Indians, to Sandusky, Ohio, where they were placed in charge of Indians. At the close of the war, and after the Six Nations were settled on the Grand River in Canada, they sent to Sandusky for these two orphans and had them brought back to the Mohawks, the girl Mary being then about twenty and the boy Jacob eighteen years of age. They lived, married, and died in the Grand River Reserve. Mary Tekahionwake's Mohawk name was Kah-heh-elo-leh; the English meaning is "Cornstalks shaking in the wind" ("just as if she herself does the shaking"). This girl married Oneida Joseph, whose Indian name was Teh-wah-seh-ela-keh, meaning "Two Axes." He was a very fine old Indian, well known throughout the reserve. They were the grandparents of Mrs. George Loft, now living and over eighty years old.

Jacob Johnson Tekahionwake married twice. His first wife was the mother of Chief John "Smoke" Johnson, but her name is not now known. His second wife was nicknamed in Mohawk "Chee-toh-leh," and was generally known by this nickname. She was hoeing corn on the cornfield flats, about where the Waterous Engine Co.'s works are situated, when a thunderstorm came up, and was struck unconscious by lightning. When a person is shocked by lightning, it is the Indian custom to cover them with some covering, leaving them where they fall until they regain consciousness, when they are at once removed.

Jacob Johnson Tekahionwake was little known in the Reserve by his English name. He was generally known as Tekahionwake, which is the Smoke Johnson's family name. At his death, however, his youngest daughter, Mrs. Ellen Powless, had the headstone erected at his grave in the old Mohawk churchyard, just to the left of the gate, on which is lettered his name, Jacob Johnson. His son, John "Smoke" Johnson, therefore, as already pointed out, was the first of the family of Tekahionwake to be known by the English name Johnson. He was born December 14th, 1792, at Johnson Settlement, which was north-west of Cainsville. He was a Lower Mohawk, of the Bear clan, and of pure Mohawk blood. His sister was Chief William Smith's mother, who survived her brother, and had often told her granddaughter, Mrs. George D. Styres, that she believed herself to be the last of the pure blood Mohawks.

John "Smoke" Johnson, when a boy, accompanied the great Thayendanegea, with a party of other Indians, to Montreal. He used to relate the story that he danced Indian dances for the amusement of the party. He knew Thayendanegea well, both of them being regular attendants at the old Mohawk Church.

For many years after the close of the Revolutionary War, the Six Nations and other Indian people were very restless. Those Indians remaining south of the great lakes claimed the Ohio River for the boundary, and the Six Nations upheld the claim and in every way possible endeavored to aid their red brethren to enforce this claim which the Americans refused to recognize. Whenever the disturbed conditions seemed to be settling down, some one Indian nation would go on the war path, others would join them, the Americans would use force to suppress the outbreak, and councils were convened both with other Indian nations and the American government, with always the demand "the Ohio for the boundary." These conditions were simmering for years, and when Great Britain and the United States resorted to arms in 1812, the Indians, led by the great Tecumseh (Captain Joseph Brant

having died some four years previous), espoused the cause of Great Britain and took up arms in her behalf; and it is altogether probable that Canada owes to Great Britain's Indian allies the proud position she holds to-day as the eldest daughter in the British Empire. At one time during the War of 1812 the Six Nations assembled their women and children for safety at what is known as "Smoky Hollow," north of Cainsville, from which place could be heard the firing of cannon at different points east.

John "Smoke" Johnson was then twenty years of age. He quickly enlisted with the Six Nations in the service of the mother country and fought with conspicuous bravery in all the engagements of the Niagara frontier, taking part in the Battles of Queenston Heights, Stony Creek, Lundy's Lane, etc. He was present when General Sir Isaac Brock fell at Queenston. The Battle of Queenston Heights, it appears, began during the night or very early morning. Under cover of darkness the Americans crossed the Niagara River and scaled the heights. John "Smoke" Johnson used to relate with much laughter the following story of the commencement of the battle. As it was dark the Six Nations resorted to stratagem to enable them to distinguish their own warriors from those Indians who were fighting on the American side. They tied bands of white cloth, or white handkerchiefs, over their foreheads and around their heads. When hostilities began and foe met foe great confusion prevailed. It was discovered that the American Indians had resorted to a similar ruse and they also wore white bands around their heads for the purpose of distinguishing their warriors from the Canadian Indians. Of course the British and American uniforms were unmistakably different in appearance, but so great was the resultant confusion that the commanders on either side were compelled to withdraw their troops and await daylight.

This incident may be the one referred to in Stone's "Border Wars of the American Revolution" when he says, "The narrowness of the river, without the aid of spies enabled them to make these observations; added to which the sound of the oars had been heard, so that instead of being surprised the enemy was measurably prepared for Van Rensselaer's reception," and again, "The heights having been cleared of the enemy, who retired upon the village of Queenston, the Americans were allowed to repose a short time upon their laurels. But the respite was brief. General Brock being at Niagara when the action commenced was startled from his pillow by the roar of the artillery, but so rapid were his movements that he had arrived at Queenston ere the gray of the morning had passed, accompanied by his provincial aide-de-camp, Lieu-

tenant-Colonel M'Donell." Stone's references to the "sound of the oars being heard," and "the grey of the morning," in a measure corroborate the foregoing narrative.

At the close of the battle my grandfather, John "Smoke" Johnson, was climbing over the steep cliffs, and as he rounded a huge boulder he came upon a Kentuckyan sitting on the ground. When the man saw my grandfather he rested his gun in the crotch of his arm, moving it about as my grandfather moved to get a good aim at him. My grandfather said he saw at once that the man's arm had been broken and he could not handle his gun freely, but, as he was endeavoring to aim, and my grandfather knew it was death for one of them, he shot the Kentuckyan. He then removed the Kentuckyan's shot-bag of leather, fringed at the edges by the leather being cut, and carried it himself during the remainder of the war. It is now in the possession of our family.

The conflagration of Buffalo took place Dec. 30th, 1813, and, from my grandfather's story of the war I have understood that he, in company with two other Indians crossed the Niagara River in a canoe, and landing upon the American shore they climbed to a place of vantage. Taking out his flint and steel and piece of punk, which he always carried, he then and there kindled the fire which burned Buffalo. Ten or twelve years ago, when I was living in that city, I was one evening dining with Mr. and Mrs. W. C. Bryant. The conversation led to mention of Chief John "Smoke" Johnson. Mr. Bryant turning to me said, "Your grandfather was the man who burned Buffalo." "Yes," I said, "I remember now—I had forgotten. But we have forgotten all that. It is past and gone with those who lived then. But how did you know it?" I asked. "After my father's death I found the notes he had made and which he got from your grandfather," he replied. "I was present," I said, "and I heard my grandfather tell your father when he was visiting us at Chiefswood, grandfather having come purposely at his request to give him information he was collecting about the Six Nations."

Mr. William C. Bryant, senior, barrister, whose home was in Buffalo, was a great lover of the Indians. So greatly did he admire Miss Kate Kerr, granddaughter of Thayendanegea, that before her marriage to Mr. John Osborne, of Hamilton, Mr. Bryant made her an offer of marriage. I have heard her laughingly tell the story of the first time they met, when he followed her into the garden where he made her an offer of marriage, and which she laughingly rejected, thinking he was demented. Throughout her after life he was one of the best friends she, as the granddaughter of Thayendanegea, possessed.

In 1815 John "Smoke" Johnson married Helen Martin (or Martyn, as my father said the name was spelled), eldest daughter of George Martin Onh-yea-leh and Catherine Rallston Martin (Wan-o-wen-re-teh) who had been taken captive by the Mohawks in her youth near Philadelphia. Helen Martin was born at the old homestead about two miles southeast of Cainsville, where it is still standing. It is estimated that it is about one hundred and twenty-five years old, and is, without doubt, the most historical spot, with the exception of the old Mohawk Church, in the County of Brant. In 1815 the Grand River Reserve was almost a trackless forest, and for the convenience of the missionaries several marriages took place at one time in the same house. It was either Rev. Mr. Howe (or Hough), or else Rev. Mr. Luggar, who married my grandparents. Their daughter, Mrs. Margaret Elliot, now in her ninetieth year, is uncertain which it was. The marriages were always arranged by the parents of the groom and bride, the latter having absolutely no choice in the matter. There were several marriages to take place in an Indian house which stood only a few years ago quite near the railroad at Cainsville. A large attendance of friends was always assured, and Helen Martin most unconsciously went to her fate accompanied by her parents, riding on horseback to her wedding, although she knew nothing of what was in prospect for her. After the other marriage ceremonies had been performed, she was told by her mother to go forward to the improvised altar and become the wife of John "Smoke" Johnson. She cried bitterly and entreated her mother not to insist upon her marriage, but her parent was inexorable, and she was married to the young warrior John "Smoke" Johnson, her mother removing her own wedding ring from her finger which her husband, George Martin, had purchased in New York, when he lived in the valley of the Mohawk, and it became for the second time a wedding ring, this time for her daughter. This ring is a plain band of probably plated gold having a square stone of ordinary glass. After the marriage, Helen Martin Johnson returned to her home, as she had left it, on horseback. It is the custom of the Indians for the bride to return to her parents' home, where the groom joins her. They live with the parents of the bride until after the birth of the first child, when the husband prepares a home for his family and takes them to it. Their eldest son, George Henry Martin Johnson, my father, was born at the old Martin homestead in 1816. John "Smoke" Johnson secured a property about a quarter of a mile north, to which he removed his little family and where he lived until the surrender of that portion of the Reserve in the beginning of the seventies. The log house in which he lived was some years ago razed, and a brick residence erect-

ed on the site. It was in this home that his wife died in 1866. He continued to live here with his married daughter, Mrs. Richard Davis, but finally removed to the portion of the Reserve near Kenyengh.

John "Smoke" Johnson many a time took up the "death cry" of the Six Nations as its weird and blood-curdling sound echoed throughout the forest, and was carried down the water "telegraph-wire," the Grand River, past his home high upon the banks, to convey to all the people the dread news of the death of one of their great chiefs, or the terrible tidings of murder or war. On one of these occasions the official strings of purple wampum borne by one of the Indian runners when he entered the house and handed it to my grandfather, broke in two, and the wampum was scattered over the floor. My grandmother was obliged to restring it before my grandfather could proceed with it to meet the next runner. His daughter Margaret, Mrs. William Elliot, was present and witnessed the delay of the "telegram" caused by the accident.

The Pine Tree is the emblem of the Great League of the Iroquois. Mr. Hale says: "In general, the rank of the Pine Tree chief was personal; it was gained by the character and achievements of the individual, and it died with him." A Pine Tree chief is created a chief for life only by the great council of hereditary chiefs. John "Smoke" Johnson was not a member of one of the fifty noble families of the Iroquois confederacy, but he married into one of the noble families, that of Teyonhekwén, i. e., "Double life." He being of the Bear clan could not, by the laws of the Confederacy, marry in the same clan. His wife was, therefore, of the Wolf clan, and as rank in the noble families follows the female, not the male, line, the hereditary chieftainship was on her side. Although he spoke English well, his wife, my grandmother, was unable to speak a word of English.

So highly had John "Smoke" Johnson distinguished himself in the War of 1812 that the British Government requested the Six Nations to bestow upon him the honour of chieftainship. After due consideration of this request, and, taking into consideration the fact that he was a regular and deeply interested attendant at the councils of his people, the Six Nations Indians created John "Smoke" Johnson Sakayengwaraton a Pine Tree chief in their great confederacy. In the Iroquois Book of Rites, Mr. Hale refers to this incident in part as follows: "Sakayengwaraton is not an elected chief, nor does he bear one of the hereditary titles of the Great Council, in which he holds so distinguished a station. Indeed, his office is one unknown to the ancient constitution of the Kanonsionni. It is the creation of the British Government, to which he

owes, with the willing consent of his own people, his rank and position in the Council. He was known as a brave warrior, a capable leader, and an eloquent speaker. In the War of 1812, at the early age of twenty, he had succeeded an elder brother in the command of the Indian contingent, and had led his dusky followers with so much skill and intrepidity as to elicit high praise from the English commander. His eloquence was noted, even among a race of orators. I can well believe what I have heard of its effects, as even in his old age, when an occasion has for a moment aroused his spirit, I have not known whether most to admire the nobleness and force of his sentiments and reasoning, or the grace and flowing ease with which he delivered the stately periods of his sonorous language. He has been a worthy successor of the distinguished statesmen, Garagontish, Garangula, Decanasora, Canasatego, Logan and others, who in former years guided the destinies of his people. He is considered to have a better knowledge of the traditions and ancient usages of the Six Nations than any other member of the tribes, and is the only man now living who can tell the meaning of every word of the 'Book of Rites.' "

The grace, the beauty, the elegance, the poetry of the oratory won for him from his own people, themselves a race of orators, the title of "the Mohawk Warbler," and the tones of his voice were as the music of the rippling waters. For many years had he been affectionately known in the Reserve by this name, nor was he made aware of it by his silent and serene associates. It was some time in the sixties that his daughter-in-law, my mother, told him of his nickname, which greatly amused him. It has been suggested that his grand-daughter, E. Pauline Johnson (who died at Vancouver, B. C., March 7th, 1913), inherited from her grandfather the melody of her poems. For forty years Sakayengwaraton was Speaker of the Great Council of the Six Nations Confederacy.

In 1869, when the boy-Prince Arthur visited Canada, the Six Nations Indians, themselves never a conquered people, as allies of Great Britain, desired to confer upon their Sovereign's son the honour of a Pine Tree Chief of their Confederacy. Prince Arthur, now the Duke of Connaught, accepted the invitation to the Reserve, at that time extending to Cainsville, and the ceremony of installation took place at the old Mohawk Church and the old Mohawk Institution in the presence of all the chiefs and hundreds of people from the Reserve and surrounding cities and towns. Chief John "Smoke" Johnson, as Speaker of the Great Council and a Chief of the Mohawks, the leading nation of the confederacy, together with Chief George Buck, the leading chief of the

Onondagas, the brothers of the Mohawks, were appointed by the Great Council as their leading men to represent it in honouring the son of their Sovereign-Mother, and the great Confederacy to be honoured by a Prince of Great Britain becoming one of its chiefs.. They therefore, together with my father, Chief George H. M. Johnson, as the Six Nations' Interpreter, conducted the ceremony of installing the young Prince a chief of the Iroquois.

The copy of the original Iroquois "Book of Rites" was made by Chief John "Smoke" Johnson in 1832, upon the advice of an old chief who was stricken with Asiatic cholera and not expected to live. Not long after he had made the copy, the original was destroyed when the old chief's house was accidentally burned. Mr. Horatio Hale's "Iroquois Book of Rites" is, in part, the English translation of this Book to which he refers as "an Iroquois Veda," and was by him first discovered in 1879. After this book, "The Iroquois Book of Rites," was published in 1883, Mrs. Erminnie A. Smith, of New York, who was interested in the welfare of Indians, made a trip to the Grand River Reserve in Canada, with the intention of securing this Indian copy of the original. She offered Chief John "Smoke" Johnson ten dollars for it. As he was then ninety years of age he let her have the book, not knowing its value. As she was leaving our home, Chiefswood, for her home in New York, we learned of the transaction of our American guest, and, although we made every effort to recover the book from her, we were unsuccessful. I was told in New York that she, who loved the Indians so much, made some hundreds of dollars by the sale of this book to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.

Sakayengwaraton was a zealous member of the Church of England. For more than forty years each Sunday he read the Ten Commandments in the Mohawk tongue from the pulpit of the old Mohawk Church, and Kenyengeh Church, after he removed to that vicinity. The Sunday previous to his death his people for the last time listened to their aged Chief read to them the Ten Great Laws in which he believed, and lived up to.

Each morning for upward of seventy-five years he attached his hunting knife to his belt. In the many years of his peaceful life following the war he never gave up the old Indian custom of carrying his knife at his side.

He was appointed by the white people to lay the corner stone of the Brant Memorial, as he was at that time the only living Indian who knew the great Thayendanegea; but, he being a Mohawk, and the

Mohawks the leading nation of the great Iroquois Confederacy, they are not, by their laws, allowed to touch the dead. The Six Nations, therefore, would not permit him to accept the intended compliment.

He was working in his garden in the heat of summer when he was overcome by the heat. He returned to the house and asked his daughter for a drink of water, and laid down to rest. But the swift runner, surpassing in swiftness those of his own people, had arrived with his last message. On the 26th August, 1886, Sakayengwaraton died in his ninety-fourth year. His remains were interred in the old Mohawk Churchyard where rest the remains of his wife.

On his coffin was placed a wreath of immortelles in red and black, the war colours of the Mohawks, the former signifying blood, the latter death. Beside it rested his Bible and his tomahawk, both of which had played so important a part in his life. No headstone marks his earthly resting-place, but it is hoped that his descendants will recognize this need before the expiration of the century mark of 1912.

New York, May 24th, 1911.

X.

INFLUENCE OF THE WAR OF 1812 UPON THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CANADIAN WEST.

BY LAWRENCE J. BURPEE, OTTAWA

At first sight one would be inclined to say that the War of 1812 had no influence, could have had no influence, one way or the other, upon the settlement of what is to-day known as Western Canada—that is to say, that part of Canada lying west of the Great Lakes. The immense territory now constituting the provinces of Manitoba, Sackatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, lay as completely outside the field of conflict as if it had been in South America. One may safely say that it did not enter into the calculations of the contestants on either side. It contained nothing for the one to attack or the other to defend. Believed at that time, and for many years thereafter, to be a wilderness unfit for civilized habitation, it was not valued by Canada nor coveted by the United States. In any event, it was much too remote from the centres of population on either side of the line to become an element in the conflict. The most westerly military station on the Canadian side was at St. Joseph's Island, near Sault Ste. Marie, and on the American side, the outpost of Michilimackinac, captured by the British soon after the declaration of war.

Nevertheless, although its rays were feeble enough, the dawn of the era of settlement in Western America was already breaking. At the very moment when Madison issued his Proclamation announcing that a state of war existed between the two countries, the pioneers of the Selkirk Settlement were on their way inland from York Factory to the Red River. The origin of that settlement is too well known to need any introduction here. It will be sufficient to note that Lord Selkirk sent out the first party of colonists from Scotland in 1811. They wintered at York Factory, and spent most of the summer of 1812 in making their painful way inland to Red River. A second party followed that year, reaching their destination in 1813. A third party sailed from the Orkneys in 1813, arriving at the Selkirk Settlement in 1814; finally a fourth contingent came out, in charge of Robert Semple, in 1815. Thus through-

out the entire period of the war, and for a year after the signing of the treaty of peace, Selkirk continued his laudable but badly-managed efforts to establish a colony in the very heart of the North American continent, more than a thousand miles from the nearest apology for a town, in any direction.

Whatever we may think of Selkirk, in his relations with the North West Company or otherwise, one must at least admire his courage. He seems to have stood at that day almost alone in his belief that the western prairies were capable of supporting a white population. Against him was not only the active hostility of the North West Company (and the Hudson's Bay Company would no doubt have been equally hostile had they not been closely associated with his interests in antagonism to the Canadian fur-traders), but also the passive hostility of public opinion both in England and America. The marvellous western country, which means so much to-day to both Canada and the United States, was believed a century ago—for that matter, half a century ago, as witnessed by much of the evidence embodied in the Hudson Bay Report of 1857, and other public documents of the same period—to be incapable of cultivation. It was said to be a semi-arctic region, throughout which if you dug down a foot or two you came to perpetual frost.

Here, then, we have the beginnings of a settlement on the banks of the Red River, born at the very time Canadians and Americans were fighting, with or without adequate cause, at the other end of the Great Lakes; but we are as far as ever from establishing any influence that the one had upon the other. We know, indeed, that in 1816 Selkirk took out to his settlement a number of officers and soldiers of the disbanded de Meuron regiment, but the influence of these rather turbulent spirits was scarcely noticeable. They did not destroy the colony, and they certainly did not strengthen it. Eventually they moved south, making their homes in what later became the State of Minnesota.

We must, indeed, dig deeper if we are to find the real influence of the War of 1812 upon the settlement of the Canadian West; but first it will be convenient to note here the fact that in the same year that Lord Selkirk sent out his first colonists to Red River, and while they were still at York Factory, an expedition, sent out by John Jacob Astor, arrived at the mouth of the Columbia River, where they built Astoria. As the Selkirk Colony became the nucleus of the prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, so out of Astoria, or perhaps rather because of Astoria, grew eventually the far western province of British Columbia.

Now to trace the connection between the War of 1812 and these nuclei of western settlements, or rather between the War of 1812 and the western settlements of which these infant communities were the nuclei. "The war," says Lucas, "was the national war of Canada. It did more than any other event or series of events could have done to reconcile the two rival races within Canada to each other. It was at once the supplement and the corrective of the American War of Independence. It did more than any other event could have done to demonstrate that colonial liberty and colonial patriotism did not leave the British Empire when the United States left it. The same spirit which had inspired and carried to success the American War of Independence was now enlisted on the side of Great Britain, and the successful defence of Canada by regiments from Great Britain and Canadian colonists combined, meant that a new British Empire was coming into being *pari passu* with the growth of a young nation within its limits. The War of 1812 determined that North America should not exclusively belong to the American Republic, that Great Britain should keep her place on the continent, but that she should keep it through this new community already on the high-road to legislative independence." So far as Canada is concerned, probably the most significant result of the War of 1812 was the immense stimulus it gave to the spirit of nationality throughout British North America. Canadians were fighting in defence of their homes; the imminence of the peril swamped all local jealousies; the war emphasized the need of union, if only as a measure of self-defence. Various causes delayed the event, but it is not difficult to trace a more or less direct connection between the War of 1812 and the union of the provinces in 1867. The confederation of the British North American provinces was but the culmination of a movement that had its birth in the War of 1812, and grew to maturity through the Rebellion of 1837; the Union of 1841, and the scheme for a Maritime Union that immediately preceded confederation.

Under the terms of the British North America Act provision was made for the admission of British Columbia, Rupert's Land, and the North-Western Territory. Steps were at once taken for the acquisition of the western country, but it was found necessary to buy out the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company. After prolonged negotiation, the Company finally agreed to accept £300,000, and in 1869 an act was passed for the temporary government of Rupert's Land and the Territories. The following year the new province of Manitoba was created, and in 1871 British Columbia was admitted, the terms of union providing among others things for the construction of a transcontinental railway.

These steps toward the rounding out of the new Dominion were the inevitable consequences of the Confederation movement, and had been contemplated years before Confederation itself became an accomplished fact. The records of the period, however, show clearly enough that the western country was admitted not because it was believed at the time to possess any very great value in itself, but rather because such far-sighted statesmen as Sir John Macdonald realized that it was absolutely necessary to the future welfare of Canada that her territory should extend from ocean to ocean. What the United States had failed to do in 1812, they might still accomplish in the seventies. With the Civil War off their hands, they were entering upon a period of western expansion. The new Western States were rapidly filling up; Alaska had been purchased from Russia; and, if Canada held back, it was quite within the realm of possibility that the United States might step in and absorb the prairie country between the Great Lakes and the mountains. That done, British Columbia would almost inevitably follow, and Canada would be confined to the Atlantic side of the continent. The ultimate destiny of such a Canada one would not care to predict. Certainly the fate of the country would be problematical. It could not hope to reach at any time the stature of a great nation. It must forever be overshadowed by its gigantic neighbour; and American statesmen might then indeed have had some ground for the belief that a few short years would see the peaceful accomplishment of what armed force had failed to do in 1812—the extension of American sovereignty over the whole continent of North America. Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that, while statesmen were directly responsible for bringing in the western provinces, they could not have acted without a widespread sentiment of expansion throughout Eastern Canada—and this sentiment was directly traceable to the influence of the War of 1812.

The project of a transcontinental railway, a vital link in the chain of Confederation, and in the settlement of Western Canada, had been discussed for many years, from every possible point of view. It had been advocated on economic, strategic, and national grounds; it had been pressed for by British Columbia as essential to the safety and welfare of the province, and by the settlers on the Red River as the only effective means of colonizing the western prairies. It was finally accepted by Canadian statesmen as a work absolutely essential to the expansion of the Dominion. One need not attempt to prove what is self-evident, that the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway was a work of supreme importance, to the west and to the east, to Canada and to the British Empire. It made possible the peopling of the western provinces;

it created a trade route between Eastern and Western Canada; it consolidated the Dominion; and it added materially to the strength of the Empire. To-day, when we have a second and a third transcontinental railway approaching completion, with the Hudson Bay route and the Georgian Bay Canal in contemplation, we find it hard to realize what the Canadian Pacific Railway meant to Canada, from the point of view of western settlement, and also from the wider point of view of national development. The following, from an American statesman, William Henry Seward, written when the Canadian Pacific was still a thing of the future, is not without interest at the present day, making allowances for a certain amount of exaggeration:

"British America," he says, "from a colonial dependency, would assume a controlling rank in the world. To her other nations would be tributary, and in vain would the United States attempt to be her rival, for she never could dispute with her the possession of the Asiatic commerce nor the power which that commerce confers."

The *Toronto Globe*, not usually much given to enthusiasm, had this to say in its issue of Feb. 3, 1871: "Our rulers will be traitors to their country and to British connection if they lose a single session in making it practicable and convenient for settlers to get to Fort Garry through our own territory, and in putting things in a fair way for the Canadian Pacific Railway. It is a question not merely of convenience but of national existence. It must be pushed through at whatever expense. We believe it can be pushed through not only without being a burden pecuniarily upon Canada, but with an absolute profit in every point of view. Without such a line a great British North America would turn out an unsubstantial dream; with it and with ordinary prudence and wisdom on the part of her statesmen, it will be a great, glorious and inevitable reality."

This, however, is getting rather outside my subject. To get back to the initial question, I have attempted to show—although it is nothing more than the mere skeleton of an argument—that the War of 1812 had a distinct influence upon the effective settlement of Western Canada; that out of that war grew a deep-rooted and ever-increasing spirit of Canadian nationality; that from that spirit proceeded the Confederation movement which culminated in the British North America Act of 1867; that as an essential feature of Confederation the western country was brought into the Dominion; and that with the admission of the western provinces came the project of a transcontinental railway—the final link in the chain of western settlement.

I have made no attempt to follow possible lines of influence on the American side, but it might be rather interesting to study the effect of the War of 1812 upon the settlement of the tier of northwestern States along the boundary, and the possible reaction, one way or the other, upon the development of our Northwest. In 1812 Michigan and Illinois only are represented in the population tables of the United States; Wisconsin does not appear until 1840; Minnesota until 1850; and North Dakota and Montana until 1870. Michigan increased from a population of 4,762 in 1810 to 8,896 in 1820; 31,639 in 1830; 212,267 in 1840; 397,654 in 1850; 749,113 in 1860. Illinois grew even more rapidly. She had 12,282 in 1810; 55,211 in 1820; 157,445 in 1830; 476,183 in 1840; 851,470 in 1850, and 1,711,951 in 1860. Wisconsin, starting with 30,945, in 1840, jumped to 305,391 in the next decade; and 775,881 in 1860. These three States could each boast of more than a million white inhabitants in 1870, Michigan having 1,184,059; Illinois, 2,539,891, and Wisconsin, 1,054,670. Minnesota, with 6,077 in 1850, had 172,023 in 1860, and 439,706 in 1870. North Dakota is credited with 2,405 white inhabitants in 1870; and Montana, 20,595.

The real growth of population on the Canadian side was of much later date. According to Dr. Bryce, the Red River settlers numbered in 1815 about 283. Alexander Ross, in his "Red River Settlement," gives the total population of the Colony in 1849 as 5391; and in 1855, about 6,500. A statistical account of the Red River Colony, included in the Hudson Bay Report of 1857, gives the population in 1849 as 5,291, and in 1856 as 6,523. The number of whites and half-breeds in the Hudson Bay Territories in 1856 is stated in the same Report to be about 11,000. J. J. Hargrave, in his "Red River," gives the population of Red River, including the Prairie Portage, in 1870, as about 12,800. This included whites and half-breeds, and also Indians within the boundaries of the Colony. Another authority gives the white population between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains, in 1871, as 12,225. In 1881, Manitoba and the Territories had a white population of 118,706; and in 1891—six years after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway—the population had increased to 260,573.

One other fascinating, though probably not very substantial, line of influence between the War of 1812 and the settlement of the Canadian West, is through the western fur-trade. There are several possible approaches to the question, and I shall only attempt to very briefly suggest a few of them. On general principles it may be assumed that the fur-trade was inimicable to settlement—or if you are a fur-trader, you

may state the case the other way if you please. In any event, the perpetuation of the monopoly of the Hudson Bay Company, through the retention by Great Britain of the western territories north of 49 degrees, in the conclusion of peace, may be taken to have delayed for many decades the effective settlement of Rupert's Land. And yet, on the other hand, the Hudson Bay Company, in one way or another, had a great deal to do with the early settlement of Vancouver Island and British Columbia.

Another point: The Treaty of Ghent, in 1814, finally gave Grand Portage, and with it, the old route of the fur-traders, to the United States. The North West Company thenceforth were confined to the Kaministiquia route. Fort William became for a time the recognized headquarters of the fur-trade. Eventually there grew up at the mouth of the Kaministiquia the twin cities of Fort William and Port Arthur, destined to rival Duluth, and perhaps Chicago, as a mighty inland port, and a connecting link between Eastern Canada and the great west.

One more point: In 1816, when the animosity aroused by the war was still keen, John Jacob Astor secured the passage of an act of Congress restricting trade with the Indians south of 49 degrees to citizens of the United States. This measure was designed, in the language of an American writer, "to put the North West Company out of business on American territory." The North West people sold out to Astor and his associates of the American Fur Company, and confined their operations to the Canadian side of the boundary. The American Fur Company energetically pushed forward into the territory east and west of the Mississippi. Through their influence, military posts were established at Prairie du Chien, Fort Snelling, and elsewhere. Settlement rapidly followed on the American side, coming to a standstill when it reached the boundary line. Meanwhile, the North West Company, confined to British territory, found itself checked in every direction by the Hudson Bay Company. Relations became more and more strained, until finally the only solution was the union of the two companies in 1821. Thenceforward there was peace in the vast territories of the fur-trader. But what of the effect of all this on colonization? Did it tend to accelerate, or to retard, the settlement of Western Canada? I confess I am unable to say.

XI.

HISTORY OF THE HOSPITAL FOR THE INSANE (FORMERLY THE MILITARY AND NAVAL DEPOT), PENETANGUISHENE, ONT.

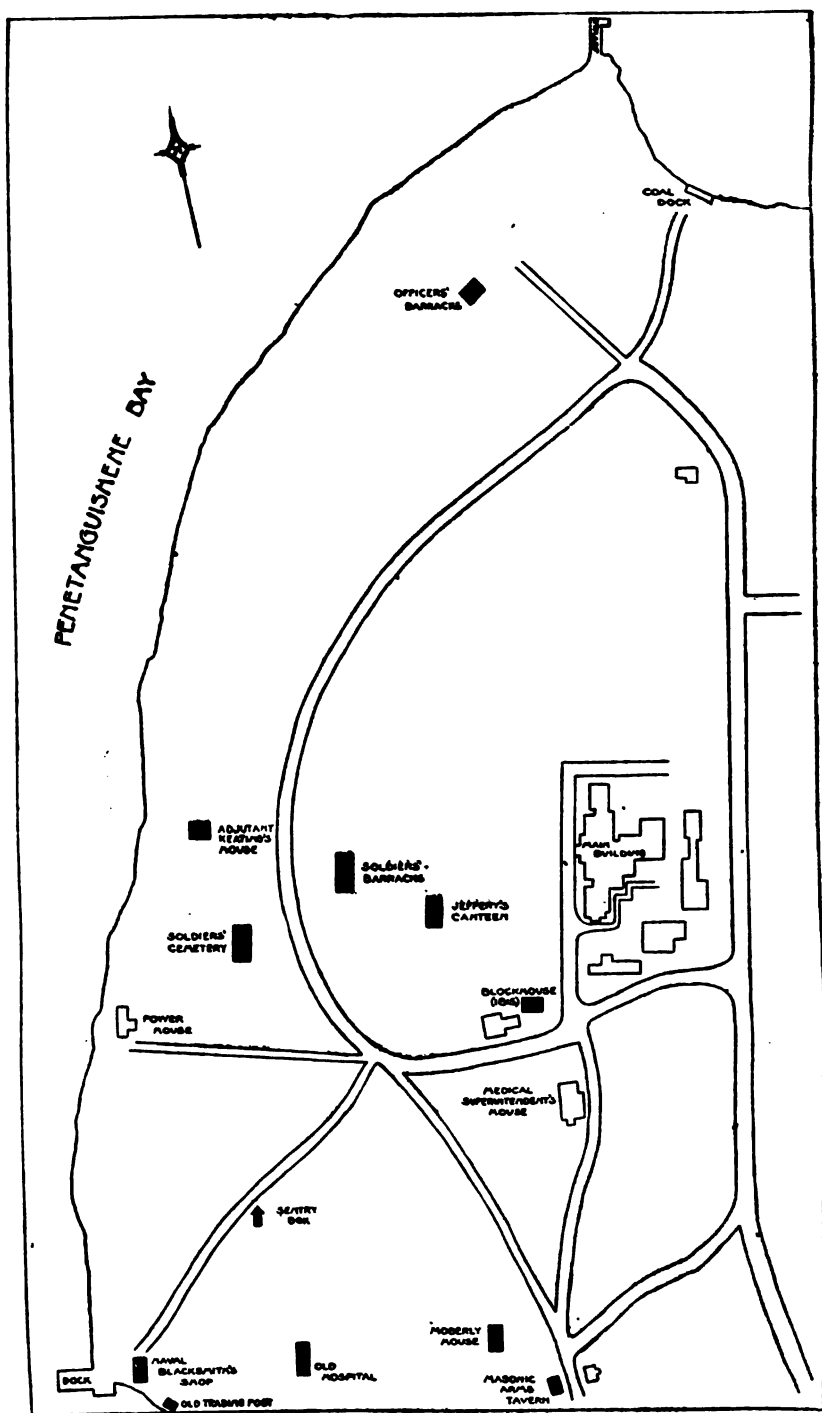
By G. A. MACCALLUM, M. D.

The Hospital for the Insane at Penetanguishene is beautifully situated in a locality of considerable historical interest. Perched on a hill, about one hundred and twenty-five feet above the level of the Penetanguishene Bay, which it overlooks, it is so situated as to give a lovely and extensive view of the sloping highlands on the opposite shore, and also of some of the islands out in the Georgian Bay.

Immediately in front of it is Magazine Island, a very pretty little island, on which is still the hewn log magazine, in which during the military occupation were kept the ammunition supplies. The workmanship of this little building is unique. It is built of beautifully hewn squared pine timber, and the joints at the corners have a sort of double dovetailing, the joints fitting perfectly. The roof was shingled with hand-made shingles, nailed on with hand-made nails. It is said that, at one time, this Island was connected with the mainland by a bridge, the one end being where the Hospital now has its dock and boathouse, and the other immediately in front of the magazine building, where indeed even yet, when the water is clear, may be seen the remains of a crib. The middle of the bridge was probably floating. Here, too, is sunken one of the British gunboats, the "Tecumseh," named after the great Indian chief. There are also three other gunboats sunken in this locality, one the "Nawash," named after another Indian chief, sunken near the shore south of the Hospital dock, while across the Bay, in what is known as Colborne's Bay, are sunken the "Tigress" and the "Scorpion."

The name Penetanguishene is, of course, Indian in its origin, and means "The Place of the White Rolling Sands," so named from a high bank of sand on Pinery Point to the right on entering the harbor. It is said to be Abenaki in its origin.

The Bay became first known to white men in 1615, when Champlain and his Frenchmen landed near its entrance and passed around the Bay,



APPROXIMATE POSITIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS, MILITARY AND NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT, PENETANGUISHENE.

(The buildings marked with hachures were those of the early Establishment.)

visiting many points on his way to the Narrows at Orillia, thence down the Trent Valley waterway to Lake Ontario. The exact spot where Champlain first landed is uncertain, but two places are decided upon, viz., at Ihonatiria, immediately across the Bay from the Hospital, in the small inlet called Colborne's Bay; and at Sawlog Bay, a short distance to the west of the entrance of the harbor.

The Bay was visited by Governor Simcoe in August of 1793, and selected by him as a military and naval base, and a survey of the harbor was completed by his Surveyor, General Aitkin, in November of the same year.

The Military Road from Kempenfeldt Bay to Penetanguishene was opened in November, 1814, and Colonel Poyntz completed another survey of the harbor in December of that year. Sir George or Colonel Head reached the Bay in February, 1815, having traversed the entire country from Halifax, across the Bay of Fundy, up the St. John River to the St. Lawrence, through Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, York and Holland Landing, on snowshoes, toboggans, canoes and horse jumpers, etc.; and built the first block house on the brow of the hill some two hundred yards above the Bay, near the site of the present stable at the back of the residence of the Medical Superintendent. It was 18x21 ft. in size, roofed and clapboarded with shingles cut from cedar trees along the shore in the vicinity of Gordon's Point.

The new Barracks was built near the shore, and later rebuilt in stone, the material in which was in turn transferred to the new building of the Ontario Reformatory, now the Asylum, in 1862-6.

Commander Roberts' establishment was built behind the new Barracks further up the hill; Lieutenant Jackson's, of the Royal Navy, still further up, and Admiral Bayfield's, R. N., a little further east and north along the shore. In the meantime the Naval Store, Hospital, Seaman's Barracks, Guard House, Sergeants' Mess, Shipwrights' Shop and Magazine on the Island, Clerk's Office, etc., were added, and later Adjutant or Captain Keating's dwelling, all of which, except the last, have long ago disappeared. (Since this was written, Adj. Keating's dwelling was destroyed by fire.)

When the Barracks was rebuilt in stone, the Officers' Quarters (still standing) was built also in stone. The Drummond Island Garrison was transferred to this Post in 1828, and Adjutant Keating's house was built in 1829. The reduction of the Military and Naval Station began in 1832, until in 1849, when Captain Keating died, nearly everything had

been disposed of. His house was occupied by Commander Wooten and other naval officers at various times, and during the existence of the Ontario Reformatory served as a Chaplain's residence until the new one was built. Rev. G. A. Anderson,* first Chaplain for the Reformatory, occupied it for many years, followed by Rev. Mr. Lloyd and Rev. Mr. Card.

In 1867, when Confederation took place, over five thousand acres of ordnance lands in the vicinity were transferred to the jurisdiction of the Ontario Government, after which many improvements were made, among these being various additions to the Main Building of the Reformatory, also a brick residence for the Warden, now occupied by the Medical Superintendent.

Much of the above information was obtained by Mr. A. C. Osborne from old residents, and he says there is but one person now living (1912) who remembers the location of the different old buildings mentioned above.

Rev. G. Hallen, recently deceased, was a Military Chaplain for many years, and lived in the Barracks until he built a rectory on his own place, which place was recently purchased by the Government.

The Naval and Military Canteen was known as "Jeffery's Canteen," and there was also a tavern known as "The Masonic Arms," a regular house of entertainment built by the proprietor, and licensed by the military authorities. This was situated immediately in front of the house now occupied by the Storekeeper on the brow of the hill, and among the notables who were at one time or another entertained there were the Duke of Richmond, Earl of Northumberland, Sir John Franklin, Sir John Colborne, Lord Morpeth, Captain Basil Hall, Sir John Galt, and other distinguished travellers.

The year 1815 is the date when Sir George Head, with a small body of soldiers, made his way from Quebec to this point. Their hardships may be imagined when one considers that the journey was made in February, on foot, when the snow must have been very deep, and when there was not a vestige of a road. The soldiers were obliged to clear a pathway ahead of the main body, so that it could make its way with the camping outfit and other necessary stores. Their progress must have been slow, and yet they finally reached Penetanguishene and camped where the buildings now stand. Log huts were first erected, where afterwards a fortress of some pretensions, with the necessary quarters and houses for the officers and men, were built, and to-day some

*See "Papers and Records," Vol. VI., Ontario Historical Society.

of these houses still remain. The Officers' quarters, a very substantial stone structure, with its walls pierced with vertical grooves or apertures for shooting through, and with Masonic emblems and workmen's initials inscribed on each block, is still in a good state of preservation. This, with the fortress, was surrounded by strong cedar palisades, which latter existed until removed three years ago, much to the regret of the lovers of the early history of our country. If the Government, with its local officials, had had a particle of interest in the early history of this portion of Canada, as they should have had, they would never have sanctioned the wanton destruction of such a fine specimen of early fortification as this post evidently was.

Up to 1907 this old fort was visited by many tourists and others interested in historical places, and even yet picnics of schools, etc., are held each season and the children and others instructed in the early history of the place, and the spots of interest pointed out. In 1907, however, those who had charge decided to clear away all traces of the stockaded enclosure for the sake of adding the bit of land it stood on to the surrounding field. It was probably one of the best, if not the best, remains of the stockaded fort in Canada. It consisted of an enclosed space with a path leading to the stone fortification. The stockades were cedar posts from 15 to 18 inches in diameter, sharpened at one end, and about 18 to 20 feet in length. These were sunk side by side in the ground about five or six feet and leaning outward, the sharpened end, of course, pointing upwards and outwards. Whether covered or not, originally, is unknown. The protected path allowed retreat to the safer stone structure.

The whole was in a fair state of preservation and was probably good to last for fifty years yet as far as the cedar stockades were concerned. The stone structure is, of course, permanent, being a single storey building, beautifully built of hewn stone. There was no reason whatever for destroying the fort, for the Institution has nine hundred acres surrounding it.

Across the Bay, and situated a little back from Colborne's Bay, and on each side of a small spring creek, is the site of a large Indian town, said by most of the students of the early history of the place to have been Ihonatiria, the town where Father Brebeuf, early in the seventeenth century, first landed and introduced the Jesuit mission for the conversion of the Hurons, which finally ended so disastrously for themselves. These were the Hurons who were finally almost exterminated by the Iroquois.

The empty houses and other buildings which were left here by the military when they were withdrawn, led to the idea of establishing a penal settlement here, consequently in 1859 a Reformatory Prison was located here by the Cartier-Macdonald Government, in which administration Sir John A. Macdonald was Attorney General West. He took a good deal of interest in the establishment of the Reformatory, and appointed Mr. Kelly of Kingston the first Warden. Mr. Angus Morrison, being the member for the North Riding of Simcoe, was the chief actor in this movement.

The large barracks erected here by the Home Government seemed a suitable building to start with, and the several vacant houses were very suitable for the necessary staff of officers and the heads of the different trades to be introduced.

Mr., or as he was commonly called, Captain William Moore Kelly was appointed the first Warden, and occupied the stone house formerly used as the Officers' Quarters. Rev. Mr. Hallen, late Chaplain to the Military, was appointed Protestant Chaplain, and occupied a log residence where the present Superintendent's residence now stands. Father Kennedy was appointed Roman Catholic Chaplain, and occupied a residence near the barracks. The bursar was Mr. Featherstonhaugh, and he occupied the residence now occupied by the painter. The old log houses which were then occupied by the tradesmen have gradually disappeared, and neat frame houses have taken their place.

The place was first opened in 1859 under the name of a Reformatory for Boys, under Captain William Moore Kelly, and the first inmates were brought here by boat by Mr. Kelly and two guards from the Penitentiary or Prison of Isle au Noix, Quebec. These, of course, were many of them grown up, and from twenty to twenty-five years of age. They were at first housed in the old Barracks, where they must have been kept until about March, 1870, when part of the present building having been built, and the Barracks burned, they were placed in the new building. This was a hewn stone structure, built of limestone obtained from the adjoining islands, and brick made by the prisoners under Mr. James Berry. The first wing built was the part now occupied by the kitchen, the old bakery, and the attendants', nurses', and patients' dining rooms. This building was arranged with three tiers of cells, sufficient to accommodate one hundred and two prisoners. The prisoners were occupied with several industries. First, a cigar factory was started; also a machine shop, and a small laundry was built. After a time the cigar factory was not satisfactory and was abolished, and a match fac-

tory was started instead, but this too was soon abandoned, and the manufacture of shoes, furniture, broom handles, etc., all tried, to end in the same way.

The cell system was changed and a new wing was added and the dormitory system started. After about twenty-five years of this condition of things under Mr. Thomas McCrosson, who was appointed as successor to Captain Kelly about 1879, the place was changed to a Hospital for Insane on August 14th, 1904, and Dr. P. H. Spohn appointed Superintendent, with Mr. Ronan as Bursar. The insane patients were drafted from other asylums and came first on August 16th, 1904. They were supposed to be all quiet cottage patients and good workers, capable of taking care of themselves to a great extent, and able to do the necessary work of the Institution, but gradually some acute cases were admitted. Dr. P. H. Spohn resigned, and Dr. G. A. McCallum, formerly of London Asylum, was transferred to this Asylum on January 20th, 1908.

Mr. Ronan, who was Bursar, was transferred to Woodstock Epileptic Asylum, and H. J. Spence appointed here in his stead on March 10th, 1906. James Lonergan resigned as Storekeeper in May, 1908, and he was succeeded by Mr. Charles E. C. Newton. Dr. Cattermole was appointed Assistant Physician early in 1908. Dr. MacCallum resigned in June, 1910, and was succeeded by Dr. W. T. Wilson in October, 1910.

One cannot close this short story of such an interesting historic locality without urging that the Government should devote a small sum for the erection of more or less permanent tablets on some of the more important sites mentioned here, for the use of students in the future, and for the interest of others visiting the locality. The writer has had a roof put on the Magazine on the Island which will preserve it for a number of years yet.

Note.—Through the kindness of Mr. A. C. Osborne I am permitted to make use of his historical notes and researches, which have been obtained during years of study of this subject, and through him I am able to append a map of the approximate sites of the principal buildings of the early settlement when it was a military and naval station.

New York, Oct. 1, 1912.

XII.

THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS IN RELATION TO HEALTH.

BY PETER H. BRYCE, M. A., M. D., OTTAWA

Like much else that we desire to obtain exact information about in the history of the Indians we find that any statements relating to their health during the period since 1600, when they may be said to have come first into constant relation with Europeans, are almost wholly accidental, and wherever made were by writers, whether as travellers or officials, whose knowledge of diseases and their treatment was naturally imperfect.

But, we must further realize the still more important fact that until at least 1800, the knowledge of medicine in civilized countries was in the matter of causation extremely imperfect, and, viewed from our modern standpoint, the treatment of disease was largely empirical and unscientific.

In Schoolcraft's *History of the Indian Tribes* may be found an article prefaced by Dr. Zina Pitcher, M. D., late of the United States Army, dated at Detroit, 1853, as a Report for the National Medical Association on Medical Education (Part IV., P. 500), which summarizes more exactly than that of any other writer, so far as I have found, the information then possessed regarding the Indian's knowledge of diseases and their treatment. Introducing his subject he says:

"The aim is to show that he (the Indian) has used faculties as discriminating and arrived at results equally as important and correct as those achieved by his more fortunate neighbours in a far different state of civil advancement In the primitive condition of a people who abide in the open air, whose tissue is hardened by exposure over the pursuits which develop therefrom—we find causes for their comparative immunity from disease and reasons for their manifestation of an inherited strong recuperative power."

He further points out how the complexities of the occupations of

civilized life develop special diseases and that therefore most of the organic affections are peculiar to the civilized. "The simplest functional diseases are those to which the Indian is liable." To the treatment of these he has a materia medica and system of therapeutics, as will be seen in the sequel, very well adapted.

It will be remembered, however, that Dr. Pitcher wrote in the first half of the nineteenth century, after the Indian had been in touch with Europeans in Eastern America for some centuries, and to appreciate the real position of the Indian in relation to diseases and their treatment we must endeavour to obtain information from the earliest periods at which the European writers came into contact with him and referred to such matters.

Various references are found to such in the Jesuit Relations. For instance, in Vol. I., p. 211 (Cleveland Edition), we find the following:

"They believe there are two main sources of disease, one of these in the patient himself, which desires something and will vex the body of the sick man until it possesses the thing required. They think there are in every man inborn desires often unknown to themselves upon which the happiness of the individual depends. For the purpose of ascertaining the desires and innate appetites of this character, they summon soothsayers, who, as they think have a divinely imparted power to look into the inmost recesses of the mind. These men declare whatever first comes to them, or something, from which they suspect some gain is to be derived, is desired by the sick person."

"Therefore parents, friends and relatives, do not hesitate to procure and lavish upon him, whatever it may be, however expensive, a return of which is never thereafter sought. Commonly the sick recover plainly because their illnesses are slight, for in the case of more severe complaints these soothsayers are more cautious, and denying the possibility of ascertaining what the patient desires they bewail him whom they have given up and cause the relatives to put him out of the way."

It is further stated that they were accustomed to kill those suffering from protracted and chronic illness, as well as orphaned infants.

Probably, however, the following instances taken from the somewhat too philosophical hypothesis above given, more exactly illustrate the average attitude of the Indian in his aboriginal state toward disease. It is told how Father Biard visited Memberton, the famous Micmac chief, spoken of in Lescarbot's "History of New France" in connection with M. de Mont's settlement at Port Royal, Nova Scotia, on account

of the dangerous illness of his son. Biard was surprised that there was no grief, no lamentation, no tearful dirge, instead of a feast, a dance and two or three dogs fastened together. Asked what all this meant Membertou said the boy would die in a short time. Biard censured them and sent the boy to French headquarters where he recovered.

A similar illustration taken from the narratives of the Pilgrim Fathers may be further quoted as confirming from another source the prevailing practices of the Indians of the East Coast. Mr. Edward Winslow relates the following incident which took place in March, 1622. Word coming to Plymouth that Massassoit, chief of the friendly Massachusetts band, was very ill, Winslow was deputed by the Governor to visit him and shew their sympathy. He says: "When we came to the house it was so full of men that we could scarcely get in, though they used their best endeavours to make room for us. We found them in the midst of their charms for him, making such a noise as greatly affected those of us who were well, and therefore was not likely to benefit him who was sick. About him were six or eight women who chafed his limbs to keep heat in him."

Mr. Winslow then told the chief, who could not see him, that the Governor had heard of his sickness and had sent him and he had brought such things as might do him good. "The chief took his preparation of conserves and seemed satisfied and in half an hour seemed better. The next day they went out to seek herbs, but could find none but strawberry leaves. He took a handful of them with some sassafras root and put them in the porridge. It being boiled, I strained it through my handkerchief and gave him at least a pint, which he liked very well. After this his sight mended more and more and he took some rest." Massassoit recovered and urged Winslow to go from house to house and visit those who were sick within the village and to treat them as he had the chief.

The writer who quoted this incident tells further how in 1622 the people were in great distress for scant rain, and a day of prayer was set apart. "An Indian taking notice that during the former part of the day there was a very clear sunshine and that in the evening the rain fell in a sweet soaking shower was so much affected with the power the English had with their God that he resolved from that day not to rest till he knew this great God." To this end he forsook the Indians and clung to the English. Alongside of these two distinct statements it is of interest to quote from a series of articles just published in a London newspaper of the 13,750 mile journey from Brazil to Peru, through hitherto undiscovered territory, by A. Henry Savage Landor. He tells

of how the Barrieros, whom he met, were the first Indians of the Boro tribe.

"The Bororos preceded Darwin in his theory on the evolution of man. Only the Bororos do not say that men or women are the descendants of monkeys. They maintained that monkeys once upon a time were human, were able to speak and lived in huts like human beings."

"These Boróros believe in living spirits; some of them may inhabit the earth; others are invisible. The invisible ones are invoked by them through a special individual called the biréh or medicine man shouting at the top of his voice while gazing skyward and offering gifts of food, meat, fish and fruit to the spirit invoked. The biréh eventually pretends that the spirit has entered his body and he then begins to devour the food himself in order not to offend the spirit of his internal guest."

We have had in these several extracts examples which indicate clearly what the Indian peoples of this continent thought, where uninfluenced by the European, whether three hundred years ago or to-day. That there has been amongst all peoples in every period of the world's history a close relationship between the mysterious influences which affect the body and the mind is common knowledge; and that the thaumaturgist, the wonder worker, has commonly been of the priestly class, whose superior attainments, actual or pretended, have enabled him to exercise, whether as the disciples of the Egyptian god Thoth (Hermes), of Aesculapius in Greece, the priests and prophets of the Old Testament, the priests of the Middle Ages, or the medicine men of the aborigines of America, is equally well understood. That the status of medical practice from earliest to modern times had been, however, one of the most exact measures of social advancement and mental development amongst any people has been curiously illustrated by some notable recent discoveries, both Babylonian and Egyptian.

The Code of Hammurabi, B. C. 2250, discovered at Susa in 1901, gives in a series of 282 clauses a marvellous account of a social state, wherein the King, decreed ruler of the earth by the power of the god Bel, set forth laws regulating almost every conceivable matter, from land laws to medical practice.

Thus he decreed that "if a physician make a successful operation over the eye and saves the eye he shall receive two shekels; but if he make a large incision with the operating knife and kill the patient, he shall have his hands cut off." It will be remembered too that Ebers tells how the papyrus, discovered by and named after him, and written in the 16th century, B. C., in 100 pages, contains the hermetic or sealed book,

giving a list of the medical remedies of the old Egyptians. Later in the scroll, diagnoses are drawn up and remedies prescribed for the external and internal diseases affecting the parts of the human body. The numbers referring to the weights and measures are attached to each drug. The prescriptions are accompanied by texts which the physician is to repeat while making the medicine and while administering to his patient. One long chapter is devoted to the optic nerve alone.

But lest we should imagine that the incantations mark an early period we need only recall the fashion in which the sympathetic treatment of wounds by a touch from the weapon which did the cutting was a fad introduced by Sir Kenelm Digby, Knight of Montpelier, in Elizabeth's time; (he stated he had received the prescription from a friar from Persia); or the incantations while mixing the brew in the witches' cauldron in Macbeth, or Soliman's Septasium published in the same period in which he arranges his chapters under the seven heads of Birds, Beasts, Herbs, Man, Fishes, Serpents and Insects, in order to comprehend how even in the period of the literature called "Golden Age," Medicine was empirical, and at its best associated with the mysterious. This was inevitable so long as the idea of sickness, being an evidence of either the anger of God or of the malevolence of demons, dominated human thought. We need not then greatly criticize the poor Indian, a savage in the sense that he inhabited illimitable areas of woodland and prairie, and had usually no settled abode and indeed but little use for medicine, for his superstitions, when so late as 1695 Culpepper's *Physick and Astrology* commends as a valuable remedy "The skull of a man that has never been buried, beaten to a powder and given inwardly, the quantity a dram at a time in water for palsy and falling sickness," and when Sir James Y. Simpson, the great Scotch surgeon, the discoverer of the use of chloroform, as stated by his daughter in her biography, tells of how his father, David Simpson, was very superstitious, and told them stories of warlocks and bogies. Sir James' favourite story was of how his father's father had buried a cow alive. When he failed to heal his four-legged patients he concluded the witches were interfering with him by counteracting his remedies and so they had to be exorcised. A murrain fell on the cattle about Torphichen, and Alexander Simpson, the old veterinarian, was unable to save them. He decided therefore that to frustrate the malignant designs of the spirits of evil a cow must be interred alive, and interred it was.

But enough has been quoted from different sources to show that in no sense could it be expected that any notable knowledge of medicine as we understand it to-day would be possessed by the Indian peoples

beyond what has existed amongst peoples in the pre-scientific age in all periods of the world's history. It is, however, by no means to be supposed, in contact constantly with Nature as they were, that they had not empirically discovered the uses of a very considerable number of plants, which grew about them. As a matter of fact their knowledge is comparable, and its application probably as practical, as that illustrated in Culpepper's *Physic*.

Dr. Pitcher gives the names of some 53 herbs and the diseases for which they were used by the Indians.

He speaks of the general use by them, as by so many early peoples, of the sweat bath. Curiously the mode of making it, by putting hot stones in a hole in a small tent, or closed-in hut, and then creating steam by throwing water on it, has almost everywhere been the same.

The actual methods adopted in different diseases by the Indians are indicated by Dr. Pitcher. For instance, they began the treatment of fevers with an emetic using commonly the common *Euphorbia*; while for a cathartic, they used the cambium layer of the bark of the horse-chestnut or butternut. They practised venesection in pleurisy by a sharp piece of flint driven into the vein: but I am inclined to think this was the practice copied from the whites.

In the case of consumption, Dr. Pitcher tells us that they attempted its cure by promoting a free flow of pus by using the bark of the slippery elm and of the mallow.

For asthma they smoked especially tobacco, while for liver complaint they used the leaves of *arbutus* or the root of the wild gooseberry, and so on through other diseases. As may well be supposed, however, so favorable were nomadic habits to their maintenance of good health and to minimizing the danger of spreading the contagion that the Indian people were helpless, as indeed white people were, in large degree, in the face of such a disease as small-pox or measles if once introduced. How helpless even white people were is illustrated by the record of the Massachusetts colonists when in 1731 a disease, evidently diphtheria, within a few months destroyed in seven towns, one-quarter of the population under 11 years of age.

Old Canada had had her Indian problem and solved it in so far as having had a Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, who was supposed to protect the Indian in his legal rights, encourage missionary effort amongst the bands, in so far as at least establishing schools was concerned, and appointing local physicians at nominal salaries to treat any Indians who were sent to them by the Indian Agent.

Whenever, however, we speak about Preventive medicine in relation to the Indian at or before that date, we have to endeavour to comprehend what the term meant in any ordinary white community amongst us at that period. Many will be surprised to know that the outcome of years of agitation, discussion and legislation, which gave us Confederation in Canada and the B. N. A. Act, resulted in a series of Statutes in which the powers and duties of Federal and Provincial Governments were defined with much breadth and precision, and yet which do not contain a single syllable relating to what we now call Public Health or State Medicine. Hospitals, Refuges, Asylums and Quarantine were dealt with; but the idea of preventive medicine did not really take concrete shape in Canada until 1882, when Ontario passed an Act to appoint a Provincial Board of Health with a permanent Secretary.

It would not be quite correct to conclude, however, that no sanitation was inculcated amongst the Indians. Circulars were from time to time sent to the Indian Agents regarding the necessity for cleaning up premises, limewashing houses and for the regular vaccination of the children. The fatal outbreaks of smallpox had indelibly impressed upon the Indians the necessity for protection, while the value of vaccination was never doubted, in this showing well in accepting scientific medicine as compared with many white people more pretentious of knowledge.

When it is remembered, however, that except smallpox no knowledge either as to the cause or immunization against disease existed, that it was only in 1881 that the dictum *omne vivum ex vivo* or *omne ovum ex ovo* was enunciated by Louis Pasteur as demonstrated in anthrax and chicken cholera and accepted in England when he was the official guest of the Medical Congress Meeting in London, while antiseptic surgery had not yet been introduced into Canada, we need not wonder that the principles of Preventive Medicine were unknown in their practical application amongst our Indians, who as I remember complained that the standard laxative mixture kept in the large bottle of the Indian Medical Office on the Six Nations Reserve was too generously prescribed. As a matter of fact the therapeutics of Medicine in 1881 was still essentially that of the days of empirical Medicine and possessed very few drugs whose action was based upon an experimental basis.

We have through an irregular chronology followed Medicine as it existed amongst the Indians up to 1882, which makes for myself a notable Hegira. This year saw as I have said its official crowning. It is made glorious by Pasteur's triumph and by the further fact that, in April, Robert Koch gave to Germany and the world the first account of his ex-

periments, both laboratory and clinical, which described the discovery of the *Bacillus Tuberculosis*, which, doubted for years, has now become universally recognized as the cause of that disease, which has been the scourge for thousands of years of the human race, wherever forced to live in closed habitations in temperate and cold climates, and which has done much to decimate the Indian tribes wherever brought into fixed habitations on reserves or around the towns and villages of white settlements. I have examined the oldest official documents and reports in the Department and have noted the statements of early explorers, and, beyond reporting the general health conditions annually, and noting any special contagious outbreak or disease, there is no evidence whatever that any notable effort had been made in either the United States or Canada to investigate the actual health conditions of the Indian people, or any serious idea that it was either worth while or possible to attempt to adopt broad and comprehensive measures for the betterment of their general health conditions.

Every writer, even the most sympathetic, during the past century spoke of them as a dying and vanishing race, unable to withstand the temptations or antidote the degenerating influences of a modern society, whose manners and customs were foreign to their daily habits of life and the traditions of their race. Their's was the story of a proud race, who had recognized the hopelessness of the resistance in the unequal struggle to the force of what is called civilization and progress.

In the introduction by Mr. A. C. Parker to the code of Handsome Lake, the Seneca Prophet, recently published by the New York State Museum, the situation is well set forth. Speaking of the influence of Handsome Lake's teachings, Parker says:

"The encroachments of civilization had demoralized the old order of things. The frauds which the Six Nations had suffered and the loss of land and of ancient seats have reduced them to poverty and disheartened them. Poverty, the sting of defeat, the loss of ancestral lands, the injuries of broken promises and the hostility of the white settlers all conspired to bring despair. There is not much energy in a despairing nation, who see themselves helpless and alone, the greedy eyes of their conquerors fastened on the few acres that remain to them. It was little wonder that the Indian sought forgetfulness of the past in the trader's rum."

It is not without interest to note that in the long message which the prophet Handsome Lake left in his code of life I have found no reference

to matters of physical health except in the bringing to life of the sick man Ganiodaio by the touching of Taawonyos.

It is now some thirty years since we in Canada have officially undertaken to deal with the undeveloped work of public sanitation. Individualism, in dealing with health, was inevitable so long as there were no underlying well understood principles of action to guide the energies of Public Bodies, whether provincial or municipal, and least of all was such to be expected in dealing with the Indian peoples who were either settled in their small reserves in the older provinces, or only being brought into areas set apart in the almost unoccupied and boundless prairies of the West. The western bands were still largely nomadic, were far from centres where they could be dealt with in any way other than largely by moral suasion; and the task of keeping these bands peaceable by supplying them with rations fully occupied the energies of the Indian Department, which was well content if by any means they could get in supplies of food adequate to supply the needs of the people, who had seen their natural food supply (the buffalo) diminish year by year. Indeed it is not ten years since, on a large number of reserves, the distribution of rations was a regular practice; nor was it until railways were being constructed and settlement began to surround the various reserves that any serious attempts at cultivation of reserve lands were made.

During all those years the log-hut, too commonly of one room,, was the extent to which the activities of the Department for housing the Indians extended; while the work of education, except so far as carried on in the schools of the various Christian Missions, did not begin until provision was made in 1884 for six Industrial schools. Since then these schools have been supplemented by a goodly number of boarding schools, situated commonly on or near different reserves, which are all under church management, but supplemented by Government grants and supplied with the medical services of physicians paid for by the Department.

The pupils at first were in large degree orphans and sickly children whose care in the Indian camps was deemed a burden, and it was not surprising in view of all the facts that these pupils should have proved only too liable to develop that tuberculosis, which from the placing of the Indians in the houses on the Reservations had spread with remarkable rapidity amongst a hitherto nomadic people, who had as yet no knowledge of the art of living in houses.

The results of a systematic investigation of the schools of the prairie

provinces by myself in 1907, showed that they had commonly begun in small buildings, which soon became overcrowded, and few of which had any claims to sanitary construction, were veritable hot-beds of tuberculosis. Indeed, a statistical enquiry into a number of schools from their establishment to that time, a period of some fifteen years, brought out the fact that from 25% to 33% of all the children who had been pupils during the period had died, almost all from tuberculosis, or from measles, or other acute diseases causing the tubercular infection present to develop a fatal termination. As regarded the mortality on the reserves, instances were even found where a mortality rate of 50 or 60, and even more per 1000 in whole bands occurred annually, and the question of how to attack such a discouraging problem became a dominating one.

It will be understood that in almost no case was a medical officer paid for devoting all his time to any band. He was paid only for treating such individuals as applied to him for aid, but almost no facilities such as hospitals for dealing with infection existed. The following two pictures taken from reports by careful observers in two American bands exactly describe what has been too generally the condition of bands whose health has been accurately investigated.

Dr. Jas. R. Walker, resident physician for many years in the U. S. Pine Ridge Agency in Dakota, says:

"The population of the band of full-blooded Sioux was 4,870, regarding whom exact sanitary and vital statistics were kept for ten years. The paper states: 'Tuberculosis among these Indians does not differ in any respect from tuberculosis amongst the white people. The infecting material is the same and is produced and disseminated in the same way; individuals are affected in the same manner and the disease runs the same course, produces the same results and is subject to the same measures, remedial or preventive, as it is among the white people. It does not show any special affinity for the Indian nor affect him under any condition in which it could not affect the white man. There is no inherent peculiarity which renders him more liable to infection from the tuberculosis than is a white man under like circumstances.' After indicating the size of children, their growth and size at maturity, the paper states: 'In person, the Indian is as well adapted to fulfil the requirements of a healthy life as is the white. Yet a much larger proportion of these Indians than of the white people are infected with tuberculosis. This must be the result of external conditions that do not especially pertain to the Indian. . . . Tuberculosis existed among these Indians before they came into contact with the white people, but at that time the disease was rare among them and remained so until

they changed their nomadic to a settled life in houses. When they began to live in houses, tuberculosis began to increase among them, so that the conditions that caused their increase must have been different from those surrounding them when they lived in tepees. They were filthy, both when they lived in tepees and when they lived in houses. It was statistically demonstrated that those who were the most cleanly were the less susceptible to infection by any disease than those who were the most filthy, and conversely, that the most filthy were the most susceptible to infection of every kind. But there is no evidence that this filth ever caused tuberculosis except when it was mingled with the specific germs of the disease.'

When they began to live in houses, the Government supplied them with an abundance of food and in a much greater variety than they had been accustomed to. It also supplied them with cooking stoves and utensils, so that their food was better cooked than when they lived in tepees. Coincident with this increase of food prepared and taken in a more sanitary way was the increase of tuberculosis amongst them."

Again, Dr. Huber, speaking of the Indians in the Cattaraugus reserves in New York State, says: "It is Dr. Lake's opinion that 'young men and women, who perhaps a few months before were apparently in good health, come to the dispensary with some indefinite complaint, which, upon examination, he found to be pulmonary consumption. Whole families die of this disease within a few years.' Dr. Lake states that he finds the chronic affections from which the Indians on this reservation suffer to be very largely of a tuberculous character. He would, he states, 'divide the whole population into two classes, viz., those manifesting tuberculosis on examination, and those who have suffered from tuberculosis as evidenced by the scars and deformities which they exhibit.' The history is common of large families in which but one or two children have survived, the others having died of consumption; and in the survivors' scars remaining from an old gland, tuberculosis is to be observed. 'From babyhood are these Indians tubercular; one among every three children born on this reservation dies of this disease in some form before its fifth year; many children appear at school with glandular enlargements. There is slow progress of the disease until puberty, when a ghastly mortality supervenes, especially among the females.' "

Both in the United States and Canada the deadening effects of a century of official control, following a well-defined routine, have made the attempt to introduce modern scientific methods, in dealing with the health of the Indian, extremely difficult. Every annual report for years

has contained the statement, repeated ad nauseam, of Indian Agents, that the health of the band has been good, fair or average for the year; but the report very commonly also made reference to the prevalent diseases, consumption and specific disease, as being the scourges which mean the final extinction of the race. A system of statistics was organized by myself in 1904, and to my surprise it soon became apparent that, excepting tuberculosis, the Indian people were and are remarkably free from other constitutional diseases. Maladies, as dyspepsia, incident to poorly cooked food and irregular habits, were of course common; but it soon became evident that if any adequate measures could be devised for dealing with this house disease, a disease of overcrowding and poor sanitation, there were no reasons why the marvellous results being obtained amongst the poor populations of the crowded cities of Europe and of America, lessening the death rate from tuberculosis, should not similarly follow if adopted on the Indian reserves. There, as elsewhere, where it has become apparent that the prevalence or absence of tuberculosis is the most delicate index possible of the social plane upon which any community lives, it has been shown conclusively that tuberculosis is not hereditary even though there may be a hereditary constitutional debility making the children of tuberculous families less resistant, while examples everywhere illustrate that those who may have the tendency overcome it by developing a resistance under good sanitary surroundings, which include free air and abundant food.

The same is shown to be true amongst the Indian bands. Succeeding reports for several years have given no deaths due to consumption in some small bands, while others, as the Six Nations at Brantford, show the steady lessening of the annual death rate per 1000, with the falling death rate from tuberculosis, to be but the expression of a steady industrial progress and social advancement.

Six Nations Statistics.

Table.

	Population.	Deaths per 1000.	Births.
1906-7..	4,286	18.2	29.2
1907-8..	4,236	30.6	20.5
1908-9..	4,275	11.9	26.4
1909-10..	4,402	19.9	45.2
1910-11..	4,466	14.8	25.3
1911-12..	4,510	17.0	23.9
1912-13..	4,564	12.9	25.4

For four years past there has existed a tent hospital on this reserve to deal especially with tubercular disease. During winter it frequently had twelve patients at one time, and while it was found as elsewhere difficult to get cases into hospital early in the disease and equally difficult to keep them long enough to insure a cure, yet the educational results as well as the directly curative effects have been very satisfactory.

With this there has been a steady improvement in housekeeping and in the management and care of infants. There is still everywhere in the Indian bands an excessive infant mortality; but that its reduction depends upon a steady improvement in general intelligence and knowledge of the social habits of advanced society is proven by the following illustration: The plan for the File Hills Colony was the outcome of the efforts of Inspector W. M. Graham, who resides on the Reservation in Saskatchewan. In 1900 he obtained, after persistent efforts, permission to survey a portion of the Reserve into 160 acre lots and place on neighbouring homesteads young men from two neighbouring Indian Schools. The experiment started with five boys of eighteen years, taken direct from the schools in 1900, and Mr. Graham's letter to me of August 8, 1913, supplies the following statistics to date:

Statistical Return, File Hills Colony, May 31st, 1913.

40 male members joined,	9 died,	2 migrated,	leaving 29
24 wives	2 died		leaving 22
82 children	23 died,	1 married,	leaving 58

Total members of Colony 109

Religion of	man	woman	children	Total
Presbyterian	8	5	14	27
Anglican	2	2	8	12
Methodist	3	2	5	10
R. Catholic	16	13	31	60
	<hr/> 29	<hr/> 22	<hr/> 58	<hr/> 109

The results are remarkable. In all there have been 24 married families and their average married life is about six years. One married member of the band with three children was admitted; but apart from this I understand all other children were born in the Colony. This would mean, without any deaths in parents, 144 married years yielding 85 children, or one in every 1.7 years for each marriage.

Still more remarkable is the fact that with a population which practically doubled itself within six years, there was, nevertheless, with the remarkable birth rate, an infant mortality of about 80 in 1000 or almost lower than any infant mortality rate in the world.

When it is stated that this Colony was started and maintained on an allowance of only \$100.00 per boy for implements and that the Colony has produced for several years nearly 100,000 bushels of wheat annually, with other grain, cattle, etc., the success of the Colony and the natural capacity of the Indian to become an honourable member of the body-politic of Canada, have been proven beyond question. The statistics illustrate a clinical fact which perhaps will not fully appeal to those who are not physicians, viz.: That while every male death was, I believe, caused by tuberculosis contracted as a child at school, the fact of the remarkable immunity of the children, owing, undoubtedly, to the fact of only two mothers having died, and one of these certainly not from tuberculosis, will in the future be cited as a classical proof of what we now know to be true, that **tuberculosis is not hereditary**, and that born of a healthy mother the child has a first-class guarantee with good environment of growing into a strong man or woman.

Another remarkable biological fact is that of males and females in something like equal numbers taken from school at 18 years the child-bearing women have almost all lived, while 9 men, engaged wholly in outdoor occupations, have died.

But I might prolong this essay indefinitely. I trust it may have been of some use in illustrating the problem nearest to me: that of **the future history of the Indians of Canada**. They are not a dead, nor a decaying race in the twentieth century; but the future progress of the aborigines of the American Continent will add another laurel to the achievements of medical science and of a modern humanitarian Christianity, not to be contented with the theological ritual which ensured the Indians a safe entrance to the Christian's Happy Hunting Ground hereafter, but rather to be satisfied only when seeing the once noble Redman a friendly participator in the highest physical, educational, social and spiritual advancements which mark the evolution, and are the glory, of our modern civilization.

XIII.

FEUDALISM IN UPPER CANADA, 1823-1843.

BY MISS MARJORIE J. F. FRASER, TORONTO

The comparatively recent investigations of Dr. C. C. James, A. R. Carman, and A. F. Hunter, M. A., of the origins, and geographical distribution of the various Old World nationalities commingling in the population of Ontario suggest as a subject, suitable in this contest, and fascinating in itself, the story of the Settlement of the Township of McNab, in the County of Renfrew—a story at once unique and important. Although the early settlement of Upper Canada, as a whole, even prior to 1792, when the Province was first separately organized, and subsequent to that date, turned on well-defined regulations*, yet there were exceptions to the general rule, as in the arrangements with Colonel Talbot, and others. The settlement of the Township of McNab, therefore, is singular, and exceptional, not because of the agreement entered into with the promoter of its colonization, but of the manner in which the promoter sought to evade the agreement, and had nearly succeeded in fastening the fangs of an expiring feudalism on an infant community in Canada.

It was in 1823 that a gentleman, from the Highlands of Scotland, presented himself at the town of York, to Sir Peregrine Maitland, the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, and to the members of the Executive Council of the Government, with a request that he be permitted to settle an unoccupied Township with loyal clansmen and fellow-countrymen from Scotland. Archibald McNab, Chief of the ancient Clan McNab, for it was he who preferred this request, was, at that time, in the prime of life. Tall of stature, stately and handsome, of courtly and polite manners, modelled on the French code during a residence of many years in France, social and lavish among his compeers, he made a distinctly favorable impression on the members of the Government, as unpublished but available letters, in this episode, show. The personal factor is rarely unimportant. It is mentioned here, as without the good opinion formed

*British Government's Instructions to Governors General; and Instructions to Surveyors General by Governors General-in-Council.

In the History Essay Competition of the Ont. Historical Society of 1913, this paper was awarded first prize.

of McNab, at the outset of his negotiations, his subsequent success in deducing the Government would have been very doubtful. On McNab's arrival in Upper Canada, he visited that shrewd and kindly Scot, Bishop Alexander Macdonell. From him he first received the suggestion of settling a Township, and good advice as to the *modus operandi*. A draft of the plan, so influentially endorsed, was submitted by McNab to the Lieutenant Governor who sent a copy of it to Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State, and to the Executive Council at Toronto, for advice. The subject was not hastily disposed of, and McNab was requested to furnish properly set-forth details of the conditions of settlement in so far as he, as promoter, on the one hand, and the individual settlers, on the other, were concerned. A tolerably clear statement of conditions* (unpublished) were, accordingly, submitted, the gist of which is:

1. That The McNab obtain for settlement an unsurveyed Township on the Ottawa River, free of fees, each lot to consist of 100 acres (Crown and Clergy Reserves excepted).

2. That on arrival of the immigrants and their securing certificates of location from McNab, they be entitled to patents for their lots.

3. That a specific agreement be entered into between McNab and the intending settlers before leaving Scotland containing details of the terms of settlement, so that no misunderstanding could afterwards arise. McNab became bound to pay the expense incurred by the emigrants in coming to Canada, and from the port of entry to destination, and to take all risks and trouble upon himself.

4. That for three years after settlement no repayment of these outlays be payable, but that one bushel of wheat per acre cleared be due to McNab in lieu of interest on monies advanced. If, however, any settler, within that period, was able to repay all or part of the money so loaned, this rent would be proportionately reduced.

5. That, ten or twelve years after completion of the grant, any part of the Township then unsettled would revert to the Crown.

In return for his services McNab stipulated for a large tract of land within the proposed Township.

In due course the Surveyor-General reported on the proposition and McNab was authorized to settle a township newly surveyed by P. L. Sherwood, adjoining the township of Fitzroy, containing 81,000 acres of land, divided into thirteen complete and four broken concessions. McNab named it after himself. The agreement with the Government is, of course, a fundamentally important document and is reproduced in full:

*Department of Crown Lands. Toronto (15th Oct., 1823).

The Committee of the Executive Council to which your Excellency (Maitland) has been pleased to refer the letter of the Laird of McNab, dated York, 15th Oct., 1823, proposing upon certain conditions to settle a township of land with his clansmen and others from the Highlands of Scotland, most respectfully report:

That a township of the usual dimensions be set apart on the Ottawa River, next to the township of Fitzroy, for the purpose of being placed under the direction and superintendence of the Laird of McNab for settlement.

That the said township remain under his sole direction for and during the space of eighteen months, when the progress of the experiment will enable the Government to judge of the propriety of extending the period.

That patents may issue to any of the settlers of said township on certificate from the Laird of McNab stating that the settling duties are well and duly performed and his claims on the settlers arranged and adjusted; or patents may issue to the Petitioner in trust, for any number of settlers, certified by him as aforesaid; the fee on each patent to be one pound, five shillings, and four pence, sterling.

That the conditions entered upon between the Laird of McNab and each settler be fully explained in detail, and that it be distinctly stated that such have no further claim upon the Government for Grants of Land; and that a duplicate of the agreement entered into between the Leader and the settlers shall be lodged in the office of the Government.

That the Laird of McNab be permitted to assign not less than one hundred acres to each family or male of twenty-one years of age, on taking the oath of allegiance, with the power of recommending an extension of such grant to the favorable consideration of His Excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor to such families as have means, and are strong in number, and whom it may be deemed prudent to encourage.

That an immediate grant of twelve hundred acres be assigned to the Laird of McNab, to be increased to the quantity formerly given to a Field Officer, on completing the settlement of the Township.

That the settlers pay the interest on the money laid out for their use by the Laird of McNab, either in money or produce, at the option of the settler; and that the settler shall have the liberty to pay up the principal and interest at any time during the first seven years.

(Signed) J. BABY, P. C.

Had this agreement been honorably carried out there could be little objection to its terms. It was evident from the beginning that McNab had no such intention. He had come to Canada to escape from his creditors; if possible to amass a fortune large enough to redeem his paternal estates in Perthshire. He unfortunately sought to do so by exploiting the public domain and the way seemed clear to do so when he was entrusted with the settlement of this Township. To this end it was essential that he should conceal from the settlers the real position he occupied and to make it appear that instead of being merely a government locating agent he was the owner of the land. In the first place he did not disclose to them his agreement with the Government, nor did repeated requests to the Government, later on, when troubles arose, enlighten them as to its terms, until towards the close of their struggles in 1841, after Responsible Government had been established. In the second place he did not lodge with the Government as provided in the agreement, the conditions entered into on his behalf in Scotland with the intending settlers; so that, as a matter of fact, the Government was inexcusably ignorant of his power over them.

A near relative of the Laird was Dr. Hamilton (Buchanan) of Arnprior and Leney, to whose friendship he owed his hasty escape to Canada, and to whom he now turned for financial and other help in the work of settlement. Writing jubilantly in August, 1824, he says: "The Township of McNab has today been handed over to me by Sir Peregrine, and it contains 80,000 acres of fine, wooded, arable land—and upward. You will send out to me according to your promise, twenty families, at first. Give them three months' provisions, and make each head of a family, before you give him a passage ticket, sign the enclosed bond, which has been specially prepared by the Attorney General I will meet the settlers in Montreal, and see each one on the land located to them, and will provide for their transport to their lands. They should embark early in April, and I should feel obliged if you would personally superintend their embarkation at Greenock. Now I am in a fine way to redeem the estate at home, and in a few years will return after having established a name in Canada, and founded a transatlantic colony of the clan"

Dr. Hamilton lost no time in selecting twenty-one heads of families of good character—an emigrant band numbering in all eighty-four souls—McNabs, McFarlanes, McIntyres, McLaurins, McMillans, McLarens, McDermids, Campbells, Drummonds, Carmichaels, etc., names preserved by their descendants in the Township today.

McNab states in his letter to Dr. Hamilton that the bond to be signed by the settlers had been prepared by the Attorney General. That

statement is very questionable. Its truth would imply that the Attorney General was a party to deceiving his own Government and the settlers and by so doing become, gratuitously, *particeps criminis* with the unscrupulous Chief. The bond provided that every adult bind himself to pay to McNab "£36 for himself, £30 for his wife, and £16 for every child, with interest, either in money or produce." Dr. Hamilton was an innocent party to this transaction, for he was given to understand that McNab had received a grant of the land from the Government and that the greater portion of the money thus specified in the bond was for the purchase of the land from McNab. Assuming that each head of a family was responsible for himself, wife, and two children, his bond would be for £98, of which £30 would amply pay for transportation and provisions, leaving £68, or about \$340, for 100 acres of land, a reasonable sum to one unacquainted with the usual terms of settlement, as was Dr. Hamilton, and doubtless the settlers thought the amount reasonable at the time. Consequently they left in good cheer, embarking on the 19th of April, 1825, at Greenock, in the ship "Niagara." The voyage was comfortable and expeditiously made and on the 27th of May the immigrants landed at Montreal. McNab, accompanied by his piper, met them with a hearty welcome there and arrangements were made for the inland journey, up the Ottawa River.

Proceeding to Lachine they travelled for three days by bateaux to Point Fortune. Thence to Hawkesbury they went afoot, their baggage being drawn on ox-carts and sleds. At Hawkesbury they boarded the steamboat "Union," the journey by which to Hull occupied two days and one night. Here was the unbroken forest, through which they proceeded with great difficulty and no small danger, to their new Canadian homes, assisted by a few lumbermen who came from the camps to meet them. Incredible as it may now seem, it was stated in evidence subsequently, that this pioneer journey, from Montreal to McNab, occupied twenty-eight days—until the 23rd of June.

The scene, on their arrival, can well be imagined; it need not be described at length here. Simple, but graphic accounts of it are preserved in letters by some of the settlers to friends in the old land, written at a time when looming troubles were undreamed of and hope was high; other accounts, colored by the pigment of dire hardship and unblushing injustice, were many years later gathered from the recollections of the surviving pioneers, and found their way to the columns of local newspapers. At first the Chief was pleased to be gracious, and he lodged as many as he could in Kinnell Lodge, the commodious home he had built for himself on a commanding position on the banks of the Ottawa River,

near to where the Madawaska joins it. Others were accommodated in tents, and after a few days' rest, they were all assembled before the Laird to be informed of his settlement arrangements. He told them that the Township had been granted to him by the Provincial Government because he was a Highland Chief, and that after they had selected suitable lots he would issue location or occupancy tickets to them. Before the people had left their homes in Scotland, McNab, through his agent, promised them free transportation to their new homes, free provisions for a three months' journey, and for the first year of their settlement; the latter part of the promise being so specific as to designate the store-keeper who would supply the provisions. The need for such having now arisen, the settlers visited the store, kept by a Mr. Ferguson, at the mouth of the Madawaska River. Here their first real disappointment was experienced; for while a few articles of clothing and a large barrel of whiskey were in stock, there were no provisions, nor were any to be had in the Township. The result was that they had to leave for neighboring townships, at considerable distance, hire with the farmers there in order to earn money for bread for themselves and families, and thus were unable to begin clearing their own land for a time. Though the amount of the price of these three months' provisions was included in the bond, McNab neither supplied them nor reduced the bond. Before this migration, however, the lots had been selected and location tickets in the style of the following copy issued:

"I, Archibald McNab, do hereby locate you, upon the rear (or front) half of the lot of the Concession of McNab, upon the following terms and conditions, that is to say: I hereby bind myself, my heirs and successors, to give you the said land free of any quit rent for three years from this date, as also to procure you a patent for the same at your expense, upon your having done the settlement duties and your granting me a mortgage upon said lands that you will yearly thereafter pay to me, my heirs and successors for ever one bushel of wheat or Indian corn, or oats of like value, for every cleared acre upon the said lot of land in name of quit rent for the same, in the month of January in each year.

Your subscribing to these conditions being binding upon you to fulfil the terms thereof.

Signed and sealed by us at Kinnell Lodge, this twelfth day of August, 1825.

Signed ARCHIBALD McNAB (L. S.)

Signed SETTLER'S NAME (L. S.)

This was the first attempt, and the written evidence of it, to introduce the feudal system of landlord and tenant into Upper Canada. The location tickets were all signed. The settlers believed McNab when he told them he had received a Crown Grant of the land, and they did not understand the difference between the words patent and quit rent made use of in the ticket. Nor did they realize for many years afterwards that such a document was in itself illegal and non-binding. McNab knowing the people, the inaccessible situation of the Township, and his influence with the Government, felt that this agreement and the bond executed by the settlers for him by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton at Leney House, made him secure in a perpetual tenure of a large estate. For long it looked as if he had rightly judged; the helpless and penniless condition of the people being aggravated by the necessity of hiring out in the spring, harvest and winter, instead of clearing their own lands for crops. The rent, in lieu of interest on the bond, and as quit rent on the locations, steadily accumulated into formidable arrears, and the people were practically serfs, doubly bound hand and foot.

Between McNab and the townships in which they hired—such as Beckwith and Fitzroy, there were no roads, and the hard-earned provisions had to be carried in, most of the way, on the settlers' backs through rough paths and rugged land. For three years this life was bravely endured. The returns were meagre, barely sufficing to keep their wives and families in life. Stories have come down, harrowing and cruel, of the vicissitudes of those years of bitter trial. For weeks women and children were alone in the solitude of the small clearings, subsisting on a few potatoes and nought else, salt being so scarce that it was a Sunday luxury only; the men, the while, absent at a long distance, toiling for a pittance in order to replenish the empty larders at the log shanties in the forest. In their misery no sympathy, or relief, was offered by McNab. In imitation of the barons of yore he held court in his house in which, as a magistrate, he imposed sentences without the semblance of law or justice. He compelled the poor people to apply to him, in his "baron's" court, at Kinnell, to petition for his permission to leave the Township in search of work. He held that they were in a state of villeinage, bound to the soil, a claim, which if doubted, none durst dispute. If, to the least extent, a settler disobeyed him, or seemed to be lacking in the obeisance he demanded, the Chief entered his name in the book known as "The Black List," and the delinquent was marked for punishment unless he made amends—sometimes petty annoyances sufficed, generally serious harrassment was resorted to with the view of creating a "cause" or offence which he could plausibly deal with, as a Justice of the Peace.

Sometimes men were refused leave of absence to search for work; and the result of one such refusal reveals the unlawful power wielded by McNab. Alexander Miller had a very small supply of food on hand and necessity drove him to disobey the chief. He obtained employment readily in the neighboring township. The chief raged with fury. To him such insubordination was intolerable. Miller was arrested at his work and lodged in gaol for a debt of £80, though under the Government agreement McNab had no right to enforce his claim until seven years had lapsed after settlement. But the Government agreement was not forthcoming, only McNab's bond, and, ignorant of it as Miller was, he had no recourse. He was for six weeks in the gaol at Perth, sixty miles distant, before his family or the other settlers knew of his arrest. Then a number of them travelled to Perth and became bail bondsmen for him, thereby incurring the hostility of McNab. The case came to trial. In journeying through the forest Miller was delayed and arrived one day late. McNab, thereupon abandoned judgment and took action against the six bondsmen who were compelled to pay the bond to the extent of £50 each. This case is cited as one of the many ways, by no means the severest, in which McNab persecuted and brow-beat the settlers into dependence on him.

But news of these sufferings reached Scotland. Dr. Hamilton withdrew his help, and the Chief became apprehensive lest the Settlement work should fall through. He proceeded to Montreal, and persuaded Scottish immigrants arriving there to locate in the township of McNab. These were known as the new settlers, the former, as the old. Ignorant of the Chief's designs, the new-comers were innocently entrapped by signing the location ticket and other binding obligations, the nature of which they discovered when too late. For years, thereafter, exasperating tyranny was exercised. Appeals to the courts, petitions to the Government, afforded no relief, while McNab's every request was granted. The original eighteen months allowed him for settlement was extended indefinitely in 1827. His claims and representations were not challenged. He trafficked in locations to his own advantage and the disadvantage of the Township, with impunity. The complaints of the settlers were attributed to a spirit of sedition and revolt. On the suspicion that one, Alexander McNab, had written and forwarded an anonymous account of the Chief's high-handed actions, to the Governor, McNab issued this ukase:

Degraded Clansman:—You are accused to me by Sir John Colborne, of libel, sedition, and high treason. You will forthwith compear before me, at my house at Kinnell, and there make submission; and if you show

a contrite and repentant spirit, and confess your faults against me, your legitimate Chief, and your crime against His Majesty, King George, I will intercede for your pardon.

Your offended Chief,

McNAB.

The "degraded" clansman duly appeared before his offended chief and then for the first time heard of the letter that had been sent to the Governor. On denying the authorship, the Chief exclaimed, "Well, my man, I must send you to gaol, and I assure you that your neck is in danger" (and, indeed, in those days burglary, forgery, etc., were punishable by death). McNab wrote a warrant of commitment, swore in two special constables and sent the innocent settler to Perth gaol where he was detained for six weeks for the Assizes. He was acquitted, but instead of censure for the Chief, he was actually applauded for acting with such promptitude, as witness, prosecutor, and judge.

In 1830 some immigrants from Islay, Scotland, were met by McNab at Montreal, and induced to settle in "his Highland township." The terms were varied from a bushel of wheat per acre to a yearly rent in perpetuity of three barrels of flour per farm. These people had paid their own passage expenses, and had McNab not deceived them, would have obtained Government grants on the usual settlement terms. They too soon fell under the Chief's displeasure and oppression, but the added strength of numbers and the information slowly percolating from neighboring settlements, gradually led to suspicion of the Laird of McNab's honesty. Complaints to Government became persistent; the Chief was openly defied, and threatened, and a bitter, long-drawn-out struggle began.

In 1831, the Government conceded an investigation. But instead of compelling a fulfilment of McNab's original agreement, the Government, now aware of his duplicity, accepted his discredited word that lower rents would be charged. The promise was never kept, nor was it intended to be kept. He added to his exactions by charging a "royalty" on all tumber cut in the township, the amount of which was computed at £30,000. These monies enabled him to play the grand seigneur in the society circles of Toronto and Montreal. He and a neighboring magistrate, as a committee of General Sessions, controlled the location and construction of roads. This power was used to oppress recalcitrant clansmen. No roads were opened in their districts, while their statute labor was forced from them in useless roads far distant

from their farms. His sport was to run a road one year in one direction, leave it unfinished, and next year to make a similar pretence in another direction. Life under such conditions was hard to endure; comfort, there was none. The first real relief was when, in the course of a few years, the settlers' sons had grown up, and from their earnings in lumber camps, contributed towards the family expenses. On the expiry of the time limit in his bond, McNab proceeded to serve writs on the old settlers. The people revolted, a defence was organized, the sheriff's officers were baffled time and again; at the end of two years only three writs were served. Feeling grew so bitter that McNab refused the money owing on the bonds when finally offered to him, preferring to wreak the penalties of the law.

Immigrants from Breadalbane, Scotland, reached the Township in 1833, a party from Blair-Athol in 1834, and the Chief's rents began to grow substantial. The location terms were amplified by reserving the pine on the settled lots for the Arnprior Mills. He became increasingly oppressive. The millmen who bought the lumber, cut, slashed, dragged, through the lots, leaving brush and rubbish behind, rendering clearing more difficult, with no indemnification. The law of trespass designed to protect the settler he set at naught. Quasi Municipal law was administered by Quarter Sessions, a body which never questioned McNab's actions. Ejectments were made from the homes in the dead of winter, cattle and furniture seized, houses were burnt to the ground, and hardships cruelly imposed, which caused the worm to turn, and eventually wrought McNab's own ruin. It was found out that he was only a Government Agent, trying by deceit to filch their property.

In the Mackenzie uprising of 1837, the settlers mustered for defence as militia, but refused to serve under McNab as Colonel. They petitioned Government declaring their loyalty, and exposing McNab's grievous impositions. Their expression of loyalty was acknowledged, their grievances ignored: "The arrangements made between The McNab and his followers are of a purely private nature, and beyond the control of the Government," was Bond Head's untrue reply! The Government went further—distributing four hundred copies of the petition and reply among the settlers to terrify them. Sir George Arthur succeeded Bond Head as Lieutenant-Governor. A deep laid scheme to secure by misrepresentation the freehold of the lots on which the settlers were located succeeded in passing the Executive Council, and was only frustrated by the accidental discovery of its true character by a clerk in the Surveyor-General's office. The suspicion of the new Lieutenant-Governor was aroused, and thenceforward the Chief's successes in Council and Court

were less frequent. Lord Durham appeared on the scene. Another petition was forwarded resulting in an official investigation. From the Crown Lands' Office condemnatory evidence was produced, and a recommendation was made that the original agreement be enforced. Before this was done, however, Durham resigned, and long-deferred justice was shamelessly postponed. McNab now resumed his lawsuits, in the face of the Commissioner's finding, insisting on his right to rents under his original bond and illegal location leases. He succeeded in the local courts, and the blight of a doubtful issue lay once more on the township. Poulett Thompson (Sydenham) came. The Chief took alarm at last, and hurried to strike terms with the Government, on the basis of a field officer's land grant, offering to compromise for a cash settlement of £9,000. Sir George Arthur thought £2,000 enough, but £4,000 was agreed upon. In the final adjustment £2,500 was paid to him in full.

The settlers petitioned Sydenham, who appointed Francis Allan, Perth, to investigate on the spot the process of settlement from its beginning. Allan's report is in the Public Archives. He found every charge and complaint made by the settlers to be true, and the case against McNab sweepingly proven. The editor of the *Examiner* was the Hon. Francis Hincks. He made Allan's Report the basis of a scathing exposure of McNab's doings in a series of articles remarkable for breadth and public spirit. McNab brought an action for libel. The evidence for the defence, which pleaded justification, exposed shocking details necessitating speedy relief for the settlers and abandonment of McNab to his fate by his friends. Government now stepped in, adjusted the settlers' claims, issued Crown grants, and ended forever the attempt of a Highland Chief to become a feudal baron on the free soil of Canada. The Township of McNab became prosperous, the home of a loyal, contented, and happy people. The ambitious Chief removed to the Orkney Islands, becoming impoverished there he retired to a small village in France, where, after spending many years in seclusion, he died a pensioner on his separated wife's bounty, in 1860, in the 82nd year of his age.

XIV.

BUSH LIFE IN THE OTTAWA VALLEY EIGHTY YEARS AGO.

BY JOHN MAY, M. A., FRANKTOWN, ONT.

About the beginning of last century, Ontario was mainly an unbroken forest. I can't go back to the cutting down of the first tree, or the building of the first shanty; but I can cover seventy years or more with what I have myself seen in the Ottawa Valley. There were scattered patches of cleared land—fences, roads of a sort, buildings, cattle, and so forth—before my time; but everything was still in a very primitive condition. Those born here when I was, escaped the very first and worst stage of life in the Bush; but the old folks could tell us of much we never saw: the struggles and the triumphs of men and women who had torn themselves from the homes of their childhood; dared in slow, flimsy crafts the perils of the deep; plunged into the grim solitudes, endless, boundless, and dread; and made for themselves and for all time, free homes in a free land. What hardships they endured! Isolation, rigorous climate, scant clothing and food; church, school, physician, none; or at best few and far between.

As a rule the immigrant had a family, and little money—sometimes barely enough to buy an axe. Were it not for the "Government stores" the people would have perished of want whilst awaiting their first crop. Imagine what it was for men who had never swung an axe to attack that dense jungle of brushwood, that endless array of huge tree-trunks! But by chopping they learned to chop. The novice hacked the tree all round, and it fell where it would. Lives were lost in felling trees. The second generation were fine axemen: to-day good ones are scarce. The brush lay where it fell, the logs tumbled on top. On some hot summer day there were wild roarings and cracklings, terrific blazes and vast volumes of smoke rolling skyward; then—black logs and stumps! Now for the "logging bee." The neighbours assemble. The logs, oxen-hauled, are heaped up, to be burned later on. The white men of the morning are "niggers" in the evening. The heaps burnt, the ashes are scraped up and

In the Society's History Essay Competition, 1913, this article received the third prize.

sold to make potash. Days of the leach and potash-kettle, whence bubbled up some snug little fortunes.

Was life all hardship then? all cloud? no radiance? no social delights? no relaxation? no flashes of fun and frolic? Not so. Why, even the grimy logging bee had its merriments—two men against two, rolling, hoisting the logs, striving to be first! Grave fathers of families were boys again, as the logs swung in, and the heaps arose. And when the sun was set, and the grime washed off, and supper over, did these jaded men drag themselves home to their cabins bewailing their cruel lot? Not a bit of it! In came their wives and daughters, and out came the fiddle and the bottle, and “We’ll not go home until morning!” There was a heartiness, a simplicity, a joviality, a mutual helpfulness in those days of common struggle, less in evidence in these days of fine houses, fine feathers, luxuries, rivalries, and vapid conventional socialities.

What a change since eighty years ago! The farmer’s work is now child’s play. He whistles, not at, but on, the plough. The horse or the engine does nearly all. I have shewn how the land was cleared; but, was it cleared? No; the great stumps, with their wide-spreading roots, remained; also the boulders, rocks, and small stones. These last were picked up and piled pillar-wise; and a field studded with stumps and stone pillars was a sight to see. The hoe put in the potato, and took it out; and a tiresome job it was to plant it in the root-tangle, and “hill up” the growing plant, and keep down the weeds. Grain was covered with a “drag,” the wooden-toothed crotch of a tree; turnip seed with a bundle of boughs drawn butt-end foremost. Hardwood stumps soon decayed, and were then easily got rid of; not so with pine. On thin or sandy soil its roots spread far and wide, in no haste to moulder. In deep clay lands one could plow right up to the stump.

Two great drawbacks on the prairie are the scarcity of timber and good water. The Ontario pioneer felt no lack of either. Did he want to build a house or a barn? There stood the shapely tree-trunks waiting to be felled. In hardwood regions the rock-elm was the favorite for this purpose. A hard, tough, durable wood, cylindrical and clear of boughs to a great height and usually of moderate girth. Many a primitive shanty or out-house was built of it, just as it grew, in full dress of bark; also many of the first school-houses. In the cabin its own moss stuffed the chinks. Overhead was the roof of basswood “scoops,” through which a huge stone chimney thrust its head. Sometimes hungry wolves gained a footing there, to the horror of trembling mother and children, lest they should slip down the chimney’s capacious throat!

Here, as the winter evening closed in, and the winter wind whistled in the tree-tops, and the children came indoors, and the tallow candle was lit, the father, his cattle housed for the night and his other chores done, might be seen "walking-in" the great elm backlog to its destination at the back of the vast fire-place. No "dogs" or andirons in those days. Small boulders in front of King Log upheld the smaller billets and kindlings. A chill half-hour and much smoke whilst the green stuff hissed and spat before bursting at last into a glorious blaze. All this before the advent of the stove. I remember when the box stove first came into these parts—in the late "thirties" or early "forties," I think—the cooking-stove later on. Soon arose an outcry against it as a generator of headaches! Now, the stove did not cause headaches; it simply failed to remove what *did*. The open fire-place, on a level with the floor, had never failed to suck up the carbonic acid gas—too low for the small stove-damper. Never since have we had ventilation like that of the forest days; nor shall we have its equal again till the open fire-place, low down, is restored. One of these would be more effectual than all other devices put together, and every school-room should have one.

The open fire, too, has a charm all its own. There's a mystic fascination in vaulting flames and glowing coals. Dim as was the illumination from blaze and candle, it had a cheeriness foreign to the gas jet or the kerosene lamp. Ah! those dear old home evenings in winter, when we squatted on the hearth-stone, reading by the fire-light some pleasing story, or conning over our school lessons, or gazing enraptured on the pictures coming and going on the backlog's fiery face—fancied portraits completed by imagination—men and horses, castles and ships, bears, dragons, and birds! What a training of the youthful imagination, so necessary a faculty in learning anything! But, the backlog is gone, and with it much of the poetry of life. The wise ones would pack after it the fairy tale and the nursery rhyme. What folly may be hid in wisdom!

Many a night, too, before going to bed, did we stand outside the door listening to the dismal howl of the wolves careering along the rim of the clearing, led by one of superior vocal powers, and going like the wind! There was something weird and awesome in these nocturnal lupine concerts, so common in those days. The wolf is reputed a coward, yet a hungry pack was an ugly thing to meet. Many a belated wayfarer was glad to take refuge for the night in some friendly tree-top, the fangs of the famished pack tearing at its trunk to bring him down! No use to climb a tree from a bear, unless it was too small for him to climb. There was a bounty of twenty dollars on each wolf killed, and ten on each bear. One night my father, coming home through the woods, heard a

wolf howl, as he imagined, and ran for his life. It was the hooting of an owl!

I learned at school that our winters were growing milder; I have never learned it elsewhere. The immigrant from the British Isles felt the cold less than do his descendants, or than even himself after the first few years. He often went bare-handed in barn or bush on the coldest days. Yet, blood-freezing were the accounts of frost sometimes sent "home." One son of Erin declared that the "tay" froze on its way to his mouth! Sheltered by woods, nobody heeded the cold. Men preferred chopping in the bush to threshing in the barn. The barn is still a cold, wretched place, but you get out of it now in a few hours. Not so in olden times. Threshing was an all-winter job. Did you ever see a flail? two sticks jointed with a thong. Fancy pounding for months at a mow which the machine would shell out in half a day! Thud! thud! thud!—such was your grandsire's winter pastime!

How is it to-day? The engine comes screaming along the king's highway, wheels in at the gate, up the lane, round to the barn-door. Down pour the sheaves, to be chewed, and whisked, and whirled into mounds of empty straw and bins of golden grain; sheaves shooting down the iron throat, straw shooting out in rolls, mows dwindling down, mounds swelling up; bag-heaped wagons wheeling away the precious outcome of a season's toil. A few hours and all is over. What a change from the thud! thud! thud!

And some say the world does not improve! 'It does improve—at least on its material side. Can the same be said of its moral advance? Do honour, integrity, square-dealing, stand where they stood in the early days? Why, the pioneers seldom or never had writings in their ordinary dealings and contracts with each other. A man's word was his bond; and woe betide him who broke it! He had better pack up and go. How is it now? Not quite the same. A sterling integrity still characterizes the great majority; but "smartness" is more in evidence; and sharp practice seems less severely rebuked and frowned out, than in the early days.

Ninety years ago this Ottawa Valley was an almost unbroken forest—no Pembroke, Ottawa, Smith's Falls, and very little Perth. In 1806 Philemon Wright founded Hull and the great lumber industry; and Col. By founded Bytown in 1826. Richmond was started in 1818 by disbanded soldiers. Roads there were none—hardly so much as a foot-path in the woods! Could a man then have looked down from a balloon on this region, what would have met his eye? One interminable forest, broken

only by patches and ribbons of water, and a small opening here and there, indicated by the up-curling smoke from the cabin of the solitary settler. Peering down into the twilight depths of the woods, he might also see a man staggering along from tree to tree, with a bag of wheat on his back. Up hill and down dale he goes; stepping over boulders and roots; climbing over fallen trees; wedging his way through thick undergrowth; painfully skirting dismal, slimy sloughs; now over the shoes in mud; now up to the knees in water; here, struggling through that hideous jungle, the cedar swamp; there, straining across a tamarac muskeag, or the leaf-carpeted hardwood heights; scaling hills and fording streams, his eye ever and anon scanning the tree-trunks for a "blaze," his sole guide through the labyrinth, till at last, weary and worn, scratched and bleeding, and half-famished, he emerges in sight of the mill that is to convert his few pounds of grain into flour for his family and himself. My own grandfather made these trips—fifteen miles to the mill where Perth now stands; and many others had the like delightful experience. I have heard of a woman thus carrying a bushel of seed potatoes forty miles!

To the spot where I write, among the orchard trees bending low with fruit, and fields of waving grain, came, ninety-three years ago, a settler, his wife, and four little ones, from Bytown, through some forty miles of woods. He carried a bed on his back; and, on the top of this, his youngest child. All were on foot. No road, no path. The "blaze," and in wet places, some "string-pieces" to walk on, were all. Around them the wild woods, the wolf, the lynx, and the bear, kept aloof at night by the camp-fire. What a change from the green fields and broad highways of the Emerald Isle! Inside his front gate stands an oak, three feet in diameter, on which, when a sapling, he cut the date of his arrival, 1819. The figures shew there still.

Past that tree, that same year, walked the Duke of Richmond on his melancholy journey from Perth to Richmond village, then but one year old. I had the sad story of his last hours from Mrs. Taylor, a soldier's wife, who kept the "Masonic Arms" hotel, where he lodged with his suite the night before his death. At table, the sight of a glass of water agitated him greatly. All night long he walked the verandah to and fro. Next morning the party started in canoes down the Jock river, making for the Rideau, Bytown, and Quebec. They had gone but a little way when the Duke, in agony, begged hard to be set ashore. No sooner did his foot touch land than he bounded off through the bush with the speed of a deer! About three miles below Richmond he was found prostrate on some hay in a little barn. Before medical aid could be had from Perth,

he died. Mrs. Taylor herself laid out the corpse. She said he was a splendid specimen of manhood.

"Blazes" and "string-pieces" in course of time gave way to "corduroy." I wonder how many now living ever jolted over this. It consisted of round logs laid crosswise side by side. To go bumping over these in a springless cart or wagon was an experience not soon forgotten. They said it was good for the liver; but it must have been hard on the teeth, and perilous to the tongue. Oh! the carriages we went so proudly in, to market or to church, in those days! None of your flimsy, frail top-buggies, or luxurious, elastic phaetons; but stout vehicles—solid square boxes on solid square axles, in the solid hubs of solid wheels, bumping over solid logs! You sat on an inch board, laid across the box. Not much spring in that, and still less in the box. Later on, four stout hooks, hung on the box, upheld two poles on which the backless seats rested. This was a great step in advance. Many a pleasant ride was had on these poles and uncushioned seats; and many a jolly wedding party thus went to the church; and more than once have I seen a manly arm steal round a slender waist on the back seat of this same primeval chariot.

In summer time no boots or shoes were worn at school, and not too many even at church. Children actually exulted in freedom from footwear when the snow was gone. Tender at first, the sole of the foot soon thickened and hardened. As the boy grew towards manhood he began to blush for bare feet in church, and took to boots; the girl, somewhat earlier. Yet it was a common practice for girls to carry their shoes and stockings in their hands until they came near the village or the church, when they put them on; removing them at the same place on the homeward tramp. This spared shoe-leather. It was also more congenial to feet that had been six days free, and loathed confinement on the seventh.

To keep a large household shod even in winter was a problem. Skates were not in use as yet—"sliding" was the ice-sport; and it soon wore out the boot-soles. The settler had his calf-skins and cow-hides tanned, and as the winter approached, the peripatetic shoemaker of those days came round and shod the whole family, passing on from house to house. The tailor did likewise, for "homespun" was the prevailing garb. The women of the family, however, usually not only spun the yarn, but "made it up" when converted into cloth or flannel by the local weaver. Both sexes were clad in this, even at church, or social gatherings. No furs on man or woman; no silks or satins; no "fine feathers" of any sort. Dame Fashion had no votaries in the "Bush." Even the dance was done in "homespun."

Still, they enjoyed it to their heart's content—
All cares forgotten in their merriment.
No stiff formality intruded there;
Nor were the ladies' dresses rich and rare.

No pearls or bracelets circled neck or arms,
And yet the forest maiden had her charms;
For, eyes are eyes—an archery that tells
On rustic hearts as those of city "swells."

Hodge sees the blue eyes—not the flannel dress—
And seeks his couch in painful blessedness!
"Fine feathers make fine birds." But love can see
The gem that shines 'neath homespun millin'ry.

Franktown, 35 miles from Ottawa, 15 miles from Perth, and where the stage roads from Bytown to Perth and from Brockville to the upper Ottawa crossed, is now a railroad-killed village. Once it was a stirring place. Its Fair, then a great event, is now a mere name. A big day for the sale of live stock and for fun; the whole population for miles around was there, with buyers from distant towns. When cheap whiskey (a penny a glass) had begun to warm hearts to excessive friendship, and this developed into maudlin embraces, culminating in high voices and angry words—then might you behold a sea of upturned faces, bare heads, and clenched fists, ebbing and flowing, swinging and swaying to and fro, and foaming like a boiling cauldron; nobody struck, as no one had room to strike, and not a soul in the crowd able to tell *why* he was there, or what the row was about. All whiskey! These wild men were most peaceable citizens in every-day life; in fact, for peace and order, Beck-with was, and is, a model Township.

The live-stock buyer did not then pass from house to house. All animals went to the fair, or were slaughtered and hauled to market. Pork-raising flourished—for the "shanties." The hog reached a venerable age ere his grunting ceased; now all good pigs die young. What monsters they often were! 500 lbs. quite common; fat, six to nine inches on shoulder! These for the "shanty men." And what potato labour they caused! Acres on acres of this tuber to fatten them; thirty to forty wagon loads to the present three or four. Potato-digging meant, for us youngsters, shivering and shaking, and blowing of cold fingers. The Colorado bug had not yet appeared.

The early settler's work was never over; not even in winter and night closed in. All day long was he chopping or threshing, and tend-

ing stock; at night there were shingles, spiles, or sleighs to make—perchance also boots and shoes, for some non-professionals made even these. All this before the blazing hearth; the women quilting, sewing, knitting, or plaiting straw for hats, or making these; the juveniles babbling over their lessons for the morrow. A busy, yet cosy, domestic scene, more full of content than are sometimes the palaces of the proud. Pine or cedar blocks gave the shingles and spiles; wheat or rye straw, the hats. No sewing or knitting machines in those days.

Thus passed the winter evenings. At last come the March sun, the hard snow crust, and the sugar-camp. Glorious morning scampers on the crust under crystal skies; reviving suns beginning to shower down new largess of life on a world long dead; Nature rubbing her eyes and coming forth in squirrel and chipmonk, woodpecker and crow; her herald the tapper, with clink of axe and gouge from tree to tree. A sound as music to the boyish ear! It seemed as the first note of a psalm of life, after the long winter death; and it spake of the joys of the sugar season. All this is clean gone now, never to return. A gruesome change is here from the glowing fires beneath the over-arching wood^s which rang with mirth and song as the young people gathered in for the "sugaring-off," or roamed from camp to camp in friendly invasion, awakening the echoes of the night with clamour and glee, after long months of a quasi-imprisonment. A fine time for the boys—how went it with the women? I see them now with their pails, wading through snow thigh-deep from tree to tree, gathering the sap; trudging over vast areas of bush, heavily laden; struggling to lift and empty the ponderous sap-troughs, and wending their way back to camp, weary and be-drabbled to the knees, boots and stockings soaked! Then to the wearisome boiling again, pelted with rain, sleet, hail or snow; half blinded with smoke, and alternately chilled by the cold blast and fried by the licentious flame. Women did all save tap the trees and lay in the fuel. No roof save the leafless tree tops covered their heads; no friendly wall screend them from the blast. So fared the wives and daughters of the best in the land; the men occupied with matters still more urgent. They sat in no Ladies' Colleges, took no music lessons, had no pianos or organs. Talk of heroes and heroines! The Ontario woods were full of them! For, does it not demand less real courage to flash out in some fiery deed of valour, soon over, and under admiring eyes, than to fight a life-long battle with the wilderness, unnoticed and unapplauded? No costly marble chronicles their deeds, but the maple scars tell a little of their story; a great Dominion is their monument.

As late as the "forties" the housewife still lighted her fire, and the

smoker his pipe, by means of "punk," flint, and steel—the blade of a jack-knife "warranted to strike fire," but superseded in time by a steel ring through which the fingers were thrust. The punk in which the spark was caught came from the maple. The clay pipe was universal—sometimes kindled with hot ashes or a coal, and, when black as ebony, whitened in the fire. Lucifer matches were as yet unknown in these parts. They came in with the "fifties" and the decimal currency.

Days of the Axe, the Flail, and the Reaping-hook! There were two kinds of sickles—one toothed, the other plain, and keen as a razor. When a whole family, armed with these, swept across a field, the wheat soon lay bound in sheaves. Many ears dropped, and we youngsters picked them up. The grain crop was often over-ripe ere cut. How particular the farmer was! Every sheaf must be just so. When the cradle came in, there was much shaking of heads over its untidy work. It is now, in its turn, a thing of the past. How many good things are gone!—sickle, flail, frow, ox-yoke, candle-moulds, cradle, potash-kettle, and what not! How many bad things remain!

We boys used to trap the wild pigeon by means of a sap-trough set on edge. What a thrill of delight to see this down! The poor captives were drawn forth, and their necks wrung without a pang! Thoughtless cruelty of boys! I couldn't do it now. I hate even to see anything killed, except a snake.

Where is the wild pigeon gone! Where are the myriads that once blanketed the stooks and obscured the sun!

The "husking bee" was an event. Around a high mound of un-husked Indian corn squatted the invited youth and beauty of the neighborhood, duly paired off. The husks rise higher and higher, under cover of which and a babel of voices, laughter and song, sweet words are said and sweet kisses given. About midnight the floor is cleared for the dance. This was no giddy whirl or stately promenade. The "four-hand reel" was the staple commodity; "steps" the main point—an earnest business. Lacking a fiddle, they danced to a whistle or a "lilt"—danced till dawn. The next night the same—and the next—till the corn season was over. The "quilting bee," as winter set in, afforded a similar means of social enjoyment. These things are all now past, and rural life is dull and prosy. The face of the farmer's son is set town-ward accordingly.

Nearly all the settlers' buildings were log—elm or cedar—neatly dove-tailed at the corners, which only the best axemen could build. A good "corner-man" is now rare. The barn "raisin'" was a big—often a wild—affair. The foundation laid, and a few rounds added, on a set

day the neighbours assembled. Corner men are chosen, the rest divide into two rival gangs, one at each end of the log to be hoisted. For the first few rounds there is little excitement; the logs are rolled in and slid up in a quiet, orderly manner. But, with the rising walls rises a rivalry, waxing fiercer and fiercer, till the "wall-plate" is placed, and all is over. It struck terror into the heart of the on-looker to see each gang wildly push to get their end up first. Pushed too fast and too far, it left the skid, then—*saue qui peut!* Lives were lost in this way.

Were these wild, reckless fellows foolish boys? No. Most of them were grave, middle-aged fathers of families—the self-same sober, serious men who had braved the perils of the sea and the hardships of the wilderness—men earnestly bent on doing their duty to wife and children, King and country. Yes, and not one of them but would have been grieved at heart were any one injured. Bring grave men together—they incline to play. Taking sides, they are boys! These same mad barn-builders built also a nation, and held it at Chateauguay and Queenston Heights!

The polling at elections sometimes lasted two weeks, with royal feasting and merry-making.

How changed the School since that primeval time!
Young girls had not, as yet, begun to climb,
In any number, to the Teacher's throne,
Filled then by men, and almost men alone.
Rare, curious specimens were most of these;
Failures in other lines, and glad to seize
On any lawful means to win their bread;
The people glad to have their children fed
On the best mental food that could be got
Under the circumstances of their lot:
The grim old soldier, on his wooden leg,
Thus spared the dire necessity to beg:
The broken merchant, sunk to penury:
The sailor, battered on the stormy sea:
And he who once had sat in college hall,
But whom the wrestler, Drink, had given a fall.
Such were the "dominies" of long ago:
But then, the salaries were also low—
Twenty or thirty pounds a year, eked out
Precariously, by "boarding round about,"
A fortnight with each family, or so.
But the itinerant soon got to know

The choicest places, and prolonged his stay;
And few had heart to hasten him away.
Studies were few compared with days to come;
The three R's were the whole curriculum.

When we consider the tremendous difficulties and discouragements of pioneer settlement in Canada; the poverty of most of the immigrants; the awful forest to be flung aside; the crushing and incessant toil of both sexes to gain a mere subsistence; the formidable disabilities as to roads, markets, schools, medical aid, the ministrations of religion, and countless other privations—how can we enough admire the pluck, the energy, the perseverance of the long-enduring men and women who surmounted every difficulty, flung aside every obstacle, and handed over to us the foundation, well and truly laid, of this great Dominion, this Canada, this Land of Promise, destined to be a power for good among the nations of the world? The question for us is this:

Are we the men to guide her course?
Know we, and feel, and understand
There is but one Eternal Source
Of lasting sway on sea and land?
The buried empires of the past
Tottered and fell when That withdrew;
And England headlong would be cast
Should she forget the God she knew.
Canada! let thy comely face,
As flint, for Righteousness be set;
A Hand shall brush you from your place
If you forget, if you forget.

XV.

THE PETER PERRY ELECTION AND THE RISE OF THE CLEAR GRIT PARTY.

BY GEO. M. JONES, B. A., TORONTO

Canada was at a parting of the ways in the year 1849. After over half a century of persistent struggle, she had obtained almost complete self-government, but party feeling still ran high, and commercial depression so aided political hatred that many eminent and many more inconspicuous citizens openly discussed, and advocated separation from the Mother country and annexation to the United States.

The Conservative party was embittered by its loss of power, the passing of the Rebellion Losses Bill, in spite of its vehement protests, the refusal of Lord Elgin either to veto the measure or reserve it for the consideration of the British Government, and, finally, the decision of the British Government to uphold Lord Elgin in his determination to carry out fully, in Canada, the principles of Responsible Government. The Conservatives of the school of Sir Allan McNab did not appreciate a system of government which allowed their opponents to really rule, (1) and some of them were even afraid of full self-government, and shrank from an application to Canada of the system of government established in England. (2)

At the same time Canada was suffering from extreme commercial depression. Owing largely to the abolition of the preference granted to colonial corn and grain, which was a necessary consequence of the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, and to the evil effects of the Navigation Laws, which still kept all but British ships out of Canadian ports, the Canadian business community had been nearly ruined. The value of property had fallen 50% in three years, and the Government was forced to pay the public officials, from the Governor-General down, in debentures which were not exchangeable at par.

The judges in the Society's History Essay Competition, 1913, made honorable mention of this article in succession to those awarded prizes.

(1) *Toronto Colonist*, Oct. 30, 1849

(2) *Hamilton Spectator*, March 8, 1850.

The result of this political bitterness and the acute, widespread commercial depression was a formidable annexation movement. Many people believed quite conscientiously that the only way out of the political and economic difficulties of the time was through annexation to the United States. Lord Elgin declared in a letter to the Colonial Secretary (1) that "the conviction that they would be better off, if annexed, is almost universal among the commercial classes at present." The movement had its headquarters and greatest strength in Montreal, whence were issued the three famous Montreal Annexation Manifestoes.(2) A determined effort was made by the Montreal Annexation Association to spread the agitation in other parts of the country. They met with little encouragement among the French. The Parti Rouge, led by L. J. Papi-neau, but small in number and weak in influence, espoused the cause of annexation enthusiastically; but the great bulk of the French Canadians, under the influence of the Church and their political leaders, refused to have anything to do with it. In the Eastern Townships, the Annexation-ists met with considerable success, and in March, 1850, helped to elect Mr. Sanborn, an avowed Annexationist, in Sherbrooke.

In Upper Canada the annexation movement made only slight head-way. A Toronto Manifesto was, indeed, prepared, and a new journal, "The Independent," was issued at Toronto for a few months to advocate independence as a first step towards annexation, but Tories and Reform-ers united, as a rule, in declaring against any separation from the Mother Country. The Upper Canadian Tories were quite as dissatisfied politically, as were their Lower Canadian associates, but they had already laid the foundations of the modern Conservative party in the platform of "Pro-tection, Retrenchment and a Union of the British American Provinces," which had been adopted by the Convention of the British American League meeting at Kingston in July, 1849. They believed that these policies would rehabilitate the party in public estimation, free the Eng-lish provinces from the danger of French domination, and check the cry for annexation.(3)

The condition of the Reform party in Upper Canada was peculiar. Between 1843 and 1848, while making the last fight for the establishment of Responsible Government, it had showed a united front under the able leadership of Mr. Robert Baldwin. But, when the victory had been won, and the new system was in operation, a natural cleavage developed in the Reform ranks. Baldwin and Lafontaine felt that, with the establish-

(1) Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin, p 60.

(2) Issued October and December 1849, and February 1850.

(3) For a full account of the Annexation Movement and the various measures taken to combat it see Allan and Jones, Annexation, Preferential Trade and Reciprocity.

ment of Responsible Government, their work was almost done. They were not Radicals, and had no desire to deal with either the Clergy Reserves, or Seigniorial Tenure. The Radical members of the party, therefore, began to feel that Responsible Government, judged by its fruits under Baldwin and Lafontaine, was a failure. George Brown did his best in the Globe to urge the Government, by keen but friendly criticism, to hasten reform, and especially to deal with the Clergy Reserves, the paramount issue in Upper Canada; but the Clear Grit section of the party, which was just being formed in 1849, under leaders like Peter Perry, Wm. McDougall, Jas. Lesslie and David Christie, and which found mouthpieces in the Toronto Examiner and the Hamilton Provincialist, went far beyond the bounds of friendly criticism, and attacked the Government fiercely for its failure to hasten the anticipated reforms. An editorial correspondent of the Examiner declared: (1)

"The ministry came into office after a well fought battle at the polls, with loud professions on their lips; and public expectation swelled high with the hope that a sound, vigorous, intelligent and patriotic course of administration would ensue. The first session was a blank, and one of the principal measures of the second, an unusually long session, was a measure for creating permanent berths for some of the ministers."

The Examiner itself, in a long pessimistic editorial, (2) lamented the extravagance of the civil list and the post office, still under the control of England; the extravagance of the Provincial Government in public works, in the Provincial Penitentiary, in the creation of a new Court, in the appointment of new judges and officials, and in the work of the King's printer; the operation of the English Navigation Laws, still unrepealed; the fact that the Provincial laws had been made more complicated and costly, not cheaper and simpler; and, most important of all, that a "hireling priesthood, feeding on the vitals of the country, is annually abstracting more than £20,000 from our revenues." (3)

William Lyon Mackenzie, still residing in the U. S., although he had now been pardoned, joined in the attack on the Ministry, since he despaired, not only of the existing Ministry, but of responsible government as then established. He objected to their extravagance, to some of their contemplated appointments, especially that of H. J. Boulton to be a justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and to their unprogressiveness. He branded them in one letter (4) as "a mongrel administration," and in

(1) August 22, 1849.

(2) September 5, 1849.

(3) See also Hamilton Provincialist, quoted by Examiner Sept. 5, 1849.

(4) Examiner, Sept. 5, 1849.

another,(1) quoted approvingly the following from the London Spectator of Aug. 11, 1849.

“As it has been administered in Canada, Responsible Government has resulted chiefly in shifting trouble from Downing St. to the colony. It is the letter of ‘Responsible Government’ rather than its spirit which has been realized under the auspices of Downing St.”

But the Radical press went still further. It not only advocated retrenchment, judicial reform and the secularization of the Clergy Reserves, but also the adoption of the elective principle in the filling of all offices from the Governor-General down. Finally, when the annexation controversy became acute, while not supporting the Montreal agitators, it was willing to consider the question dispassionately, and even declared that a failure to deal with the Clergy Reserves would drive the people into a desire for annexation.(2)

While the affairs of the Reform party were in this highly unsatisfactory state, and just prior to the issuing of the first Montreal Manifesto, the constituency of the Third Riding of York was opened on Oct. 9 by the appointment of the Solicitor-General, Mr. W. H. Blake, to the bench. Mr. Baldwin had already heard that one of his parliamentary friends had given in, or was about to give in, to the Annexationists. He thought, too, that he saw through the tactics of his Tory opponents “The tactics of our opponents are transparent. They want to get some of our supporters to commit themselves, and then turn round on them and the whole party, and impute the call for annexation to the Liberal Party.”(3) He knew, too, that because of the dissatisfaction in his own party, the rasher among the Radicals might be led to side with the Annexationists; and so, in order to forestall any such action, and to keep the Upper Canadian Reform party clear of the taint of disloyalty, and, most important of all, in order to do something to stop the further spread of annexation sentiment in the country, he addressed a letter on the subject to Mr. Peter Perry, the man most likely to be chosen by the Reformers of the Third Riding(4) to succeed Mr. Blake in the representation of the Constituency.

Mr. Perry had had a very long and honourable record in the Reform party. He had helped to found the party in 1824, and after that time was regarded as one of its stalwart fighting men. From 1824-36, he represented Lennox and Addington in the Upper Canadian Assembly;

(1) Examiner, Sept. 12, 1849.

(2) Hamilton Provincialist Nov. 7, 1849. Toronto Examiner Nov. 14, 1849.

(3) Letter to Lawrence Heyden, of Toronto, quoted by Dent. The Last Forty Years, Vol. II., p. 182.

(4) The Third Riding of York included at that time the township of Markham, Pickering, Whitby and East Whitby.

but, after the Union, he was overshadowed by Baldwin, and was not included in either of the Reform Ministries.(1) At this time, he was not only highly dissatisfied with the inactivity of the Government, but was reported to be in favor of annexation.(2) It seemed most important, therefore, that the head of the Government and of the Reform party should declare himself. The *Globe* emphasized the importance of the occasion. "The approaching election for the 3rd Riding of York—the first appeal to the Country since Annexation tendencies developed among us—afforded Mr. Baldwin an excellent opportunity for declaring his views, and the rumoured intention of Mr. Perry to present himself for the suffrages of the electors in the Liberal interest, pointed him out as the proper person to whom the letter should be addressed."(3) Mr. Baldwin wrote to Mr. Perry from Montreal on Oct. 4 as follows:

"My dear Sir:

"The expediency of applying to the Mother country to give these colonies a separate national existence, or to permit them to annex themselves to the neighboring Republic, has become a subject, not only openly discussed in some of the leading journals of the province, but appears to be entertained, to some extent at least, in quarters where we would naturally have looked for the existence of very different sentiments. It becomes necessary, therefore, that no misapprehension should exist on the part of any one, friend or opponent, as to my opinion, either on the question itself, or on the effect which a difference respecting it must necessarily produce on the political relations between me and those of my friends (if any there be) who take a different view of the subject. And I take the liberty of addressing this letter to you, as well from the political connection which has so long subsisted between us, as from the circumstance of an election about to take place for the Riding in which you reside. At that election, whether you may become a candidate or not, of which from your letter to me I am yet uncertain, it is due to my friends, that no room should be left to suppose me undetermined upon, or indifferent to, this question. It is but right that they should be made aware that I have not changed my opinions in relation to it, but that I retain unaltered my attachment to the connection with the Motherland—and that I believe now, as I did when I last addressed my constituents from the hustings, that the continuance of that connection may be made productive of mutual good to both the colony and the parent state.

"It is equally due to my friends that they should, in like manner, be made aware that upon this question there remains, in my opinion, no

(1) Dunt, *The Last Forty Years*. Vol. II., p. 185.

(2) Allin and Jones, *Annexation, Preferential Trade and Reciprocity*, p. 142.

(3) Oct. 18, 1849.

room for compromise. It is one of altogether too vital a character for that. All should know, therefore, that I can look upon those only who are for the continuance of that connection as political friends—those who are against it as political opponents.

"I do not intend to enter here into the question itself, but I will make one single remark respecting it. The mother country has now for years been leaving to us powers of self-government more ample than ever we have asked, and it does appear a most ungracious return to select such a time for asking for a separation from her forever. I can, at all events, be no party to such proceeding, and must not suffer it to be supposed that I have a moment's doubt respecting it; and let the declaration which I have above made, lead to what it may, as respects the relative political position of either myself or others, I feel that I am in the path of duty in making it, and I abide the consequences."

A short time later, on Oct. 22, Hon. Francis Hincks, Inspector-General in the Government, addressed a letter⁽¹⁾ on the same subject to Mr. Chauncey Crosby, of Markham. He pointed out that the annexation agitation was a great hindrance to securing reciprocity with the United States, although he still hoped that it could be secured. He believed that the sentiments of leading Whig statesmen had been misunderstood, and that there was no desire among any numerous party in England to cast Canada off. He said that Mr. Baldwin's views were endorsed by every member of the Government, and that if they were not supported by their party, it would be their duty "to sustain any administration favourable to British connection which could command a larger share of public opinion than themselves."

Mr. Perry deigned no reply to this letter, but, after some delay, it was published in the papers.⁽²⁾ In the meantime, steps had been taken to bring a Reform candidate into the field. A requisition, signed by over 400 electors of the Third Riding, was presented to Mr. Perry at Whitby, on Oct. 17, asking him to stand as a candidate. The first four signatures were those of officers of two local Reform meetings, which, while disapproving of the method of bringing forward Mr. Perry, did approve of him, and instructed their officers to sign the requisition. Mr. Perry's answer did not mention annexation at all. He declared that he would act independently in Parliament if elected, would approve of truth no matter whence it originated, and would advocate and uphold the true principles of Reform and Responsible Government. He said his former determination not to re-enter public life had been overcome by "the

(1) *Globe*, Oct. 25, 1849.

(2) *Toronto Globe*, Oct. 18. *Toronto Mirror*, Oct. 19. *Toronto Examiner*, Oct. 24.

numbers, respectability and standing of the parties joining in the request," and declared that he had no desire to hold office in any government.

The full text of Mr. Perry's answer was not published for a week, and when a report reached Toronto that he had declared, in answer to a question, that "he had no sympathy with the Montreal Annexation Movement," the *Globe*(1) was ready to welcome his candidacy, since he had been such a staunch Reformer for so many years, "and knew so well the wants of the inhabitants, and would be a useful member of the house."

But the suspicions of the *Globe* were soon aroused by the fact that Perry still did not answer Baldwin's letter, and by a rumor that he had refused to sign a declaration of loyalty. It therefore called on all parties to unite in defeating him.(2) Some of the Reformers of the Third Riding were likewise suspicious of Mr. Perry, and, on Oct. 31, a meeting of delegates from 4 of the 5 townships of the riding was held at Thompson's Tavern, Pickering. It was resolved to present to Mr. Perry for signature the Toronto Anti-Annexation Protest, and in case he did not sign it, to adopt Mr. Wm. Clark of Scarboro as a candidate. In accordance with this decision Mr. W. F. McMaster and Mr. Samuel Hall waited on Mr. Perry, but he refused to sign the Protest.(3)

Before this action was reported, a correspondent of the *Globe*, and a pronounced British Connectionist, explained in a letter that he had questioned Mr. Perry at the time of the presentation of the requisition, and had received a definite and satisfactory answer. "Mr. Perry is pledged not to advocate annexation during his term of service. But he has gone further in his explanation to the electors—he has pledged himself that, should his sentiments undergo any change on the leading topic of the day, by which he may not be able to apply himself vigorously to it in consequence of his pledge, he will at once throw himself again into the hands of the freeholders of East York."(4)

Although this letter left the reader to assume that Mr. Perry believed that annexation to the U. S. was Canada's ultimate destiny, the *Globe* was willing to withdraw its opposition, since it saw a great "difference between holding an abstract political opinion on any subject, and carrying that opinion into practical life."(5) At the same time it asked

(1) Oct. 20, 1849.

(2) Oct. 23, 1849.

(3) The *Globe*, Nov. 6, 1849.

(4) *Globe*, Nov. 1, 1849.

(5) *Globe*, Nov. 8, 1849.

Mr. Perry "to say plainly and manfully what his sentiments really are." In truth, the Globe was in a tight box. If it came out squarely against Perry, and denounced him as an annexationist, and he were still elected, the opponents of the Government and of British connection would certainly point to Perry's election as a victory for annexation.(1)

The Examiner found fault with the Globe for interfering in the election, and accused it of trying to dictate to the electors of the Third Riding; while a correspondent, not only levelled the same accusation at Baldwin and Hincks, but accused the Government of unnecessarily delaying the issuing of the writ for the election.(2) The Hamilton Journal and Express, the Dundas Warder and the Long Point Advocate all upheld Mr. Perry in his refusal to sign the Anti-Annexation Protest, since it was unnecessary for Reformers to help the Tories out of the hole in which they found themselves.(3)

The Conservative Toronto Colonist seemed to regard the trouble in the Third Riding as a family quarrel, but could not help insinuating that, although the Government and its supporters might indulge in a good deal of newspaper opposition to annexation, or issue election addresses, or, like the Prime Minister, pronounce the movement "impious," yet it would not begin any prosecutions for sedition, since to do so would be to condemn the very state of affairs their course of conduct had brought about.(4)

On Nov. 1, Mr. Perry addressed a meeting of his constituents at Sterling's Hotel, Norwood, and explained his views very candidly. "He looked forward to Annexation as being the ultimate fate of Canada, yet he did not think that time had come." He thought it was a matter of the very greatest importance, and should be thoroughly discussed by the electorate, "and could not, therefore, be properly discussed in Parliament until a general election had taken place, with the question of annexation before the constituency of the country." His reason for refusing to sign the protest was that it would prevent discussion. The other points in his policy were similar to those advocated by the Radical papers.(5)

There was some little delay in bringing on the election, but the writ was finally issued, and the nomination meeting was held on Dec. 4. Mr. T. P. White, who had been spoken of as a Government candidate, had

(1) See Hamilton Provincialist, quoted by the Toronto British Colonist, Nov. 20, 1849.

(2) Examiner, Oct. 31, 1849.

(3) Quoted by Examiner, Oct. 31, 1849.

(4) British Colonist, Oct. 26, 1849.

(5) Examiner, Nov. 28, 1849.

been prudently withdrawn; "Col. E. W. Thompson was brought forward in the Conservative interests, but the show of hands being 50 to 1 against him, his friends had the good sense not to demand a poll." (1) Mr. Perry was then declared elected by acclamation.

The Examiner naturally hailed the election of Mr. Perry as a serious rebuff for the Government and a vindication of those men and journals which had been demanding greater progress. But, most interesting of all, it claimed that the election had brought out clearly a new division of parties. "The natural line between parties, which, for some time past, has been dimly shadowed forth, has here been drawn. The Reform and Progress Party has for a long time been confounded with, or swallowed up in the present Government party, but on this occasion stood forth conspicuously, and came out of the contest triumphantly Mr. Perry's election is the beginning of a movement that will place the real Reform party in its true position. Then we may expect real reforms." (2)

The Annexationists quite erroneously thought the return of Mr. Perry was a victory for annexation. The Toronto Independent, founded only a short time before to advocate independence as a step towards annexation, announced: "Perry's position is that he is ready to make himself the champion of independence and annexation, when the question is submitted at a general election, but that he will oppose it if it is raised in the present chamber. We approve this position." (3)

The results of the election were momentous. The cleavage between the Conservative and Radical wings of the Reform party had up to this time been "dimly shadowed forth," but it was now plain. In January, 1850, the Examiner still objected slightly to the name "Clear Grit," and the Globe was led to reply that it "merely gave the name which they themselves had assumed, to a little miserable clique of office-seeking bunkum-talking cormorants who met in a certain lawyer's office in King St., and announced their intention to form a new party on "clear Grit" principles." (4) But, a short time later, the Examiner had adopted the name, and announced that the Clear Grit party was now a great fact. Its principles had got hold of the public mind. Its platform did not present many new features except that of elective institutions all around; and yet, because the present ministry was divided on that question, all decidedly advanced measures must be left to a Clear Grit ministry, "a

(1) Examiner, Dec. 12, 1849.

(2) Examiner, Dec. 12, 1849.

(3) Quoted by L'avenir, Dec. 23, 1849.

(4) Globe, Jan. 10, 1850.

thing which may well be counted among the not very distant certainties of the future.”(1)

At a great political meeting of advanced Reformers, held at Markham on March 12, 1850, at which Mr. Peter Perry, M. P. P., was the chief figure, the following platform was adopted: 1. The abrogation of the Rectories, and the secularization of the Clergy Reserves. 2. Retrenchment in Provincial expenditure. 3. Abolition of the pensioning system. 4. The appointment of all local officials by local municipal councils. 5. Thorough judicial reform, especially the abolition of the Court of Chancery. 6. A very great extension of the elective franchise, and vote by ballot. 7. Repeal of the law of primogeniture. 8. Abolition of Copy-right. 9. Election of the three branches of the Legislature by the people. 10. The right of the people to peacefully discuss any question affecting the Government or Constitution of the colony. 11. The amendment of the license law so as to make the liquor dealers responsible for the effects produced.(2)

Many similar meetings were held in other parts of Upper Canada. Between Jan. 16 and Mar. 6, 1850, the *Examiner* contained reports of meetings at Lawrenceville, Pelham, Jordan, Hamilton and Smithville. The resolutions passed at these meetings varied a good deal, but retrenchment and a settlement of the Clergy Reserves question were always demanded.

The Clear Grits soon had an opportunity to put their platform to the test. The Hon. Malcolm Cameron resigned, early in December, 1850, his office of Assistant Commissioner of Public Works. He said he did so because the office was a useless one; but it is quite certain that he was dissatisfied with the unprogressiveness of the Government, for he at once made common cause with the Clear Grits. Mr. John Wetenhall, the member for Halton, was appointed to the position vacated by Mr. Cameron, and this necessitated a by-election in that constituency. Mr. Caleb Hopkins, who had been elected by the Reformers of Halton to the first Parliament after the Union, now came forward on the Clear Grit platform, and conducted so successful a campaign that (partly owing to the illness of Mr. Wetenhall) he was elected by a majority of 57, whereas Mr. Wetenhall had been elected, in 1847, with a majority of 265 over his Tory opponent.

But the best proof of the growing strength and importance of the new group came in May, when the Assembly met. The Baldwin-Lafon-

1) *Examiner*, March 20, 1850.

2) *Examiner*, March 29, 1850.

taine Government had, nominally, an overwhelming majority; but, in reality, the Reform party was now split into two large sections, and, according to the *Examiner*,⁽¹⁾ the relative standing of the different parties was as follows: Reformers 34, Clear Grits 22, Conservatives 20, Annexationists 7. It would have been possible at any time for the last 3 groups to unite, and oust the Government; but the Clear Grits did not carry their opposition that far. They wished to force the Ministry to be more progressive, but they had no desire to help the Tories back to power. The consequence was that the Ministry held office until 1851, when first Mr. Baldwin and afterwards Mr. Lafontaine retired from political life. Then Mr. Hincks healed the breach between the two sections of Reformers by adopting a progressive platform, and taking Dr. John Rolph and Hon. Malcolm Cameron into the cabinet he was called upon to organize.⁽²⁾ But the Clear Grit element in the reunited Reform party remained a powerful one; and when, on the retirement of Mr. Hincks, in 1854, a reconstruction of parties took place, it was the radical, Clear Grit section of the party that rallied around Mr. George Brown.

Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Hincks and the Globe could neither prevent Mr. Perry's nomination, nor cause a rival candidate to be brought forward. The authority of the ministers among their supporters in the country had been too much weakened by dissatisfaction and criticism to allow them to influence greatly the Reformers of the Third Riding. At this very time, a meeting of Reformers was held on Oct. 25 at Sharon, in Mr. Baldwin's own constituency. While they expressed their undiminished confidence in the Government, and condemned the Montreal Annexationists, they passed a series of resolutions demanding many of the same reforms that the Clear Grits were calling for, and then invited their representative, Mr. Baldwin, to confer with them, hear their complaints, and advise them.⁽³⁾

But Baldwin, Hincks and George Brown did accomplish one very important thing. By their protests, they helped to save the more extreme Radicals from identifying themselves with the movement for annexation. Mr. Perry, it is true, believed that Canada's ultimate destiny was union with the United States, but he expressly deprecated its discussion at the time, or in the immediate future. At most, he was only such a philosophic separatist as Lord John Russel, at that time Premier of Great Britain.⁽⁴⁾ In the Halton election, the question of annexation was not brought up at all although the contest was a very bitter one,

(1) May 15, 1850.

(2) Hincks, *Reminiscences of His Public Life*, pages 261-267.

(3) *Globe*, Nov. 8, 1849.

(4) Allin and Jones, *Annexation, Preferential Trade and Reciprocity*, pp. 279-283.

and many personalities were indulged in. When Parliament met in May, 1850, several questions more or less related to that of annexation came up for discussion. But, although there were seven avowed Annexationists in the Assembly, the number voting against the Government on any of these questions was not higher than 14. In the division by which the Assembly, led by Mr. Baldwin, refused to receive a petition from some of the inhabitants of Essex, Kent and Lambton, praying for an address to the Queen in favour of independence, the vote stood 57-7. In the division on the motion of censure on the Government for dismissing from office those officials who had signed the first Montreal Annexation Manifesto, the vote was 46-14. Most of the Clear Grit members, including Perry and Hopkins, did not vote, and only two of the group voted against the Government.⁽¹⁾ While, therefore, Baldwin, Hincks and the Globe had solidified the opposition to the Government, by their interference in the election for the Third Riding of York, they had, nevertheless, helped to save the Radical wing of the Reform party from trifling with annexation, and so had kept the way clear for the reconciliation of 1851. In doing this, they performed a service for the Reform party, but quite as truly did a great service to the people of Canada, at a very critical moment.

(1) *Allin and Jones, Annexation, Etc.*, pp. 333-351.

XVI.

DAVID ZEISBERGER AND HIS DELAWARE INDIANS.

BY REV. JOHN MORRISON, SARNIA

To be born in one nation; at five years of age, because of religious persecution toward his people, to be carried like the Christ-child into another nation; to be left there at fifteen to complete his education, when, his parents seeking greater liberty in worship, emigrated to America; to live under a false accusation of thefts, growing out of a gift of gold bestowed by a wealthy man to whom he had rendered a helpful service; to run away with another youthful companion from the school, at seventeen years of age; make his way across Europe, cross the mighty Atlantic; find his parents in the new world; in young manhood to give himself to the church of his fathers; to carry the gospel to no less than thirteen of the great Indian tribes of the American continent, covering seven of the great states, or territories, including Canada; to see all the horrors—including Indians scalping innocent white people, and white soldiers, unworthy of the name, ruthlessly butchering innocent Indians—men, women and children; to spend more than sixty years in such arduous missionary labors; to have established the first Protestant mission, and to have administered the first Protestant baptism, west of the Alleghanies; to have hung the first Protestant church-bell and preached the first Protestant sermon in what is now the State of Ohio; to have founded no less than thirteen towns, some at least of which grew into places of importance and hold a prominent place to-day on the map—surely such a list of activities is enough to lift any life from the dead level of mediocrity and also place it on a mountain top of honor before an admiring world. Such was the life of the subject of this sketch.

David Zeisberger was born at Zauchtenthal, Moravia, Good Friday, 11th of April, 1721; at five taken to Herrnhut, Saxony, Luther's land; at seventeen, followed his parents to Georgia. At the age of 87 years ceased at once to work and live, crowned with the glory of God and the praises and honor of men, at Goshen, Tuscarawas County, Ohio, where his body was buried and his grave still is.

A marble slab, simple and unostentatious, as was his life, bears the following inscription :

David Zeisberger,
who was born 11th April, 1721,
in Moravia, and departed this life 17 Nov., 1808,
aged 87 years, 7 m. and 6 days.
This faithful servant of the Lord laboured among the
American Indians as a Missionary during the
last 60 years of his life.

This wonderful man, spending most of his life in the forest wilderness of the heart of this American continent, surrounded by savage beasts and yet more savage men, turned the wilderness in many places to smiling farms and gardens, and the untutored Indian in large numbers into Christian, civilized life.

The ancient nation of the Delawares had for him special attraction, and to their Christianization he devoted the greater portion of his long and richly eventful life, proving himself as great in missionary zeal and enterprise in the eighteenth century as David Livingstone, who was born nearly five years after his death, in the nineteenth.

True to the red cross flag of England, under the protecting folds of which he found an asylum when he landed on the American shore, he inculcated the same loyalty very largely into his Delaware Indians, leading his people, his "Brown Brethren," as he affectionately called them, from Ohio, when danger, under the newly flung to the breezes stars and stripes beset their pathway, on the request of the British commandant at Detroit—Major de Peyster—into the state of Michigan. After four years resident there on the banks of the Clinton (then called Huron) River, about three miles from where Mt. Clemens now stands, made to believe all danger past, and hoping to do a yet greater work among the Indian tribes, he led his people back to Ohio, only to discover a danger cloud constantly hanging over their heads. He then, after negotiations with the British authorities, led his band of Delaware Indians into Canada, in 1791, spending one year on the bank of the Detroit River, where Fort Malden was afterwards built. Then a grant of land being made by the authorities, in the County of Kent, in 1792, the year before MacKenzie made his discovery by land of the Pacific, Zeisberger, with his devoted helpers of the Moravian Church—Gottlob Senseman, William Edwards, and Michael Jung—led his "Brown Brethren," part by canoe and part by land, by the route of Detroit River, Lake St. Clair, and the Thames, building a new town—Fairfield—in the unbroken forest.

Here was as true a band of U. E. Loyalists, whether officially given that name or not, as any who crossed at Niagara, Bay of Quinte, or the lower provinces. These men of the ancient race of this continent sacrificed their homes and lands to live under the protection of the British flag, and carve out new homes on the land given them there; and their descendants are with us to this day, at Moraviantown.

In his report of Nov. 8, 1791, Thos. Jefferson, Secretary of State, noted the transfer as follows: "The Indians, however, for whom the reservation was made, have chosen to emigrate beyond the limits of the United States, so that the lands reserved for them still remain in the United States." That is to say, as in the case of the white U. E. Loyalists, their lands were confiscated, without recompense.

For six years did Zeisberger remain at Fairfield, then the mission being well established and his assistants quite capable of full management, his love for souls, greater than his love for the old flag, led him back to Ohio, where he decided he was more largely needed, and there died, as already stated.

Zeisberger was a man small in stature, but big in intellect and soul. He was not missionary only, but a great explorer and pioneer of civilization, and also a voluminous writer, his published works constituting an almost perfect resume of all that entered into the period covered by his missionary life; and what further the thousands of pages of his writings, yet unpublished, may add to our historical knowledge of that period, we cannot tell. This we deeply feel—that what is now Western Ontario was highly favored and honored in having, for full seven years, been the dwelling place of this remarkable, and now almost unknown and forgotten man. We will go so far as to confidently assert that he was one of the greatest men who ever spent that many years in this western part of our Province.

We have carefully read his published diaries; we have read a number of works written by strong men dealing with this wonderful missionary and pioneer explorer; we have searched for, found and photographed the site of New Gnadenhutten (Tents of Grace) on the bank of the Clinton River, Mich.; we have gone over the old ground of Fairfield, photographed important bits of the present life, also the past; we have secured official and authentic maps from original surveys of the town of New Gnadenhutten, showing the exact location of houses, and of old Fairfield on the Thames, afterwards burned to the ground in bitter hatred by the American soldiers after the Battle of the Thames; we have copied from the baptismal register of this, the oldest Protestant cause in

western Ontario, seventy years' record of the one hundred and twelve, beginning with January, 1800, and we have found it a most fascinating study.

We have decided that the best way to let you see this remarkable man, his assistants and Indians, following this introduction, is to give you carefully selected items verbatim from his journals,* and in which you will see how truly he entered into every detail of life pertaining to his chosen work. In so doing we will confine ourselves to that portion in time beginning when he and his Indians fled from Ohio to Michigan, still under the British flag, in 1782, and closing with his departure from Fairfield, on the Thames, Aug. 15, 1798.

Extracts from Journals.

Jan. 10, 1782—At Upper Sandusky. Nearly all the brethren went out to dig wild potatoes, on which to live. We have no corn.

Feb. 7—In the Shawanese towns they bought about a bushel of corn for which they paid five dollars. Wild Indians as well as Americans were exceedingly hostile.

March 15—A few of us left today by order from the commandant for Detroit to consult with him.

April 13—Two vessels with a sergeant and fourteen rangers, from the British commandant, to take us to Detroit.

Apl. 20—Arrived safely at Detroit. Major de Peyster told us he called us to save our lives. Detroit is like Sodom, where all sins are committed. There is a R. Catholic church on each side of the Detroit River, but the English and Protestant people have neither church nor preacher, and wish for neither.

July 20—Today David Zeisberger and John George Jungmann, with their wives, Wm. Edwards and Michael Jung, two unmarried missionaries, accompanied by nineteen Delawares, men, women and children, by boat started for the Huron River. Boats lashed together for safety crossing L. St. Clair, in charge of two pilots. Found the Huron River deep, with little current. After several unsatisfactory landings, we, on the 22nd, further up, found on the south side of the river a fine place to lay out a town on a height. On the N. East, between the river and the height, are many springs which flow into the river. Soil is sandy with heavy hardwood timber; splendid cherry, of which in Detroit the most

*The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, O., has been active in the publication of Zeisberger's memoirs. These are of so much interest in the early history of southwestern Ontario that numerous extracts are reprinted here.

beautiful cabinet work is made, and sassafras so large, boards two feet wide can be cut therefrom.

Pitched our tents. The scripture verse for the day—"For ye shall go out with joy and be led forth with peace."

Location data.—He speaks of "the fork a half-mile higher up than we are, to which the water is deep."

July 23—Having brought plants with us, we set them out, sowed turnips and lettuce, planted beans and some garden stuff. We found traces of an old Indian town on the site we had chosen, and holes that had been storehouses, also hills where corn had been grown; now it is a dense wood of trees two to six feet in diameter.

Sat., July 27—We marked out our town, in the first place only where two rows of houses shall be built, and the street four full rods wide, but each lot has three rods in front.

Mon., July 29—We began to fell the trees on our town site, so as to build our houses. No animals to draw them, so we had to carry them.

Friday, Aug. 2—Began to block out our first house (evidently not superstitious).

Friday, Aug. 16—We roofed our first house, and have the timber for a second already on hand.

Aug. 22—At Detroit, the Commandant read us a letter from Gen'l Haldimand rec'd two days before from Quebec, that we might see what he did was done with Haldimand's approbation.

Sat., Sept. 21—We had a love feast and holy communion, the first time in this place.

Six more of our Indians arrived from Sandusky. (Pays tribute to British protection.) Our Indian enemies took all conceivable pains to prevent our Indians coming here, and lied to them on every hand, that they were no longer safer with the English than with the Americans.

Thursday, Oct. 3—Today the first death, Elizabeth, daughter of Ignatius and Christina, two years, ten months and one day old. She was buried on the 4th, the first seed in our "God's Acre," which was thus dedicated, a beautiful, even place on a height, the finest we have anywhere had.

Sun., Oct. 6—A little daughter of the same parents, born in June, was baptized—name Naomi. Our first baptism.

Wed., Oct. 16—Having gone to Detroit by boat, some days before, we received an order from the Major upon the commissary for six months' provisions for ourselves, viz., the missionaries; also full rations of the best provisions for the Indians. The Major told us to keep for further use the boat he had lent us, and promised to visit us during the winter months when the lake was frozen.

Oct. 23—Fine and warm, so that frogs are heard.

Sat., Nov. 2—A pretty and, for the time being, spacious, meeting house was finished.

Tues., Nov. 5—We held the first service in our new chapel. Text—"The Lord will come with strong hand, and his arms shall rule for Him; behold, His reward is with Him, and His work before Him."

Nov. 3—Weather still fine and pleasant. Have had some snow, but it has not remained a day.

Nov. 23—We are very thankful for the exceptionally fine, warm weather which we had not expected.

Where we are located, no open land, all thickly grown with trees, but good land and not hard to clear.

Dec. 7—Lately quite cold, river ran thick with ground ice and froze.

Dec. 12—The brethren went hunting in a body; they form a half-moon or circle, and go through a district where the deer come within shot of one or another.

Tuesday, Dec. 24—We began Christmas with a love feast, the first for two years. He blessed us anew. There were together fifty-three of us, white and brown.

Dec. 25—Bro. Heckewelder (another Moravian Missionary) preached from the gospel about the announcement of the angels to the shepherds and to all mankind, that we should rejoice in the birth of the Saviour. Then was the children's hour. To these was Jesus in the manger depicted, while they reverently sang.

Jan. 3, 1783—Up to date we have had no cold to speak of, for the ground in the bottoms is not yet frozen.

Mon., Jan 27—We heard here to-day loud firing of cannon but knew not what it meant. We hear it was the celebration of the birthday of Her Majesty, the Queen.

Feb. 11—Fine Spring-like weather, the snow went quite away, partly from rain, partly from warm winds.

Feb. 14—This week we made our first sugar. The traders take sugar from the Indians and sell it for three shillings the pound. A whole deer sells for four or five dollars.

March 3—Corn at the fort is enormously dear, and costs more than three pounds a bushel; last summer there was a failure of the crop. Deer meat is exchanged for corn.

April 23—Major de Peyster gave us two cows and three horses. Also Mr. Askin paid us one hundred pounds sterling, received from Montreal; from this we bought two cows; they are very dear, thirty to forty pounds, New York currency.

May 1—Of garden stuff we have already sowed a good deal.

May 16—About forty of our Indians arrived from the Miami and we had to enlarge our chapel.

May 24, Sat.—We began to plant corn.

June 27—Provisions were given us by the Major,— fifty-two barrels of flour, twenty-five barrels of pork, also a quantity of corn and other things, so our people are well provided for.

Early in Sept., corn, cucumbers and beans, were badly cut by frost.

Sat., Oct. 4—Two Frenchmen came here with apples to sell.

The Indians make canoes and the women make baskets, brooms and mats, and also gather acorns. They sell all in Detroit, and with the proceeds buy winter clothing.

Oct. 8—Bro. Edwards went out with a boat-load of potatoes.

Sat., Jan. 10, 1784—Some gentle folk came in sleighs from Detroit, on the ice over the lake, to visit us, simply to see our town, who say according to the thermometer it has not been so cold for twenty-eight years as it is now, being seven degrees lower than in that period of time.

Jan. 29—A hard winter and deep snow, which through the whole country lies full three feet deep.

Feb. 7—Within three days by the use of snow-shoes, more than one hundred deer have been shot, for which, in our hunger, we were very thankful. Our corn did not ripen well last autumn, and we were in distress for food.

Sun. Feb. 22—A merchant from Detroit, who, with his family, came here visiting, asked for the baptism of his two children, as there is no ordained minister of the Protestant Church in Detroit; the Justice bap-

tizes the children, or the commandant, if it be asked of him, but to many this is not satisfactory.

March 3—Again snow has fallen a foot deep upon the old, so that now it lies four feet deep.

March 12—Corn in Detroit is very dear. Twenty to thirty-two shillings a bushel and not to be had.

Wild animals, deer and other, found dead in the woods, owing to deep snow.

April 11—Easter Sunday. We read the litany, partly in our chapel and partly in the grave-yard.

April 15—Now that the corn was gone, our brethren sought to live on wild potatoes, going to the lakes where there are many of them, and bringing back as many as they could carry.

The lake opened on the 19th.

April 25—Commandant well disposed toward us, supplies were few in the King's store-house, and of flour there was none at all, for last autumn three or four ships were wrecked on the lake. Both we and our Indians got some beans and pork.

Mon., May 31—We heard that the commandant, Col. de Peyster, sailed away yesterday from Detroit for Niagara. We wish him every good thing, for he has done well by us; and our Indians would not have been alive here if he had not interested himself in us and helped us.

June 16—The sisters went for wild cherries, of which there are many this year, on which in part they live. Food is scarce, as the deer and other game nearly all perished last winter.

The latter part of summer we lived on whortleberries, of which there was a great abundance about a day's journey away. Sickness usually follows famine, but of sickness we have had no sign.

Oct. 12—We visited Lord Geo. Hay, who succeeded de Peyster. He promised to continue along same line in treatment of our mission; was friendly and promised to visit us sometime.

Tues., Dec. 31—In the midnight watch service, gratitude to God was poured forth for a bountiful harvest.

Holy communion nine times during the year. One woman baptized. Eight births, four boys and four girls. Three marriages, and two adults died.

1785.

Jan. 5—Severe cold weather, snow over a foot deep. Streams frozen over.

Jan. 29—Canoes finished, seventeen in number, to carry us across the lake, where we hope now for safety, and the Chippewa Indians objected to us living in their country.

Mon., Mch. 7—At Detroit. Gov. Hay stated that the Governor, and Colonels, had strict orders from England to protect our mission in every possible way, and we were to remain some time longer where we were.

Aug. 3—Heard of Gen'l Hay's death; he was buried on the second of this month.

Mon., Sept. 26—Today many brethren went to the salt springs to boil salt, not far by water and by land only seven miles.

Dec. 9—Smallpox has broken out in Detroit. The English people believe it a punishment from God. They came together in the Council House and are thinking about a church and preacher.

Dec. 17—Have had deep snow; now warm again. The sisters were away this week and made some sugar.

Dec. 31—Baptised this year two adult women and two girls. One death, a child. The inhabitants here on the Huron River number one hundred and seventeen Indian souls.

1786.

Feb. 8—First mention of the new commandant, Maj. Ancrum, who ratified agreements made with his predecessors, and agreed to help them all he could.

Sat., Mch. 4—Major Ancrum, with a couple of officers and Mr. Askin, came in their sleighs; were well pleased with our settlement. In the morning, Mch. 5, they returned.

Mch. 6—Arrangements made at Detroit whereby we are to receive four hundred dollars for our houses and improvements, the missionaries one-half, the Indians the other.

During the past winter our Indians laid out and cut through a straight road to Detroit, twenty-three and one-half miles by measurement.

Mch. 17—Surveyor Frey and Capt. Anderson have surveyed our town and the river to the lake, accurately charting them.

Sat., Apl. 15—Our last love-feast in New Gnadenhutten.

Apl. 16—Easter Sunday. We read the Easter Litany, partly in the chapel, partly in the grave-yard.

Apl. 17—In the ev'g came Capt. Anderson, whose ship lay at the mouth of the river. Mr. Askin had bought our corn and on the 18th our Indians took it down and put it on board.

Thurs., Apl. 20—After we had, early, and for the last time, assembled in our chapel, and upon our knees thanked the Saviour for all the goodness we had enjoyed from Him, and further committing ourselves to His mercy upon the journey, we loaded our canoes, and all went away together in the afternoon. In the evening we camped at the mouth of the River Huron. Just four years today we landed in Detroit.

Apl. 23—Delayed by storms we did not arrive in Detroit until noon today; a fleet of twenty-two canoes.

Apl. 23—On board two sloops, the Beaver and Mackina, we left for Cayahoga, the Major having given us full supplies.

June 8—All arrived safely at Cayahoga, some by canoe, the rest on foot by land, and our vessel safely with all the goods.

Here Zeisberger, his brother missionaries, together with the Indians, built New Salem, on the Cayahoga, continuing there until the spring of 1791. Word being received from time to time of the killing of Indians by the American militia, the missionaries, as well as the mission Indians, grew fearful for their lives, and well they might, with the memory of March 8, 1782, when at Gnadenhutten, in Ohio, ninety Christian Indians, men, women and children, were ruthlessly butchered by the American militia.

1791.

The commandant and Col. McKee were inclined to provide us with a place of abode, ad interim, until the answer from the Governor and Superintendent-General of Canada arrived, and also to help us with ships for transportation.

The latter part of March and first part of April, we moved our belongings to Sandusky Bay.

Sun., Apl. 10—Zeisberger delivered the farewell sermon. Then the bell was taken down and carried away, and on Apl. 14 they bade a last farewell to New Salem.

Tues., Apl. 19—Today went on board the Sagina, and on Thursday, 21st, sailed for Detroit River, part of our men having gone ahead by land, driving our cattle.

Wed., May 4—Owing to opposing high winds, were unable to make the mouth of the Detroit River until today. The Sensemans and others had arrived earlier and greeted us. Our goods were unloaded on McKee and Elliott's plantation (Canadian side).

May 6—Officers from Detroit came today and instructed us as to the land we were to occupy, and were very friendly. Only a few white settlers beyond (east of) Elliott's farm.

Tues., May 17—We brought all the cattle over the river by boat, a weary work in windy weather, yet everything went well.

Here, among us, a new trouble has broken out among the dogs, some of which have gone mad and injured the cattle. In Sandusky we were forced to shoot some, for the Chippewa dogs had infected ours.

May 23—Hard rain; our town was overflowed with water. Our brethren had to tear down the huts and build them nearer the water bank.

(Note—This, and another item, when in Aug., 1798, Zeisberger returned to Ohio, viz., "And at the mouth of the River Ft. Malden, building on the site of the Watch Tower," gives us the location of the "Warte," or Watch Tower, their temporary resting-place for one year.)

Sun., May 29—Bro. Senseman preached in the open air. Many blacks and also whites were present. This was the first Sabbath service held by them on Canadian soil.

Sat., June 4—The King's birthday. Heard cannon firing in celebration at Detroit, eighteen miles away.

June 13—Timber had been prepared and today our meeting house was begun, in size twenty-four by thirty-two feet.

June 14—Ten young people went away today without asking us and without orders, with a war party, to fight Americans.

Sun., June 19—Trinity Sunday. Our meeting-house was so far done, we could have our first service in it. Whites and blacks were also present.

Tues., June 21—The meeting-house was today chinked, doors and benches made, and the bell put in place.

Sat., Sept. 10—Bro. Senseman conducted the Lord's Supper.

Mr. Dolson came from the Thames, bringing his two children to put them in our school, of which Bro. Senseman was teacher.

Sept. 13—Day before yesterday twenty vessels sailed by for Ft. Erie. Last night the greatest storm we have seen here; the river rose very high and tonight, with a west wind, it fell five feet.

1792.

Tues., Feb. 23—Under advice from McKee, the Indian Samuel, with five young Indian brethren, set out for Retrenche R. (the Thames) to learn about the country, examine the land, seek out and determine upon a place where we can settle next spring.

Mch. 1—The brethren came back, having met a man at Detroit who told them all was settled by the Government, so no need to go and look.

Mch. 8—Fine spring weather and lake open.

Wed., Apl. 11—Zeisberger's seventy-second birthday.

Thurs., Apl. 12—Assembled early and for the last time in our chapel. The canoes were laden and about noon we went away. Bro. Michael Jung went with the men who took the cattle by land.

Sun., Apl. 15—Owing to contrary winds delaying us at Detroit, did not reach L. St. Clair until the afternoon of today. Our mast broke, delaying us again, so it was after dark before we entered the mouth of the Retrenche. We had added a large hired boat; owing to shallow water we could not land; lay in boat, cold and wet, all night.

Tues., Apl. 17—Came to "Sally Hand," a colony composed of English, German and French settlers. Bros. Senseman and Edwards went with the boat into the settlement. Zeisberger remained in the settlement, waiting the arrival of the men and cattle, which occurred on Sat., Apl. 21.

Sun., Apl. 22—Zeisberger preached in the settlement; many from the neighborhood came to hear. His text was, "All flesh is grass."

Wed., Apl. 25—All went to Senseman's camp, above the fork (now Chatham), the end of the settlement; further on no white people live. Here unloaded great boat; current too swift to go further; must use our canoes.

Apl. 27—Senseman and party have here built a shelter hut to remain till canoes return for them. Zeisberger and Indians in twenty canoes go up the river; at noon arrive at the rapids. In the evening had a supper of turtles taken on the way.

Wed., May 2—After day spent exploring the river up and down, we today, after examining a height, took possession and staked out our town.

May 3—In the forenoon the town lots were distributed, and each one took possession.

May 5—Senseman and party arrived, and we were all together once more.

Tues., May 8—Moved today to a better town site, three miles down the creek.

May 10—Thomas having died on Tuesday, we buried him this forenoon. We had found and laid out a beautiful grave-yard upon a little height. It is sandy ground.

May 15-16—The brethren cleared, each for himself, and built huts in town. For some days all have been busy clearing land.

Sat., May 19—Got about two acres planted. More than one hundred acres will be cleared and planted this year.

Sat., June 30—Coming here we bought one hundred bushels of corn at "Sally Hand," and now we have bought some more at Monceytown, higher up the river. Corn is one dollar a bushel at Monceytown. We lived in huts under the green trees until after the planting was done.

Sat., June 30—The brethren built a great shed two rods square to hold the meetings in.

July 9—All the brethren went to work on the meeting-house and kept at it all the week, and Thursday, July 12, we had the first service in it from the text—"Which was a prophet, mighty in deed and word before God and all the people."

The Indians are working for the whites to procure food until their crop should be fit for harvest.

June and July very dry; not enough rain to wet the ground. Then came rain and cold, and Sept. 20 and 21, frost, which cut the corn not yet ripe.

Sat., Sept. 22—Received today letters from Bethlehem, Pa., of date May 3 and Jan. 1, last.

Oct. 25—Received kindly messages today by brethren returned from Detroit, from Col. Richard England, 24th Regiment, and now commandant there.

Nov. 22—Snowed all day.

Nov. 30—We killed our hogs.

Dec. 15—Our Indians have been making a road to the settlement. They returned today, but the work is not yet completed.

Dec. 26—All the brethren went out to cut, square and then split timber into boards for a school-house. To the young people it was joyful news.

Mon., Dec. 31—Review of year: A perfect wilderness when we came here in May. The building site thickly grown with heavy timber, and now nearly thirty good houses stand here, among them many dressed block houses. More than one hundred acres of land have been cleared and planted. During the year five baptisms, eight marriages, one died. We number here one hundred and fifty-one persons.

1793.

Jan. 10—Our school-house finished.

Sat., Feb. 16—Gov. John Graves Simcoe and party arrived here this morning. He examined everything and was well pleased therewith. We entertained him to breakfast. We told him, "none of us missionaries had either renounced our allegiance to the King, or sworn it to the States." He spent two hours with us.

Mon., Feb. 18—We heard cannon firing in Detroit, welcoming the Governor on arrival.

Sat., Feb. 23—Heard cannon discharged in Detroit, eighty miles away, as the Governor set out on his return journey.

Mon., Feb. 25—Gov. Simcoe and suite arrived and passed the night with us. We presented him with an address. He ordered his commissary to draw for us an order on the King's stores at Detroit, because of our crop having been frozen. Wrote an answer to our address. After asking permission, he, with his suite, attended our early morning service and worship. He expressed his satisfaction with the devout worship of the Indians. He and his party then continued their journey toward Niagara.

Mch. 12—The ice in the river broke up.

Sat., Apl. 20—This week we sowed our garden vegetables.

Sat., May 4—Surveyor McNeff and party arrived to survey townships below us.

Wed., May 8—The Surveyor surveyed our town in order to make a draft of it. (See map.)

Thurs., June 27—The Indian Peter's hive of bees, which he brought here from Pettquotting, swarmed today for the second time. There are none here in the bush in the whole neighborhood.

(Note—At Pettquotting, bee trees were abundant in the forest, and they could easily secure honey in plenty.)

(Bees are not native to N. America, but were brought by the Puritans, and the Delaware-Moravian Indian, Peter, was evidently the pioneer apiarist of Western Ontario.)

Aug. 12—Indians at work on houses in the middle of the town for Zeisberger and Sensemann, their former houses being temporary only, afterwards to be stables.

Sat., Sept. 14—This week the brethren began to harvest their corn, which this year has all thriven as well as could be wished.

Sept. 2—Our corn good and perfect; nothing injured by frost.

Oct. 3—Our people found, hardly half a mile from the town, on the bank of the creek, a salt spring of which no one knew, at a place where the bank is so steep cattle could not get to it, else it had been found before. Earlier, an oil spring had been found lower down the river.

Oct. 14—Our school-house covered with clapboards.

Oct. 18—The Zeisbergers moved into their new house facing the street.

Nov. 6—The wolves began killing our young cattle.

Nov. 19—The weather mild with a south wind. The sisters boiled sugar. (See map for location of sugar bush.)

Nov. 22—Sisters made a good amount of sugar this week.

Mon., Tues., Dec. 9-10—It has been like a yearly market. Mr. Dolson came with goods for sale, displayed them, and the whole town traded, buying from him for cattle, corn and skins.

Tues., Dec. 31—There live here now one hundred and fifty-nine Indian souls—eight more than at the close of last year.

1794.

Wed., Jan. 1—Many strangers from the upper town (Monceytown, we presume) were here during the holidays and attended the services.

Tues., Jan. 7—The surveyor, Mr. McNeff, came from Detroit to survey our township. In the river he lost ten of his people, soldiers, who broke through the ice and were drowned.

Jan. 14—The surveyor finished surveying, thirty-six lots in all. Senseman and Indians blazed the line on both sides of the river.

Sat., Mch. 22—This year there is a poor sugar harvest, such as we have never had. First it was furiously cold and then all at once it came such warm weather it was soon over.

Mon., Mch. 31—Towards evening Gov. Simcoe arrived with a suite of officers and soldiers and eight Mohawks, by water from Niagara. He at once asked for our school-house as a lodging. It was cold, having snowed during the day. He was much pleased when Bro. Sensemann offered his house, where he, together with his officers, then lodged. Two of his officers had been here with him last year. Our sisters entertained them. The soldiers lay close by in the school-house, but the Mohawks were divided between two Indian houses, whom also our Indian brethren abundantly supplied with food. The Gov. was glad to see so many houses built since he was here before; also that our Indians had cleared so much land, and he praised their industry and labor. Still more, he wondered at seeing in the place such a great pile of timber, and when he learned that it was destined for a meeting house, and also that the Indian brothers and sisters had brought it in on sleighs, without horses, he said, "Would that I could have seen this."

Tues., Apl. 1—After friendly leave-taking, the Gov. and his party set out for Detroit in four canoes.

Toward the end of March Mr. Parke came here with a boat and took away to Detroit about one thousand bushels of corn, and Mr. Dolson has taken away quite as much.

Wed., June 11—White people came through here from Niagara with cattle for Detroit.

Frid., Aug 6—Weather has been very hot and dry, so that many fruits and vegetables have wilted and the corn begins to wither. The thermometer for several days has been at 96 degrees, which it never was before.

White people went through here Wed., the 4th, from Detroit, with cattle. They have begun a settlement forty or fifty miles up this river. They are thirty families strong, having lately come from Europe.

Wed., Oct. 1—The temporary meeting-house having been removed, a new and substantial one was being built. Our people were industrious about the meeting-house. Today they finished the roof and also the little tower, and the bell was hung up.

Sun., Oct. 19—Our new meeting-house having been completed yesterday, we dedicated it today to the Lord, in the first service held by Bro. Zeisberger; the sermon was by Bro. Sensemann, from the text, "In all places where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee." In the afternoon a love-feast was conducted by Bro. Zeisberger, and at the concluding service of the day Michael Jung preached from, "Turn us again, O Lord God of Hosts, cause thy face to shine and we shall be saved." Several strangers attended the church opening.

Oct. 24—A runaway negro from Detroit came here, and was taken back by Mr. Parke.

Sun., Nov. 16—We chose a name for our place and township—namely, Fairfield—(that is, Schönfeld).

Nov. 19—Mohawks went through with two American prisoners.

Wed., Dec. 31—In Fairfield, one hundred and sixty-five Indians.

1795.

Wed., Apl. 8—From MacKenzie, the trader, we heard that his uncle had made a journey by land to the northwest as far as the sea, being two years about it, and is now come to Detroit.

Apl. 20—The Indians got a dozen canoes into the water, made near here, most of them of walnut wood. MacKenzie took up by consent his abode here.

June 26—We got in our hay.

Wed., July 1—White people went through with horses for Niagara.

Thurs., July 16—The Indian brothers went to make a deer fence from here to the lake, from which they expect much advantage and good hunting.

White people brought children to be baptised and also some came to be married. Sensemann goes at times to the settlement to baptise and also to marry folks.

Aug. 19—An Indian in Monceytown has had a vision and revelation that the world will last four years more, and then be destroyed.

Mon., Sept. 14—We mowed our after-grass.

Frid., Oct. 2—White people arrive almost daily. The road to Niagara is much used.

Thurs., Oct. 15—There was a severe wind, which began with a thunder storm and lasted the whole day. It unroofed houses, and in the fields much damaged the corn, and in the bush around made great devastation, yet no one was injured.

Tues., Oct. 20—There being many chestnuts, which the wind has lately shaken down, the sisters brought home great quantities of them, which are very helpful in their housekeeping.

Oct. 27—Our neighbor, Kessler, ploughed for some Indians, and sowed wheat for them (the first mention of wheat at Fairfield). We have again a good harvest and a burden of corn.

Nov. 5—Chestnuts and walnuts very plentiful this year, and freely gathered.

Dec. 7—Bill Henry and others came with wheat and corn they have had ground, from the mill, seven miles from here.

Dec. 31—In Fairfield there now live one hundred and fifty-eight Indian souls, great and small, seven less than last year.

1796.

Wed., Jan. 15—It is now known that in the spring the States will take possession of Detroit, for which preparation has been made by laying out a fort on the east side of the river.

Sat., Feb. 20—Michael Jung went to the settlement, seven miles away, to deliver a sermon, having been invited so to do. On his return, reported a fine audience and requested to come again.

Feb. 22—Our young people, who go to school, are so set upon it, they make it their chief business and prefer it to everything. Went and cut wood for Bro. Sensemann at his sugar hut, so he might not be hindered by work from keeping school. Many of them can write a good English hand, better than many clerks with merchants at Detroit.

Sun., Apl. 10—Bro. Michael Jung went early to the next township and preached to the people assembled there, and in the afternoon came home.

Apl. 11—Bro. Sensemann came back from the lower settlement, where he preached yesterday and baptised eleven children. The people live like Indians; hear no word of God and have little longing therefor.

Apr. 19—The Chippewas went away to their home on the next river northward, the Sneycarty (Chenal Ecarte). Our people sowed much wheat.

Fri., Apr. 22—Bro. Sensemann came back from the Fort, where the soldiers are evacuating Detroit and going to the east side of the river.

Tues., May 3—A hat-maker from the settlement came here with hats to sell, almost all of which he disposed of.

Wed., May 25—The hat-maker, Choates, came here to sell hats.

(Note—As the diary proceeds, it becomes evident that reasonably regular preaching service was established in a number of places around the settlement near by.)

Wed., June 29—A taylor whom we had sent for to make us needful clothing, came yesterday, took our measure, and went home again.

Thurs., Aug. 23—Indians busy cutting summer wheat and bringing it into their barns, the like of which has never been seen in any of the places where we have been, and all are wishing to raise wheat but not to give up corn.

Wed., Sept. 14—Work was begun upon the new school-house, which will stand near the chapel.

Sept. 17—Window glass and nails were brought from Detroit for the new schoolhouse.

Sept. 29—We sowed our winter wheat. This was a month earlier than last year.

Oct. 3—We harvested our potatoes and pumpkins.

Wed., Oct. 5—This is a year quite apart by itself; it was a late spring, a cool summer and early autumn. There were early frosts, which kept on, but since we made good use of planting-time, the corn ripened in good season. Racoons, squirrels, bears, wolves and wild turkeys came in great numbers, and did great harm to the fields. Besides, all sorts of vermin came from the south, tried to get over the river and were drowned, whole heaps of which could be seen.

Oct. 8—Brethren came back from the settlement with canoes full of apples, which they paid for with baskets.

Oct. 18—Michael went to mill with wheat. (The first intimation of wheat supplanting corn.)

Oct. 22—Bro. Sensemann came back from Detroit, where he had dinner with Gen'l Wayne, who inquired kindly about our mission. When Gen'l Wayne marched in with his troops, the English commandant went away with the garrison by water, discharging in salute his cannon from the ship and was saluted in return, whereupon the new owners moved in with music, undisturbed. It was in July the change was made.

In the settlement Bro. Sensemann was offered a place in the Legislative Assembly, but he declined.

Oct. 29—Our Heavenly Father has again blessed us by giving us a good harvest. The squirrels have not done so much damage here as in the settlement, where they have laid waste whole fields.

Dec. 31—In Fairfield live one hundred and sixty-nine Indian souls.

1797.

Jan. 22—After a funeral conducted in the settlement by Michael Jung, some of them brought a law-suit to him to settle; he declined.

Mon., Apl. 3—The river having broken up Mch. 16, and fine weather continuing after, many today sowed summer wheat.

Apl. 15—During these days many rafts of pine lumber went by which came down from "The Pinery," far above.

Mon., May 20—Inasmuch as the frosts lasted so long, the corn rotting in the ground did not come up, we had to plant again. A very late spring. The white settlers came to us for seed corn for second planting, as their first had all rotted.

Frid., June 16—So strong a wind from the N. west, with thunder, lightning and rain, few houses remained uninjured, and much damage was done in the fields. For three miles west the road was blocked with fallen trees. The corn crops appear to be ruined.

Oct. 23—Harvesting our corn; it was planted late, has not ripened, and is frost bitten. Blackbirds in flocks have damaged it much.

Frid., Nov. 3—The sisters went for chestnuts and brought home many bushels.

Winter set in with much snow, early in Nov. Much corn in the settlement not ripe. Whites in trouble because of it.

Sun., Dec. 31—At present there are living at Fairfield, one hundred and seventy-two Indian souls.

1798.

Tues., Jan. 2—The townships below have been laid out and the road cleared to our township. Our Indians set to work on the road through our township and finished.

Sat., Feb. 3—Fine thawing weather for several days; the brethren made sugar, the earliest in the year since coming here.

Mon., Feb. 19—All last month and this fine weather and without snow. Today winter set in in earnest.

Feb. 23—Several went to mill and to the smith. (First mention of the latter.) There is a godless people and much drinking along the river.

Frid., Apl. 13—A doctor arrived whom we had asked to see our sick. He came from the States and gave them medicine.

Apl. 14—The Indians brought a boy of Dolson's here to go to school to Bro. Sensemann.

Mon., Apl. 16—Very cold weather and snow, as at Xmas Day.

Early in April the river broke up and rose twenty feet.

Wed., May 9—Our fields were planted somewhat earlier this year than last, and generally the weather has been finer.

Tues., May 22—John Heckewelder and Benjamin Mortimer came to us from Bethlehem by way of Niagara, Mortimer to remain, Heckewelder going on to the Muskingum. The Zeisbergers, with some Indians, to follow in July or August.

In Aug. preparations were made for the Zeisbergers' departure. A religious service was held and Mortimer preached the sermon. The day following Sensemann again called them together and spoke of Zeisberger's departure, of his fearless courage, his self-sacrificing spirit, his readiness to lose his life for the Indian's sake, and all that had rendered illustrious the many years of his missionary service.

Zeisberger left the mission in a prosperous state, spiritually, and of growing importance as a settlement. Three hundred acres were under cultivation; two thousand bushels of corn were annually furnished to the Northwest Trading Company; and extensive trade in cattle, canoes, mats and baskets was carried on, and five thousand pounds of maple sugar were made and sold every winter.

August 15, 1798—The entire population of Fairfield gathered by the river to bid farewell to their leader, counsellor and friend. He came among them, grasped each one by the hand with emotion too deep for utterance. Precisely at noon, he entered a canoe, paddled by three young Indians who had begged for this honor, and put off from the bank amid the sobs of the converts. Thirty-three of them, forming the colony for the Tuscarawas valley, followed in other canoes.

The settlement below on the river consisted of more than one hundred families; they flocked to the river to hail the missionary canoe and give Zeisberger gifts from garden and orchard as he passed on his way. He found opposite Detroit the English were building a town, and at the mouth of the river, on the site of the "Watch-Tower"—Fort Malden.

After a journey by canoe and land of fifty-one days, the missionary and his party again halted, and in Tuscarawas County, Ohio, established his last mission station, and called it Goshen.

On Nov. 17, 1808, it was seen that his end was near. The chapel bell was tolled and his people gathered together; thus surrounded by those with whom and for whom he had laboured long, this illustrious missionary passed peacefully away in his eighty-eighth year.

Never would he consent to have his name put down on a salary-list, or become a "hireling," as he called it. He received no financial reward, from his sixty-two years of missionary labours, other than his living, only the actual necessities being accepted. He was an affectionate husband, a faithful friend.

Sun., Nov. 20, was a clear, warm, radiant day, when his mortal body was laid to rest in the Goshen burying ground. Benjamin Mortimer, one of his companion missionaries, preached the funeral sermon from the text—"And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of the testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death." This sermon was in English, translated into Delaware. Then George G. Mueller preached in German from the text—"The memory of the just is blessed."

Zeisberger's widow died (and was buried) at Bethlehem, Pa., Sept. 8, 1824, aged eighty years. They were childless, and so the name of Zeisberger died with them.

Sarnia, Ont., 1913.

XVII.

TRIBAL DIVISIONS OF THE INDIANS OF ONTARIO.

BY THE LATE ALEXANDER FRANCIS CHAMBERLAIN, M. A., PH. D.

The question of tribal affinities of the Indians still to be found in the Province of Ontario, and of others formerly resident within its borders, does not require lengthy exposition, since the problems involved are comparatively simple ones and the ethnological complications present in some other regions of the New World appreciably absent.

Ontario has not been the scene of origin of man in North America, nor do archaeological, ethnological, or linguistic arguments induce us to believe the residence of man here has been remarkably ancient; in other words, man is here a much more recent comer than in many other parts of the continent.

So far, not the slightest evidence has been produced to show that, previous to the coming of the whites, Ontario (as at present, or as formerly constituted geographically or geologically) was ever inhabited by human beings of other affiliations than tribes of American Indians past and present. To these can safely be attributed all the pre-Columbian works of man, hitherto discovered or likely to be discovered in the future within the boundaries of the Province. The pre-Indian "Mound-Builders," still believed in by some writers as "a race distinct from that of the modern Indian," is as much a myth for Ontario as it is elsewhere. The makers of the mounds of Ontario were Indians, just as were the mound-builders of the Ohio-Mississippi valley, etc.

Of the fifty or more independent linguistic stocks of American Indians north of Mexico the following have at times had representatives in the Indian population of the Province of Ontario, past and present: **Eskimoan**, **Siouan**, **Algonkian**, **Iroquoian**, but the great mass of aborigines has always belonged to the two last, of which the **Iroquoian** is intrusive from the south, and the **Algonkian** from the north and west. The **Eskimoan** and **Siouan** stocks have been represented but incidentally, and not in very large numbers at any period of the history of the Province.

Ontario has not been the scene of origin of any of these linguistic stocks, all of which, late or early, are immigrants within its borders.

1. **Eskimoan.** The old theory that the Eskimo represented pre-glacial man, retreating northward with the melting ice-sheet, is no longer held by the best authorities, there being abundant evidence to show that this Arctic people is simply an aboriginal stock that has reached its present habitat from somewhere in the region between Hudson's Bay and Alaska—they are, in other words, an interior people who have become largely coast and island dwellers. It is, therefore, very improbable that the Province of Ontario was at any epoch largely inhabited by Eskimo, a view set forth by certain archaeologists chiefly by reason of Eskimo-like implements (e. g., the so-called "woman's knife") discovered in various parts of the country. It is only in the newly-acquired portion of the Province, bordering on James' Bay, that in times past Eskimo may have been temporarily resident, perhaps before its occupation by the Algonkian Indians of the Cree-Montagnais division. As an ethnic and a culture factor in the history of the Province, they can, perhaps, be omitted altogether.

2. **Siouan.** Like the Eskimoan, the Siouan stock has been represented in Ontario only temporarily and intrusively by accident of war, immigration, etc. In the far western portion of Ontario, bordering upon Manitoba, during the period of Sioux-Ojibwa warfare, Indians of this stock made many forays, and roamed about the country in the neighborhood of the Lake of the Woods, etc. In the 17th century (they drifted northwestward to the region about Lake Winnipeg by 1670) the **Assiniboins**, a Siouan people, migrating from the head-waters of the Mississippi, settled about the Lake of the Woods, and some of their movement to the north and east of that location would bring them within the boundaries of the Province of Ontario, as at present constituted. They have not, however, been, during the period of their temporary residence there, an important factor in the history of the Province itself, in so far as its aboriginal culture is concerned. A curious fact in the history of the American Indians of Ontario is the presence (the last surviving full-blood died in 1871) among the Cayugas of the Six Nations Reserve (Grand River) of some **Tutelos**, representing a people of the Siouan stock, belonging originally in North Carolina. The Canadian Tutelos were descended from some of this tribe who fled with the Cayugas to Canada, after the destruction of their settlement at Coreorgonel (on L. Cayuga, New York) by Gen. Sullivan in 1779. The Tutelo language is now extinct (but a brief vocabulary was obtained in 1911 by Dr. E. Sapir from a Cayuga Indian, who heard it spoken in his childhood). A few

individuals having more or less Tutelo blood in their veins still survive.

3. **Algonkian.** The great majority of the Indians at present residing within the borders of the Province of Ontario belong to the widespread Algonkian stock, representatives of which at one time or another were found over a vast area from the Rocky Mountains to the shores of Newfoundland, and from Churchill River in the north to Pamlico Sound (N. C.) in the south—the Blackfeet, Cree, Ojibwa, Montagnais, Mississagas, Micmacs, etc., are well-known members of the stock. Of the Indians of Ontario the following belong to the Algonkian stock:

i.—Certain so-called “**Algonkins**,” of which a few hundred survive at Golden Lake, North Renfrew, Gibson, etc.

ii.—The **Abittibi**, **Nipissing** (on the Lake of this name) and a few other closely related Indians, by many classed with the “**Algonkins**” just mentioned.

iii.—The Indians of the region between Lake Abittibi and James' Bay—**Saulteaux-Ojibwa** and closely related Indians of the **Cree-Montagnais** division of the Algonkian stock. All the Indian population of this section of the Province is Algonkian.

iv.—The **Ottawa**, now on Manitoulin and Cockburn Islands and the adjacent shore of Lake Huron, with a few settled with the Ojibwa, etc., on Walpole Island, Lake St. Clair.

v.—The **Potawatomis**, who number altogether about 200, of whom most are settled with the Ojibwa and Ottawa on Walpole Island. There are also a few with the Ojibwa and Munsees of the Thames, in Caradoc township, Middlesex Co. There may be likewise a few among the tribes of the north shore of L. Huron.

vi.—The **Ojibwa** (or **Chippewa**) and the **Mississagas**, the latter existing in small numbers at Mud Lake, Rice Lake, Alnwick, Scugog, New Credit (some 800 in all), but once of much greater distribution and importance in the earlier aboriginal history of the country. The Mississagas and Chippewa or Ojibwa are very closely related and are often classed together. Besides the Chippewa of northern and western Ontario (the tribe once occupied both shores of Lakes Superior and Huron) the Ojibwa are represented by settlements in various parts of the Province (Walpole I.; River Thames with Munsees, etc.; Georgian Bay, etc.).

vii.—Certain immigrant Algonkian peoples who found refuge with the Six Nations or with other Indians of the Thames-Grand River Reserves, etc., in the latter part of the 18th century. Included among such

are the **Munsees** of the Thames, in Caradoc township, Middlesex Co., settled with the Chippewa; some of the "**Moravians**" (chiefly Munsee) of Oxford township, Kent Co.; the **Delawares**, settled on the Six Nations Reserve (Grand River), etc.

4. **Iroquoian**. This stock, of great importance in the aboriginal history of the Province by reason of the long wars with the Algonkian tribes, and the remarkable extermination of the Hurons by other Iroquois in the first half of the 17th century, is represented in Ontario to-day by some 6,000 Indians, of whom about two-thirds reside on the Six Nations Reserve, Grand River. The Iroquoian population of the Province includes the following: "**Iroquois**" of Gibson (Watha), some 60 in number; **Mohawk** of Bay of Quinte; **Oneida** of Thames; Indians of Six Nations Reserve on Grand River—**Cayugas**, **Mohawks**, **Onondagas**, **Senecas**, **Tuscaroras**; a few **Wyandots** (Hurons) in Anderdon, Essex Co. In the early part of the 17th century practically all of the region between Lakes Erie and Huron, and Lake Ontario and Georgian Bay was occupied by, or roamed over by Indians of Iroquoian stock, of whom many tribes became extinct. It was formerly believed (e. g., by Dr. Brinton and Horatio Hale) that the primitive home of the Iroquoian stock was "somewhere between the Great Lakes and Labrador," but the best ethnological opinion now places it far to the south, even beyond Ohio. According to this view, the whole Iroquoian population of Canada is exotic. This is a point of great importance in connection with the aboriginal history of the country. The advent of the Iroquoian stock into Canada is, therefore, more recent than has generally been supposed.

In conclusion, it may be repeated that the Indians of Ontario show no evidences whatever of pre-Columbian white influences, all stories and speculations to the contrary notwithstanding. All that has yet appeared is Indian and Indian alone.

XVIII.

BEAR CUSTOMS OF THE CREE AND OTHER ALGONKIN INDIANS OF NORTHERN ONTARIO.

BY ALANSON SKINNER

Among all the animals with which they are familiar, there is none more impressive to the minds of the Eastern Cree than the black bear. Its courage, sagacity, and above all, its habit of walking man-like, upon its hind legs, have convinced the Indians of its supernatural propensities.

The Eastern Cree are convinced that all living animals have souls or spirits whose good will must be secured or else they will prevent their species from being captured by the hunters. Because of this belief they take pains to return the bones of the beaver to running water, and prevent them from being devoured by dogs. The heads of ducks and geese, the teeth of the caribou and moose, the claws, chins, and skulls of bears, are carefully preserved as talismans and trophies, and mystical paintings are placed on the skins of fur-bearing animals to appease their manes. But the customs concerning the capture and treatment of the bear have become much more elaborated.

If a hunter, while in the forest, comes upon a bear and wishes to slay it, he first approaches and apologizes, explaining that nothing but lack of food drives him to kill it, and begging that the bear will not be offended at him, nor permit the spirits of other bears to be angry. On killing the bear, he cuts off the middle toe and claw of the right fore foot and returns with it to his camp. When he arrives he first smokes for some time, saying nothing of what he has done, but meanwhile mentally deciding whom he shall ask to take care of, bring in, and butcher the carcass. Usually, if he is a married man, the person chosen is the wife of the hunter. When the proper time, perhaps an hour, has elapsed, he gives the announcing claw to the person whom he has picked out, and states where the bear may be found. The recipient of the claw understands what is required, and, asking no further questions, takes a companion, goes out, and brings in the carcass. The announcing claw is wrapped in cloth, beaded, or painted, or both, and kept as a memento of the occasion.

In case two or more men kill a bear, it is laid out on its back in their canoe, and carefully covered. When the hunters approach their camp or post, the burden is seen from afar, and all the Indians crowd the river bank with cries of congratulation. When the canoe grates on the beach, it is at once surrounded by the small boys, who run down and draw back the blanket or covering enough to expose the bear's head, or at least, its teeth. It is then carried up and laid out, like a man, in front of its slayer's wigwam. After the bear had been laid out, and tobacco placed in its mouth, the hunter and the chief men present smoke over it.

Nowadays, when the bear is brought in, it is laid out upon a new blanket purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company for the occasion. While the ceremony is going on, the bear must be called **Kawipāto mitoem** (black food). Pointing with the finger at the carcass during this ceremony is strictly tabooed.

After the hunter and chief men have smoked, the bear is butchered, and the flesh distributed to all the camp. Certain parts of the bear's flesh are at once burnt ("given to its spirit to eat"), including a small piece of its heart. The rest of the heart is at once eaten by the slayer, in order that he may acquire the cunning and courage of his victim.

Women are not allowed to eat of the bear's head or paws, nor men of its rump. The bones are never given away, unless the bear's flesh is served as a feast in the lodge of the slayer. In any event, they are carefully cleansed, saved, and hung up, or placed on a scaffold where the dogs cannot reach them. If wild animals, other than dogs, reach and devour them, no harm is done. The skull of the bear is cleaned, and the brains removed. It is dried and painted with vermillion and is placed in a safe place and kept from three to six months, when it is secretly taken by its owner and hung up on a tree in the forest.

Formerly, the Cree of Moose Fort, instead of smoking over the carcass of a dead bear, like those of the Eastmain, went through the following ceremony:

The head of the bear was first cut off and cooked, after which the men and boys of the camp sat down in a circle about it. A large stone pipe was laid beside the head and a plug of tobacco placed upon it. Then the man who had killed the bear arose from his place in the circle and filled the pipe with the tobacco, after which it was lighted and passed about the circle from left to right, the slayer smoking first. Each person had the alternative of smoking the pipe for several moments or merely taking a single puff before passing it on. After this the bear's head was passed about and everyone strove to bite out a piece of its flesh without

touching it with his hands.(1) The same ceremony was sometimes also gone through after the slaying of a caribou.

Another bear ceremony observed by the Moose Cree was as follows: The bear's intestines were removed, slightly cooked and smoked, after the passing of the head. They were then coiled up on a plate and passed about the circle by the slayer and offered to all the men present, each of whom bit off a piece. Women were allowed to be present at this part of the function but were not allowed to partake of the meat. This ceremony was quite recently observed.

The Cree of Rupert's House and Eastmain River Fort taboo pointing at a bear with the finger even if it is a live bear in the woods, for if this was done, the bear would turn and run away, even if he did not see the offender, for his medicine would warn him of the approach of danger. At the feast, after the slaying of the bear, a certain amount of food is always set before each guest, who is obliged to finish it at one sitting. If, however, he cannot eat it all at once, he is privileged to leave it at the house of the giver of the feast until the next night, when he must finish it. The Moose and Albany Crees do not now observe the majority of the bear customs, nor have they for many years. Those at Albany have forgotten their significance.

It is permissible to speak of a bear as **Muskwá** (the "angry one" or "wrangler") in his absence only, unless one wishes to anger it, or as an expression of reproof. It must never be used before his carcass. If a hunter comes upon a bear in the woods, and is obliged to speak of it, he may call it **Kawipáto mitoom** (black meat, or food) because this is the bear's proper name, and it will not be offended or frightened. This name may also be used before the dead body. Under the same circumstances as above, or when it is not desirable to let it know that it is being spoken of, it may be called **Tciceák** ("old porcupine") because it will not know who is being talked about. When making fun of a bear, or joking about it, it may be called **Wakiuc** (crooked tail). This name must never be used before the carcass, but **Tukwaíáken** (short tail) may be used. **Pisesu** or **Pisistciu** ("resembling a cat," or lynx) is another term applied to the bear to avoid calling him by his real name. **Wakiu** may be another form of **Wakiuc**, and **Matsue** may be a variant of **Muskwá**.

The skin of the bear is dried, but never tanned and painted. The skin of the under-lip or chin is sacred, and with a piece of bone from the tongue is saved. The bone is placed in a little pouch or bag, and

(1) The writer saw an almost identical ceremony of passing the bear's head during a midnight ceremony of the Little Waters, or Secret Medicine Society, of the Seneca Iroquois on the Cattaraugus Reserve, New York. This time a bear's head was not obtainable, and a chunk of salt pork was used.

fastened to the point of the chin on the inside. The skin is folded (sometimes being first painted with vermillion) and sewed together.* The edges of the skin and of the pouch containing the tongue bone are beaded. At Eastmain River Fort, the skin is folded, but not fastened, so that the little bag cannot be seen, as at Rupert's House. These chins serve as charms, and as tallies or hunting trophies. A string of these which was perhaps used as a necklace was collected at Eastmain River Fort. Single claws are also kept as trophies, the bony part being rejected and the horny nail saved; often a number are fitted together, one inside of the other, to form a ring. A skinning tool of the thigh bone of a young bear, and a worked scapula, from the same animal, perhaps intended for a spoon, were obtained at Rupert's House, and the writer was informed that these were kept as charms, and never used. A bear's foetus skin, obtained at the same post, was kept for the same reason.

Anciently, the Eastern Cree never used the bow and arrow in taking the bear, as they did not consider these weapons strong enough. Bears were invariably hunted with the war club and knife, especially in winter, when their hibernating dens might be found. The hunter always endeavored to strike the bear a fatal blow on the head with his club, or approach at still closer quarters to stab him.† Dogs were used to worry the bear, and the Indians affirm that when standing on his hind legs neither the polar nor black bear can turn well on the right side, making it comparatively easy for an agile man to run in closely and stab it to the heart.

Bears are supposed, as will be seen, to understand everything said to them. One man whom we saw at Eastmain River Fort in 1908 was horribly scarred and mangled by a black bear which he had attacked and wounded, but which finally set him free when he pleaded with it for mercy. A "bear dance" was formerly held, but no information could be obtained concerning it, other than a meager description.

Among the northernmost bands of the Ojibway in Ontario, kindred customs are found. The animal to whom the Saulteaux show the most consideration, if not veneration, is the black bear. When an Indian catches a bear in his trap, a few words of apology and explanation are addressed to the animal, which is then killed and dressed up in all the finery obtainable, and is laid out to look like a human being. A Saulteaux at Sandy Lake, not far from Dinorwic, gave the following reasons for this custom: "The bears have a king, or chief, and the orders of this

*This custom was observed among the Montagnais by the Jesuits.

†The Seneca seem to have had a similar custom according to information gathered by the writer in New York.

chief must be obeyed. Sometimes he orders a bear to go to an Indian trap. When a dead bear is dressed up it is done as an offering or prayer to the chief of the bears to send more of his children to the Indians. If this were not done, the spirit of the bear would be offended and would report the circumstances to the chief of the bears who would prevent the careless Indians from catching more." When an Indian eats a bear he puts up a pole upon which are hung the skin of the animal's muzzle, his ears, skull, and offerings of tobacco and ribbons. On the lower part of the pole the bark was allowed to remain intact, but at intervals of about three feet, peeled spots about a foot in length were rubbed with red ocher. The skull, ears, and skin of the muzzle were fastened on with offerings to the spirit of the dead bear.

At Sandy Lake the writer saw an old Saulteaux woman take the shoulder blade of a bear and make transverse marks across it with charcoal, each bar meaning a prayer for a successful year of life for the slayer. This should have been hung on the bear pole but was obtained by the writer before the pole was erected.

Some of the Saulteaux claim that in erecting the bear pole the skull should be painted with charcoal, but with no other pigment. Tobacco should be hung at the center of the pole and the skin of the bear's chin should also be suspended from it. The bear's skull is not painted, as is the custom among the Eastern Cree, nor is it kept in the house of the slayer before hanging it up; nor do the Saulteaux ever paint the bear-skin inside. A bear which for any reason is not eaten after it has been killed is not honored in this way. Bears' bones are never given to the dogs, but are hung out of their reach. Bear poles are very frequently seen on the journey from Lac Seul to Lake St. Joseph on deserted camp sites, but were not found north of this.

Long says that near Lake Abittibi, "On one of the islands we discovered two Indian huts, but from their appearance no person had visited them for a length of time. About half a mile from the place we saw a high pole, daubed all over with vermilion paint; on the top were placed three human skulls, and the bones hung around: The Indians suppose that it had been erected many years."

The tongue and heart of the bear may not be eaten by women. In the event of a bear being killed by a member of a camp, the slayer always receives the brisket, head, and heart, as his portion. This is true of other large game. A young man who has killed his first bear or other big game has a feast made in his honor, and sits up the entire night drumming and singing prayers for his future success.

Should a man find a bear's winter den during the summer and desire to slay the animal the following winter, he takes a bullet from his pouch and after warning it not to tell anyone and to prevent others from finding the spot, he lays it by the hole, expecting it to guard his prize until he returns. Bears slain in their lairs in winter should never be shot, but rather knocked on the head with a club. According to the *Saulteaux*, when the bear makes his hole, he takes all kinds of animals with him to live on in the winter. They, however, believe that if he takes them from the territory covered by the route of a single trapper, the man will have bad luck; but if he draws them from the trails of several trappers, no harm will be done. If the bear sees a trapper he may throw out game to him, counting on the man's mercy in return for his charity. If a man kills lean animals at the beginning of his winter's hunt it is a sign that he will kill a bear, but if the animals are fat he will not kill one.

The *Saulteaux* admit that like the Eastern Cree they have various names for the bear, but they refuse to tell these to white people for fear that ill success will attend them. While the proper name of the bear is *mukweh*, he is also known as *oputowan*, but the meaning of the latter term could not be found.

Some light is thrown on Cree and Ojibway beliefs by information more recently obtained from the Menomini, a small Algonkin tribe dwelling in Northern Wisconsin. Among this people the belief is that the gods are divided into two groups, the Powers above, and the Powers below, the world lying between. Each division of the universe is further subdivided into four tiers, each ruled over by a particular god. The chief of the Underworld is *Waiäbakinit Awäse*, the Great White Bear. He is represented on earth by the ordinary black bear, to whom the Menomini formerly apologised before slaying as the *Saulteaux* and Cree do today. In certain medicine formulae tobacco is sacrificed to the Underground Bear by burying it with prayers for success on the chase. The Menomini formerly preserved the skulls of slain bears and the Woodland Potawatomi still do so. Le Jeune, in his relation (*Jesuit Relations*, vol. 6, p. 217) says of the Montagnais, 1633-4:

"When some one of them has taken a bear, there are extensive ceremonies before it is eaten. One of our people took one, and this is what they did:

"First, the bear having been killed, the man who killed it did not bring it back, but he returned to the cabin to impart the news, so that some one might go and see the prize, as something very precious; for the savages prefer the meat of the bear to all other kinds of food; it seems to

me that the young beaver is in no way inferior to it, but the bear has more fat, and therefore the savages like it better.

"Second, the bear being brought, all the marriageable girls and young married women who have not had children, as well as those of the cabin where the bear is to be eaten, and of the neighboring cabins, go outside, and do not return as long as there remains a piece of this animal, which they do not taste. It snowed, and the weather was very severe. It was almost night when this bear was brought to our cabin; immediately the women and girls went out and sought shelter elsewhere, the best they could find. They do this not without much suffering; for they do not always have bark on hand with which to make their house, which in such cases they cover with branches of the fir tree.

"In the third place, the dogs must be sent away, lest they lick the blood, or eat the bones, or even the offal of this beast, so greatly is it prized. The latter are buried under the fireplace, and the former are thrown into the fire. The preceding are observations which I made during the performance of this superstition. Two banquets are made of this bear as it is cooked in two kettles, although all at the same time. The men and older women are invited to the first feast, and, when it is finished, the women go out; then the other kettle is taken down, and of this an eat-all feast is made for the men only. This is done on the evening of the capture; the next day toward nightfall, or the second day, I do not exactly remember, the bear having been all eaten, the young women and girls return.

"If the bird which they call *Ouitchcatchan*, which is nearly the size of a magpie, and which resembles it (for it is gray in the places where the magpie is black, and white where it is white), tries to get into their cabins, they drive it away very carefully, because, they say, they would have a headache; they do not give any reason for this, but have, if they are to be believed, learned it by experience. I have seen them take the throat of this animal, split it open, and look into it very attentively. My host tells me, 'If I find inside a little bone of the Moose (for this bird eats everything) I shall kill a moose; if I find a bone of the bear, I shall kill a bear;' and so on with other animals."

These or similar customs are widely distributed in Ontario, the adjoining provinces, and in the eastern United States; indeed, there is probably no part of the world where the bear is found where he does not make a strong appeal to the emotions of mankind.

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XIX.

AN INTRODUCTIVE ENQUIRY IN THE STUDY OF OJIBWA RELIGION.

BY PAUL RADIN

Although the present paper is concerned almost exclusively with the Ojibwa of South-Eastern Ontario, there is little doubt that the data presented hold likewise for all the other divisions of the Ojibwa group, except perhaps for the extreme western branches in western Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and the so-called Northern Saulteaux, where they have come in contact with the Cree. Even there, however, we do not anticipate any great changes, for the investigations of Wm. Jones on the Manito belief of the Sauk and Fox, and those of Alanson Skinner among the Cree and Menominee, seem to indicate that the Ojibwa beliefs differed only in detail from those of these other tribes.

In dealing with the subject of the religion of primitive peoples, it will be well to bear in mind that it must be treated in the same manner in which that subject is treated among civilized people. The unjustified and unsubstantiated assumption that there is any real difference has been the cause of considerable confusion hitherto and has resulted in the development of some erroneous conceptions on cardinal points in the religious life of the North American Indians. But, perhaps, more harmful than any erroneous point of view, has been the utter absence of critical analysis with which the sources for religious life have been treated. Rarely have investigators made an attempt to go behind the data, to realize its individual significance, the character of the individual or individuals from whom it has been obtained, his relation to the tribe, and numerous other pertinent points, and as a result we see primitive religious beliefs discussed as though they pertained to some vague social unit. No suggestive or correct view-point can possibly grow out of such a treatment.

Just as among us, there are religious and unreligious people among the Indians, and it is a matter of the very gravest consequence—of far more consequence than among us—from whom our information is ob-

tained. By "unreligious" is meant not "unbelief," but a passive attitude toward religious beliefs; their acceptance, but accompanied only by a modicum of religious thrill or emotional response. The Indian system of education—from now on, we will refer exclusively to the Ojibwa and Winnebago (a culturally kindred Siouan tribe)—is possessed of great elasticity and permits an individual within certain limits to stress that particular bent of mind which fits him most naturally. If he is religiously inclined, he will prepare for the life of a shaman, and preparation means essentially, endless and ceaseless repetition on the one hand, and persistent fixation of the attention upon religious life, on the other. Those individuals who do not prepare for such a life are deficient in just these points. However, in addition to the shamans, almost all the gifted individuals, those who excel in any walk of life, be it as hunter, fisherman, warrior, craftsman, etc., attain to a great degree of knowledge, much of which is associated with a high development of religious feeling and consciousness, for in their education a large amount of attention is fixed upon religious practices. And when it is remembered that success and efficacy of individual powers depends not so much upon the performance of a rite and the attitude of prayer, but upon the individual's emotional attitude—the power of complete absorption while at prayer, in his religious emotion to the exclusion of all others, then it will be easily realized how intense the religious life of these individuals must be, and how far removed from that of the other members of the tribe. Such an intense participation, while it does, on the one hand, act as a bulwark for the conservation of past beliefs, must, on the other, lead, in a number of cases, to an assertion of individual points of view, that become in time centres for the development of innovations both in belief and ritualistic practice. This two-fold function of the "gifted" man, it is of great importance to bear in mind.

The conclusion to be drawn from the above remarks is certainly a common-place one, namely, that there exists among the Ojibwa a group of men possessed of "esoteric," and another group of "exoteric" knowledge. These terms have generally been used in connection with secret societies, but there can be no objection to extending their meaning to include the grouping given above.

The majority of the Indians are what we have called unreligious, their attitude being one of passive acceptance. However, it may be well to define this passivity more clearly. It is to a large, preponderating extent, not the passivity of choice, but what may be called the "passivity of fact." These individuals, representing the normal run of men, simply

did not have the necessary temperamental make up; manitos did not appear to them, or having appeared to them were of an inferior order, or bestowed upon them "blessings" of a minor kind. Certainly they regarded the religious beliefs, the religious manifestations, with all the awe and veneration they were capable of, and showed themselves punctilious in the observance of such religious injunctions as they were taught. In order to obtain a moderate degree of success in the pursuits of life, in obtaining food, success on the war-path, etc., they purchased from their more successful brethren efficacious herbs and medicines, to which offerings had to be made in a prescribed way, deviations being regarded as nullifying their efficacy. The most punctilious observation of ritualistic details was for them what a complete and consciously directed absorption in their religious-emotional selves, was for the shaman.

Now, it follows from the fact that so much attention was paid to the formal expression of beliefs by the "exoteric" element of an Ojibwa community, that nothing pertaining to the beliefs handed down from generation to generation, was ever touched, and that some had already become formulae and others were on the road of becoming such. For the average individual religious education consequently consisted in the learning of a certain number of formulaic beliefs, which might or might not call forth a religious thrill.

We have used the phrase "religious education" as though there were other kinds of education for the Ojibwa child. But with the exception of etiquette, every activity of life to him was so intimately associated with a religious sanction, that to speak of "religious education" is to speak of the entire system of education. It goes without saying that for the average Indian of whom we have been speaking, as for the average individual among us, a fact is a fact, standing out strongly from among other things. The killing of a deer or the catching of a fish are real facts to him, even though he may be thought inclined to attribute some of his skill to the efficacy of certain ritualistic practices. There can be no question that when they are asked, they will answer that lack of success is due to failure to properly perform certain ritualistic injunctions. But it does not follow that the converse is true, that he consciously realizes the connection of cause and effect, between the performance of ritualistic observances and his success in killing a deer, when he is actually hunting. These observances are formulaic in nature; are associated with hunting; are accepted by him as always occurring together; but it is to him certainly not a cause and effect relation, and calls forth little or no religious response.

Thus far we have been speaking of normal success. The moment the question shifts to that of exceptional success, which is of course due to exceptional ability, and deals with events out of the ordinary run of life, then the point of view is entirely changed. Exceptional success places a man immediately in the "esoteric" group. But how about this other element, the crises of life, or as the culturally kindred Winnebago say, "the narrow places of life?" And the idea of life's crises is not an assumption. It is insisted on from earliest childhood. The old grandfather says, "Life is full of crises. What will you have, when they come upon you, to successfully surmount them? Fast and obtain power to use on these occasions." In other words, for the average man the religious aspect stands out prominently in relation to all the material and immaterial possessions of life, during the crises of life. At such a time, we do not doubt that ritualistic observances are regarded by the individual as directly responsible for increased skill, for normal skill even.

This discussion has taken us somewhat afield. But it was essential, and before leaving it we wish once again to insist not only upon the materialistic side of the "exoteric" but also upon that of the "esoteric" religion. There are no religious observances given merely for the glorification of a manito or manitos. They are always associated with undertakings of practical consequence for the tribe and the individual, and for the specific furtherance of these undertakings. To say, then, that religion is an attempt at the explanation of life is erroneous, in this case. It has assumed this aspect among certain shaman, but to the majority of Ojibwa, religion is essentially a means of strengthening life, of enriching the contents of life specifically.

If we now look at religion in its various manifestations we will find that it assumes among the Ojibwa those forms found among other peoples. There is a general animism taking the rather concrete form of the manito; the religious fasting at puberty; the religious exaltation; the auto-suggestion, prayer, etc.

There is an indefinite number of manitos. They are found associated with practically all material objects and with many immaterial objects, from our point of view. Their form is indefinite, the large majority having an animal form, although some have human form when they appear to individuals. Any attempt to divide them into spiritual and corporeal beings would be futile, owing to the general belief in a possibility of transformation possessed not merely by them, but also by powerful shaman. Many of them are associated with specific powers; some "bless" individuals with success on the war-path; others with success in

hunting, or fishing, or love. Almost all "bless" individuals with long life. A man fasts on many occasions in life, but his important fast is that which takes place at the age of puberty. He is then given some charcoal to blacken his face and told to go out to some deserted place and fast. It will be best to give a first-hand description of such a fasting experience.

"I was about ten years old when I fasted, that generally being the age at which grandparents want you to fast. I don't suppose I should ever have fasted if I hadn't had a grandparent living at the time.

"About the middle of Little-Bear month (February) she came and took me to her house. I did not know what she wanted of me, at the time. About two days afterwards she told me that she wanted me to fast. The next morning I received very little to eat or drink. At noon nothing at all was given to me. In the evening I again received a little food and water. There were seven of us fasting together, and all day we would play and carefully watch each other so that no one would break his fast. We were to fast for ten days.

"About the end of the fifth day, I became so hungry that after my grand-parents retired, I got up and had a good meal. They must have found out what I had done, for I had to start all over again. This time I resolved not to break my fast, for I did not wish to start from the beginning again.

"At the end of the tenth day, they built me a wigwam under a tree not far from their house so that they could watch me conveniently during the day. My grandmother had told me before not to accept the first manito that appeared to me in my dreams, for some would try to deceive me and the acceptance of their "blessing" would lead me to destruction.

"The first four nights I slept very soundly and dreamt of nothing, but on the fifth night, I dreamt that a large and very beautiful bird appeared and promised me many things, but as I had made up my mind to refuse the 'blessing' of the first manito who appeared, I did not accept his offers. As the bird disappeared in the distance, I saw that it was only a chickadee. In the morning when my grandmother came, I told her that a chickadee had appeared and that I had refused its offers. She told me that I had done well, for chickadees had deceived many people already.

"After that I did not dream of anything until the eighth night. Then a large bird appeared to me, and I determined to accept his blessing, for I was getting tired of waiting and staying in the wigwam.. The

bird took me far away north where everything was covered with ice. There I saw many other birds of the same kind. **Some were very old and they offered me long life and immunity from disease.** This was quite different from what the chickadee had offered. I accepted, and the bird brought me back to my wigwam. As he was starting he told me to watch him as he disappeared from view, and I saw that he was a white loon.

"In the morning my grandmother came and I told her all that had happened. She was delighted, for she said people were rarely blessed by loons. From that time on, I have been called White Loon."

Now this is emphatically the experience of an "unreligious" man. Although it does not seem entirely correct to assume a highly developed degree of religious susceptibility for children between the ages of ten and twelve, still it was greater among Indians than among us. However, there is an entirely different consideration to be borne in mind here. These fasting experiences are only told long after the age of manhood has been reached (i. e., if they are ever told), and an individual sees them of course through the vista of what life has given him, in emotional development and in practical experiences. The shaman reads his puberty experience in terms of his success in life and the "unreligious" man in terms of his; and while it would perhaps be erroneous to deny a different religious temperament for the two from the start, yet the other factors must be recognized and given their full value.

Let us now give in outline the fasting experience of a Winnebago shaman, (1) identical we believe with that of Ojibwa shaman.

"When I had reached the age of puberty, my father wished me to fast, that I might become holy; invincible and invulnerable in war; become like one of those about whom tales are told in the future. Thus I would become if I made special efforts in my fasting. I would be 'blessed' with long life, he told me; I would be able to cure the sick; life would not be able to harm me in any way. No one would dare to be uncivil to me for fear of incurring my enmity. He pleaded with me to fast long and intently, for only then would the various spirits 'bless' me.

"There was a hill near my father's wigwam called the Place-where-they-keep-weapons. It was a very high hill, steep and rocky. They said it was a very holy place. Within that hill lived spirits called Those-who-are-like-children (i. e., liliputians). There were twenty of them and they possessed arrows. My father was in charge of these (i. e., some powerful manito had in his 'blessing' placed these under his control). When he

1) The father of this man was himself a very famous shaman.

wished to 'bless' a man, he would do as follows: He would take his bow and arrows in both hands and take the spirits around the hill into his wigwam (into the middle of the hill), where stood a stone pillar. On this pillar he drew the pictures of various animals. Then he danced around the stone and sang, and when he was finished, commenced to breathe upon it. Then he walked around it again, shot at it, and it turned into a deer with great antlers. So I could do if I wished, and if I poured tobacco and fasted. My father was a great hunter, and I would have been delighted to be like him.

"Through fasting one obtains the power of curing disease. While I was fasting the spirits came to me from a doctor's village up above. The shaman gathered around me and told me it would be difficult. Then he who was in front began to breathe audibly and all those in the wigwam helped him. When they finished this, they began to sing. This they showed me and they said, 'When a person is sick and in a critical condition and all others have failed to cure him, they will call upon you and offer you tobacco, which you are to direct toward us' Certainly I should have been holy, for very earnestly I labored."

These two examples illustrate all the important points in the fasting experiences of the Ojibwa. The two most essential elements are the control exercised by the older generation and the formulaic character of what is taught.

It will be seen by a glance at the first fasting experience that a great control is exercised by the parent or grandparent on the blessings to be accepted. How minute this control is has not been determined, but it is extremely probable that practically everything is given with the possible exception of the specific individuality of the manito itself. In other words, the youth does not go out to fast vaguely, for some indefinite, hazy object, but as we have seen, for something definite; something sharply circumscribed and which he is subsequently to clothe in religious-literary formulae that have been handed down from generation to generation. That there are variations of detail must not be overlooked, but they are not essential.

In the second example, the control of the parent is exercised in another way. Being himself a powerful shaman he has the natural desire to have one of his children inherit all his supernatural powers and the material wealth it has brought him, and to do so he surrounds his son with conditions that practically make it certain that he will be blessed by the same spirits in the same way. Practically the son inherits these powers and gifts, but only that son who duplicates those religious con-

ditions his father submitted to when he "was blessed," and consequently only that son who shows especial aptitude and conscientious endeavor will obtain them. If no son should show such an aptitude, the powers will pass to some more distant relative.

The religious intensity of the shaman, of the gifted man, thus turns out to be not a question of chance variation, but one due to conscious selection of specially endowed individuals, from generation to generation, within a small number of families.

A number of other points relating to the manito belief will now have to be discussed, namely, the localization of the manitos; the existence of two great manitos, and the nature of manito as a general "force."

It is extremely significant that in many instances where individuals are "blessed" by animal manitos, these are always found to be **definitely located**. An individual is "blessed" not by some general manito-snake, for instance, but by a definite manito-snake, located in some definite place. For instance, a person is crossing a certain lake, and a terrible storm comes up; but he has been "blessed" by the particular manito in control of this lake and by the appropriate prayers and offerings, the storm is allayed. A man is "blessed" by a number of manitos, but he does not call upon them indiscriminately. Had the foregoing Ojibwa not been "blessed" with the particular manito in question, he would have been drowned.

The question of the belief in two all-powerful manitos, one in control of all the good, the other in control of all the bad spirits, is extremely difficult to discuss in the present state of our knowledge. Christian influences may have penetrated here. Still the belief is found among the linguistically kindred Pottawattomie, Ottawa, Menominee and the culturally kindred Winnebago. There is no question in our mind that the belief will turn out to be a development of the shaman, for it is always found in the great ritualistic legends that have undoubtedly been developed by them. It seems likely that the "exoteric" group did not possess this belief in the beginning and that the influence of the whites and its similarity to that of the Christian God and devil made it spread more generally among these Indians than it would have done had there been no contact with the whites.

Of the "manito-force" discussed by Wm. Jones for the Sauk and Fox, and which has been taken by all investigators to apply to the Woodland Indians generally, we find no evidence, and we are strongly inclined to believe that Jones' formulation is over-systematised. The

difficulties encountered in obtaining adequate and precise information on this subject are, it is known, almost insurmountable. Yet the overwhelming balance of the data, and it seems to us even that quoted by Jones himself, indicates that the Indian regards an object as manito, sacred, because it contains a manito, and if the conditions were propitious, he could be "blessed" by it. If a belief in a manito "essence" or "force" exists it is as a characteristic of a manito. That the "essence" exists apart and separate from the manito is, we believe, an unjustified assumption, an abstraction created by investigators.

But there is a vagueness about the nature of the manito which has perhaps led investigators, and even Indians, astray when they attempted to translate the concept into words, for purposes of explanation, and which is paralleled by that which exists in their belief in the transformation of individuals at will, under certain conditions, into animals, trees, immaterial forces (from our point of view), ghosts, etc. The nature of the manito is properly that of a *tertium quid*, from our point of view. The whole question is, is it that from the Indian's point of view? We do not think so; for he does not make the opposition of corporeal and non-corporeal; data obtained through direct sense impressions and that through mediated sense impressions, in anything like our way. To investigate exactly, what, if any, opposition they make in regard to these matters is, perhaps, the most fascinating, as it is certainly the most difficult of ethnological problems.

We have dealt only with the most characteristic and fundamental points of Ojibwa religion, for the space at our disposal will not permit us to discuss more.

XX.

A NOTED ANTHROPOLOGIST (DR. A. F. CHAMBERLAIN).

The death occurred on April 8, 1914, of Alexander Francis Chamberlain, professor of anthropology in Clark University, Worcester, Mass. Prof. Chamberlain was a son of the late George and Maria Chamberlain, of Toronto, and was born at Kenninghall, Norfolk, England, January 12, 1865. He came with his parents to Canada in early youth, and received in Peterborough, Ont., his primary school education, as well as a training in the Collegiate Institute of that city. He took an Arts course in the University of Toronto, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, 1886, and Master of Arts, 1889. During his college course he showed a rare capacity for the rapid mastery of languages. Immediately after taking his bachelor degree in 1886, he was appointed to the fellowship in modern languages, in his alma mater, and in 1890-92 held the fellowship in anthropology in Clark University, Worcester, Mass., where he received his Ph.D. degree in the last named year. He was then appointed to a lectureship in the same university, and afterwards to an assistant professorship, which position he held up to the time of his death. In 1898 he married Miss Mary Isabel Cushman of Worcester.

The Toronto Globe, after reciting the main facts of his life, referred to his distinguished career in the following terms: His rapid mastery of foreign languages was a form of ability that stood him in good stead when later in life he had to pick up as best he could under serious difficulties the languages of the Indian tribes whose characteristics he had under observation.

Early in his academic career Prof. Chamberlain began in his own neighborhood his observations on the languages, manners, customs, and folklore of the Indians on the reserves in Ontario. The publication of the results of his researches brought him and his work to the attention of anthropologists, generally, in Canada, the United States, Great Britain and other countries. In 1891, for a Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, he conducted protracted investigations of the tribal peculiarities of the Kootenay Indians in British Columbia.

He edited, from 1901 onward, the *Journal of American Folklore*, and, in addition to many papers contributed to scientific periodicals, he prepared articles for several encyclopædias, including the new *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

He leaves behind him (the *Globe* added editorially) at his untimely passing a high reputation as an original investigator of anthropological phenomena. By sheer force of ability and untiring work he made his way into the front rank of research toilers in the field of anthropology, where he was ultimately recognized as an authority. His observations of the customs and languages of Indian tribes involved long journeys and much physical hardship, but for this he was amply repaid by his interest in the natives and their regard for him. He was the recipient of many honors that came to him absolutely unsought, and left him as shy and unaffected as if he had never earned such distinctions. His death has created a blank in the republic of science which it will not be easy to fill, and in his dual academic environment which cannot be filled at all. He was pre-eminently an altruistic and lovable man.

In recent years, Prof. Chamberlain has devoted much attention to the Indian languages of South America, and had just completed, a short time prior to his death, a survey of the languages of that continent, in which he reckoned eighty-three distinct families or language-stocks, each of which was subdivided into different branches which were related to each other like English and German, and yet were quite as unintelligible to those using them.

The brief article by him, on the Indians of Ontario, which appears on earlier pages of this volume, and which was contributed to the Society at its Annual Meeting in Chatham, September, 1913, accordingly has a pathetic interest, inasmuch as his death occurred while the book was passing through the press.

